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THE

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

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THE

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY
TO THE REIGN OF ALFONSO III.

(COMPILED FROM PORTUGUESE HISTORIES.)

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BY

EDWARD McMURDO.

A.A.e. 15

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FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY

TO THE

REIGN OF ALFONSO III.

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PREFACE.

Six hundred years ago a French prince succeeded in joining together the various petty counties of the Douro into a Kingdom, which then comprised less than two millions of people. The dynasty then founded has existed till now, and this year, 1888, sees the House of Braganza reunited to the House of Orleans.

His Majesty Dom Luis, the King of Portugal, having granted me a concession for the Lourenço Marques and Transvaal Railway (Delagoa Bay), I found myself in Lisbon, and interested in Portugal; but, not speaking its language, I sought for an English history. No such history exists.

I had learnt so much of the glorious past of Portugal that I resolved to have a translation made of records available at Lisbon. The Portuguese language is most difficult, and it was only after two years' search that I found a competent translator in the person of the accomplished Miss Mariana Monteiro, to whom all the credit of the present volume is due.

This volume brings the history from 1097 to 1279, which really is the commencement of Portugal as a nation. Even among scholars I have found but few who knew anything of Portugal, although its history is intimately connected with that of England. Practically I have not met one English-speaking person who had any idea of the past of this nation: who knew that with a population of less than two millions it discovered the

Australias, Africa, and a great part of America; that it founded the largest and most prosperous empire on the New Continent, except the United States; that Africa was all Portuguese; and that a part of India was a vassal of the brave little nation. It seemed sufficient to admit that England received her first Indian possession as a gift from Portugal, Bombay being given as a dower to the Duchess of Braganza, who married Charles the Second. Inquiry rarely went further. Yet Portugal has now in its colonies a population of over 30,000,000, who all speak Portuguese.

A nation of only two millions which has accomplished such great deeds deserves to have its record known in England. This must be my apology for undertaking the task.

E. McMURDO.

January 2nd, 1888.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

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Preliminary considerations—Fundamental differences between the historical writings of the Middle Ages and during the epoch of the revival of letters—Method to be followed when considering the origin of Portugal during both periods—Synchronical tendencies of the first epoch, and anachronisms of the second—Causes and consequences of the historic system of the restoration as regards origin—Modification of this system.—Advantages of separating from the entire history of Portugal what does not actually belong to it—No national identity between the Portuguese society and some of the ancient tribes which inhabited the Peninsula previous to the Christian Era—Characteristics which may possibly establish its identity in the succession of ages: territory, race, language—Absence of these common characteristics between the Portuguese and the Lusitanians—Constitutional elements of Portugal in relation to territory and population: the Leonese element and the Saracenic—A brief knowledge necessary of the political history of the Moslem States of Spain, and Kingdom of Leon, as a basis to the political history during first period of the Portuguese Monarchy.

He who would open our ancient Chronicles, and then the historical writings since the complete triumph achieved by the Greco-Roman literature over that of the Middle Ages, will find a fundamental difference between the two systems. Up to the end of the fifteenth century, and even to the middle of the following one, our national history may be reduced to the Chronicles of both epochs during the period of the separation of Portugal from the Monarchy of Leon down to the time of the Chronicler. The most ancient Chronicles, written in barbarous Latin, are in truth a kind of epitome of the general history of the country, but their narratives commence, like those of especial records, only at the beginning of the twelfth century, and they barely give a rapid sketch of the events which occurred after the invasion of the Goths, which, to them, is like a species of historic Genesis. During this infancy of history, our Chroniclers seemed to

feel that previous to this epoch there was wanting some solid, palpable chain to link Modern Portugal to the Ancient World. It has been said that they considered it like a globe, which, formed out of the fragments of planets of some solar system, had escaped from the common sphere, and they knew not how to bring it back to its centre. This system was the Peninsula, whose changes and revolutions, inhabitants differing in races, in customs, and in language, were nevertheless linked in the succession of time by a constant fact—viz., the topographical limits of the vast tract of land between the Pyrenees and the sea. That territory in which the Iberian-Celtic occupation was superseded by the Greco-Phenician colonisation, and later on by the successive dominations of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Arabs, was the same tract, with but slight difference, as that where exclusively the Kings of Castille reigned after Aragon and Catalonia were joined to the vast body of the Spanish Monarchy. Possibly none of the new Provinces of this Monarchy could have found a common analogy between itself and one or other of the ancient divisions, whether of dominion or race, with that which had existed in ancient times.

Spain, the most complex of them, remained the same, notwithstanding so many transformations. Portugal, however, was of recent existence, as she had formerly been included in all the various societies of the Peninsula, and was founded in fragments from the ancient territorial divisions of Celtic Spain, Punic and Roman. In one word, it was a branch wrenched from the Leonese tree, and therefore could not claim any legitimate and exclusive parentage during the time previous to the Gothic conquest, or, more truly, to that of the Christian restoration. It might be said that in some way it was linked to the past, but to draw up a true and exact genealogical tree would be impossible.

With the revival of Greek and Roman letters at the end of the fifteenth century the ancient world sprang up to a life partly fictitious and partly real. In proportion as the traditions of Roman jurisprudence completely swayed the political institutions of modern nations, the ideal republic of letters was being organised under conditions of a literature whose most beautiful monuments were still extant, but whose tendency and spirit were, to a certain extent, a dead letter, as they could in no way associate themselves either to the customs or with the beliefs of modern Europe. The enthusiasm evinced for the brilliant vestiges of a past civilisation possessed no power, however, to make

itself admired and adopted by the generality of men, since there were insuperable barriers between their manners of life. Christian idealism, expelled from the midst of the cultured classes, was nevertheless received and cherished among the simple classes; the literary formulas which had sprung up with the Middle Ages, and which up to that time had accompanied the progress of the natural development of the new society, were cast aside, condemned by the scorn of the aristocracy of intellect.

History, like all things else, reached a period of transformation. The ancient Portuguese Chronicles, as well as of all other nations of Europe, followed a method and style of narrating totally different from the historical books of the Romans and Greeks. They were more simple and picturesque, they more fully described the domestic life; perchance the characters of eminent persons were not laid open to us with those incisive yet rapid sketches which sufficed the Roman historians, and of which the pages of Tacitus are a most perfect model, but in compensation, the Chroniclers bequeathed to us ingenuously the sayings and acts of individuals. Hence, if on one hand the narratives of the Chroniclers appear to us trivial and even base on account of their manner of noticing trifling events, yet on the other they serve as a means of more clearly apprehending the true dispositions of individuals, and the spirit which pervaded the generations they described, meanwhile that the historians of antiquity only presented to us men with the gestures and studied conventional manners of the Forum, the Senate, and the Temple during public solemnities. The Chroniclers of the Middle Ages, when placing before our eyes the great characters who had passed through the world, would raise the slab of the sepulchre of their dead, and breathe a new life into them; while the Greek and Roman writers lower from their pedestals the statues of public men and present them to us, correct and true, but cold and dead, and, like to the statue at the banquet of D. João Tenorio, they make it pass before us with solemn mien, but hard and heavy.

In the ardour of restoring or transforming all things at the time of the revival of letters, it was not examined whether the historical method of the Middle Ages was, or was not superior in any way to the method followed by the historians who were beginning to be called classical. History accepted these grave and majestic models as the only legitimate ones, the immediate consequences being that history

became arid in the midst of its pomp, and ceased to become popular because it spoke in a language unintelligible to the public, and painted a life which they could not recognise.

At first it was the form which attracted the cultured minds; later on it was the objects and facts which the historians of Greece and Rome described. In the universities and in the schools, in monasteries and in literary palestras, this became so marked that it was considered a subject for scorn to use the native tongue. The study of monuments of all kinds which related to the civil life of antiquity was followed so assiduously, and the learned were so inebriated with this phase of existence, that in their writings there was scarcely found a sentence, an allusion, or an idea which had not been drawn from Greek or Roman books. The glorious successes and the illustrious men of their own country interested them far less than those of the ideal land adopted by them.

When this somewhat idolatrous admiration for the world of antiquity had reached its height, it began to decline or to moderate, and then began to be felt that the annals of the country were of some value. The glorious traditions of the nation began to be sought for. By degrees this thought began to rise and to extend, yet greatly modified by the influence of classical erudition.

From the middle of the sixteenth century dates the commencement of our swift and deep fall, and the robust, clear-sighted men of the day felt the necessity of reminding the degenerated, dispirited masses that there existed an honoured inheritance of their grandsires which it was expedient to save. Until that period writing history was a sort of public service. The kings would nominate some individual to consign to writing the various successes which occurred during their own particular reign, or of the events during the life of their immediate predecessors; thus the Chronicler exercised a charge from the State.

Hence, from the Chronicles of Christovam Rodrigues Acenheiro, who lived in the reign of D. João III., down to the publication of the first two volumes of the "Monarchia Lusitana," which is like the inscription on the scutcheon of our greatness, history loses day by day the character of a public record and becomes a matter of free, independent erudition, although it recoils from the sad spectacle which passes before the view of the historian and impels him to seek in the national records of past ages for matter more grateful for study, and for the traditions with which to reanimate the lost energy of the people.

Therefore, under various titles does the general history of the country appear. Such are the Chronicles of Acenheiro and of Nunes de Leão, the "Elogios dos Reis" of Brito, the varied history of Pedro de Maris. Then Camões, in his "Lusiades," concentrates the prevailing idea of his time, and traces with a divine pencil the discovery of India, and the principal lineaments of the noble records of the Middle Ages.

André de Resende, the greatest and most trustworthy antiquarian of the sixteenth century, in his renowned "Treatise on the Antiquities of Lusitania," written in Latin, gave a great impetus to the application of the study of Greek and Roman literature to illustrate the history, and in particular the ancient geography of the west of the Peninsula. These four volumes of his, "*De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ*," stand as our most ancient records of the tribes which had dwelt between the Guadiana and the Douro at the time of the Roman Conquest, and also of the civil divisions of the territory, its interior hydrography, tracing the sites of the cities and towns which formerly existed. In these records ancient Lusitania is found linked with Portugal so intimately that the words "*Lusitani*" and "*Lusitania*" signified the tribes and the tract of land so called by the Romans at the time of the conquest, or it meant the province which the Romans extended up to the river Ana, or Guadiana; or, again, the Portuguese with their territory, whose limits are totally diverse. These differences, distinct in themselves, are completely confounded in the work of Resende, whose studies were influenced by the two contrary impulses, classical lore and the sentiment of nationality. It is this idea which introduces into the plan of the book a species of anarchy, otherwise excellent in its details and execution.

At the epoch when Resende wrote this work, that is to say, about the middle of the sixteenth century, an idea, contrary to fact, began to gain ground, that there had existed a kind of national union between the Portuguese nation and one or more tribes of the Celtic Spaniards known under the name *Lusitanos*. This idea became deeply rooted among writers who had accepted, without sufficient examination or inquiry, this hypothesis, flattered by the lustre which would accrue to their country from the fact of its antiquity and the glory resulting from the deeds of those savage warriors whom they desired to claim for their grandsires. This idea is untenable, because in the Middle Ages there were no existing monuments relating to those primitive

times, and moreover the fact remains that the Latin denomination of *Lusitani* only began to be applied during the last quarter of the fifteenth century,* that is to say, when the rage for classical studies and the invention of printing had circulated throughout the west of Europe the literature of Roman historians and geographers.

As a fact, the earliest use of this expression or name appears between 1460 and 1490. This was when Mestre Mattheus de Pisano, one of the most enlightened men of his time, was summoned to Lisbon on account of his erudition to write in Latin the history of the War of Ceuta, and who composed his book in the year 1460. As in this work he had frequently to mention the Portuguese, he constantly employs the word *Portugalenses*, which proves that up to his time *Lusitano* and Portuguese were not equivalent, and this could not be attributed to ignorance, since, when he has occasion to speak of the Douro and of Faro, he says the first was a celebrated river, and the latter a city, both of Lusitania. The first writer, to our knowledge, who used the word *Lusitani* to designate the Portuguese was the unfortunate Bishop of Evora, D. Garcia de Menezes. This word did not come into use in the vernacular until later, and

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* Lucas de Tuy, in the Fourth Book of the "Chronicon Mundi," still employs with some confusion the terms *Lusitania*, *Portugalis* when speaking of the conquests of Ferdinand the Great effected in the province now called Beira, but in the context of the book it is evident that he intended to express by the word *Lusitania* the portion of the ancient province of that name, and which extended to the south of the Mondego. This portion still continued in the possession of the Saracens after the conquests of Ferdinand the Great. In the passage to which we allude, *Portugalis* clearly and strictly signified the now modern Province of Beira.

Writing about the year 1236 (España Sagrada, T. 4, p. 211), the epoch when Portugal was already constituted under this name, its extent being to the south of Galicia and west of Lusitania, and referring to a period when the name of Galicia was still in general use throughout the territory north of the Douro, the Chronicler naturally felt embarrassed to define the geographical limits of Portugal in a manner which would be understood by his contemporaries who were only acquainted with the Kingdom of Portugal.

This difficulty became all the greater later on, when he says, and with truth, that the dominion of Ferdinand the Great reached to the uttermost limits of Galicia, which by his own testimony reached to the Douro. In our opinion he wished to avoid all these difficulties by calling *Beira-alta* Portugal, and the provinces to the south of Mondego Lusitania. One fact is certain, that he never styles by the name of Lusitanos the inhabitants of any of the districts or provinces of this part of Spain.

even at the end of the sixteenth century it was not altogether generally used.

In primitive times,* Spain appears to have been populated by two successive migrations from Asia—the Iberians or Euskaldunac, and the Celts or Celtics. From the wrestling of the two races, and from their association in the central territory of the Peninsula, resulted the mixed tribes called Celtiberians. The Celts formed five principal groups of barbarian tribes—the Cantabrians, the Asturians, and Basque on the northern, the Calabrians and the Lusitanians on the west. These last, according to Strabo, occupied the territory surrounded by the ocean on the north and west, and limited on the south by the Tagus. Towards the east it is difficult to define its frontiers, which extended beyond our eastern radius. No doubt, however, exists that to the south the limits of Lusitania originally barely reached to the right shore of the Tagus. The Greek geographer, however, hesitates to assign to the Lusitanians the territory of modern Galicia, and Entre Douro and Minho, because in one place he supposes them dwelling up to the promontory Nerio or Celtico (Finisterre), while in other passages he speaks of the margins of Lima being occupied by a migration of Celts (Turdetanos and Turdulos) who inhabited the length of the Guadiana, through the Algarve and Andalusia, and part of the Alemtejo. In his description of this tract of the Peninsula there reigns so much confusion that it proves how uncertain were his opinions concerning the ancient distribution of the Celtic tribes after the Roman conquest, and the political divisions effected by Augustus at the time when Strabo wrote.

One fact is certain, that in this new division Lusitania completely changed its limits. These limits were bound by the Douro on the north, and on the south by the Guadiana, and extended to their adjacent lands. Towards the east, however, the limits were not defined with any exactitude, the idea of Cellario being more than probable that for the greater convenience of its administration the eastern line of demarcation should be lengthened or shortened according to the different requirements of

* Those who wish more fully to investigate the numerous conjectures, hypotheses, and ideal systems concerning the primitive times of Spain may consult the first volumes of the "Historia Critica of Spain" by Masdeu, the "Dissertações" of Padre Pereira de Figueiredo, "Dunham and Depping in Paquis," "Histoire d'Espagne et du Portugal," by Rosseuw Saint-Hilaire, and W. Humboldt.

the Roman Emperors. But what can be inferred from all the ancient geographers who speak of Lusitania previous to the Roman conquest, as well as the authors who only acknowledge the divisions established by the Romans, is that the territories which bore this name extended along the Spanish Provinces to a greater length than the modern eastern frontiers of Portugal. At the first epoch this limit did not pass beyond the Tagus to the south. At the second period they terminated to the north of the Douro.

Hence,[1] at the time of the Celtic independence and the Roman domination, the territory of Lusitania from east to west included a far greater length and more than double its width at the present day, and doubtlessly it reached to the extreme north of Galicia, while it took in half of Alemtejo and the Algarve, excepting that portion of territory beyond the Guadiana which always continued to belong to Betica, losing all the territory situated beyond the Douro up to Cape Finisterre, that is, half its surface, if we accept the supposition of Strabo that the territories beyond the river belonged to them.

It is evident, therefore, that Portugal at the present day distantly represents geographically Ancient Lusitania. Let us examine whether the Portuguese are really the successors of the Celtic tribes scattered along the west of the Peninsula. We say tribes, because that which we infer from history to be one people consisted of no less than thirty races, spread from the Promontory Nerio to the Tagus. Some of the names of these Celtic tribes were preserved by the ancient writers.

He who reads with unbiassed mind ancient and modern authors who advance opposite theories, which they base on contradictory systems relating to the division of States in Spain, can only draw one conclusion —viz., that in this matter there exist but few facts possessing the requisite degree of trustworthiness to be considered historical. Among these there exists an incontrovertible fact: When the Carthaginians entered into the Peninsula, not only were the two most ancient races, the Iberians and the Celts, intermixed in the central territories, but likewise the tribes of the sea-shore, and the Celts and Celtiberians of the inland parts, mingled with the Phenicians and the Greeks, but principally with the Phenicians, whose influence on the masses was so great that the name given by them to the country subsists to the present day.

[1] *Spania* from *Span*, whose double signification of *hidden* and *rabbit* has given rise to much discussion among the learned. Some pretend to say that from the

And in truth the Phenicians had taken possession of the greater part of Spain in the age previous to Homer, while small Greek colonies established themselves in different maritime places, particularly on the coasts of the Minho and the Douro. These diverse elements of population, which in remote ages must have wrestled and mingled together, are discovered in later times also mixed and linked together. Thus we find that the very word Lusitania indicates a Phenician element, and the names of *Tejo* (Tagus) and *Guadiana* (Ana) belong purely to that language;* while in the names of towns predominates the Celtic form of *brig* or *briga*, and their customs betray vestiges of Greek influence.

To this state of association of diverse races the Punic conquest came to render the intermixture more complete. The Carthaginians, who were originally Phenicians, had incorporated among themselves a great portion of the Libyans or Moors, and formed a mixed caste, known by the name of Libyphenicians. The history of the dominion of this republic in the Peninsula during its first era is very obscure; but four centuries before the era we are considering this dominion found itself much enlarged, and the sons of Spain already went to foreign countries to shed their blood in defence of the interests of their new masters, or allies.

It was, therefore, in the third century before Christ that the Carthaginian influence became definitely established by means of conquest on this side of the strait. The portion of modern Portugal to the south of the Tagus inhabited by the *Turdetani* (Celtic-Phenicians), and that portion on the borders of the Ana occupied by the Celts, attempted to resist the General of Carthage, Hamilcar, or Amilcar, but were subjugated by him. The inhabitants who escaped were compelled by the Carthaginian to join the conquering army, and the country remained desolated. The rest of the inhabitants spread themselves to other parts. From thence the conquering army marched against the tribes of Lusitania, who also rebelled against the alliance, or rather the dominion of the Africans. The resistance offered by these was more fiery and obstinate, but it ended in the same way as that in Turdetania, by the victory of Hamilcar.

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great abundance of rabbits resulted the name of Spain. Others assert, and this is the opinion generally followed, that it was a land *far distant* and little known. In any case the origin of the name is Phenician.

* The erudite Bochart was the first who drew attention to the Phenician origin found in the many chorographical designations of the Peninsula. Of these are — Tejo (Tagus) from *dagi* (fishy). *Lusitania* from *luz* (almonds), perhaps *luzi* (full of almond-trees). The river *Ana* from *ana* (ewe). *Olissipo* from *Alisubbo* (fertile bay). *Vide* Chanaan, Book I., c. 35, p. 695, &c.

After the death of Hamilcar, in the midst of these wars of conquest, he was successively succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal his son, who continued these wars with resolute energy. Previous to the expedition of this celebrated general to Italy, across Gaul, the Carthaginians had subjected all the tract along the Ebro, because even at the time of Hasdrubal they engaged with the Romans not to cross these rivers during their conquests, thus leaving to the Roman dominion scarcely one-sixth part of the Peninsula. It was here where these two rival republics sought in three long sanguinary battles to decide which was to perish. In these wars, as also in those of Africa and Italy, the Carthaginian army was in a great measure composed of Spaniards, while the African troops and the contingents of the Celts of Gallias many times passed the territory of Spain.

The result of this may be easily inferred. "Two powerful auxiliaries," observes a modern historian, "assisted Carthage in her designs of mastering the Peninsula. First the Mestizos, those sprung from the admixture of the Carthaginian colonist with the natives themselves spread over Spain. The second were the mercenary Spaniards who served in their armies. It is well known that the Celtiberian infantry, the Andalusian cavalry, and the slingers of the Balearic Islands constituted the nerve force of the army of Hannibal. On returning to their country the mercenaries schemed and established relations with Carthage which she well knew how to use to her advantage in benefiting her commerce and country."

This great fact of the assimilation of the Punic race, and the renewal, as it were, of the Phenician element which the Carthaginians represented, was not confined to one or more provinces of Spain, but it included the central, the eastern, the southern, and the western portion. The Lusitanians, however, who distinguished themselves in the service of Hannibal, could not avoid the common fate, and in this province the Punic race necessarily changed in a greater degree than it had previously done the Celtic-Greco-Phenician intermixture.

The time, however, had arrived when the long-extended iron arm of the Roman republic should encircle Spain, to cast itself changed and exhausted into the hands of the barbarians of the north. During the war of Hannibal in Italy a fleet transported to Ampurias (Emporion) the Roman forces commanded by Cneu Scipio. The disasters which attended this project, and the death of the commander and his brother Publio, drew to the battle-scene the youthful Scipio, later on surnamed

the African. Within the space of four years, from 220 to 216 before Christ, he expelled the Carthaginians, and returned to Rome laden with triumphs, leaving this province subjugated. From this event dates the epoch of the complete transformation of the Peninsula.

The Roman war of conquest lasted 200 years. The resistance which the Spaniards offered to the new domination convinces us that the accusations of oppression levied against the Carthaginians are exaggerated. When the wrestling began, it was the cause of Carthage, rather than her own, which Spain defended. This confirms what has been already advanced, that even half a century after the epoch when Scipio boasted that he had not left one single Carthaginian in Spain, the Lusitanians, commanded by a man of that race, successively routed the Roman armies out of Manilio and Pisa. The mutual hatred which arose from this protracted the war between the new masters of the Peninsula and the natives long after the destruction of Carthage. The military tactics of the savage mountaineer Viriathus rendered for some years doubtful the victory of Rome throughout the western territory; but in spite of frequent risings the domination of the masters of the civilised world was at length peacefully established throughout the Peninsula, with the exception of the wilds of the Pyrenees, inhabited by the indomitable remains of the primitive Iberian races, which no invasion, whether Celtic, Phenician, or Carthaginian, could ever subjugate or corrupt.

Assisted by the superiority of its military science, the excellence of Roman civilisation naturally carried a deep influence into the imperfect state of native society, which, owing to its mixed relations with the Phenician, Greek, and Carthaginian races, had adopted a few customs, phrases, and ideas of each successively, yet not sufficient of any, to form a strong and compact whole to be able to resist the civilising influence of Rome. The latter did not solely employ arms to consolidate the countries it subjected, but introduced into them her own colonists, and with them her laws and customs. She even exchanged her gods with them, receiving the strange ones into her temples, but at the same time exacting a religious reciprocity. She gave these men, rough and rude, her luxury to taste and the pleasures of which she was mistress; and she received from them in return the products of their agriculture and industry, and in many ways interested herself in the existence and prosperity of the great Republic. The effect of this system in more ancient lands, such as Gaul or Gallias, was an almost complete assimila-

tion of interests; what must it have been in the Peninsula where the intermixture of so many peoples and races, confusion of ideas, laws, and religious traditions had made it easier to adopt the Roman system?

The revolution of Sertorius, who for years had robbed from the Roman yoke a large portion of Spanish territory, did not destroy the already advanced conquest of Roman civilisation. A modern historian considers the policy of this extraordinary man to be a mistaken one, and accuses him of endeavouring to plant by force in this new land the customs and laws of the Republic, instead of favouring native civilisation, the germs of which already existed in the soil of Spain.

Lusitania, Celtiberia, and part of the Betica composed the provinces which Sertorius more especially disputed with Rome. Summoned from Africa by the Lusitanians to take command, he brought with him 3,000 soldiers from those parts, and the proscribed ones, who, with him, had been ejected by Sylla from Italy, and taken refuge in Lusitania. His combats and victories do not enter within the range of this history. That which more intimately concerns us is, to trace the continued immigrations into the country, which strongly conduced to extinguish the Celtic element in proportion as the natives engaged in the disputes of their new masters.

Sertorius armed, organised, and disciplined his soldiers on the Roman system, although in a more simple style; and Perpenna, who during the civil wars had gathered together in Sardinia 20,000 men, passed over to Spain and reinforced the army of Sertorius with his own men. Obeyed by more than 70,000 Italian, Spanish, and African soldiers, and involved in the war with Pompey and Metellus, after the death of Sylla, Sertorius did not omit, by every possible means, to convert the portion of Spain over which he ruled into a counterpart of Lacius. Ebora was made the capital of Lusitania, Osca or Huesca of Celtiberia. A Senate composed of 300 Senators, who were all Romans, represented the Senate of Rome. Osca continued to be the centre of intellectual reform, as Ebora was of the civil and political. In the capital of the Celtiberians a University was established, where Greek and Latin literature was taught by masters from their respective nations.

This education of itself imprinted on the Spaniards a Roman character of citizenship, and moreover was a path which led to obtaining important charges of State.

At the death of Sertorius, through the treachery of Perpenna, Spain

submitted herself to the rule of Metellus and Pompey. A few years later Cæsar, who was then Pretor of Lusitania, exacted of the inhabitants of Herminio (Serra da Estrella) that they should reside on the plains. These were such who more vividly had preserved the character of Celticism, and the policy of the Romans consisted, as we have said, in imparting to all the nations they ruled their customs and characteristics. The mountain dwellers resisted this decree, but the result of their useless resistance was their extermination.

Then followed the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey. In this terrible wrestling, the first act of the grand drama wherein the Republic was to be converted into a Monarchy, the Peninsula became the principal theatre for these territorial combats. The Roman troops, composed of men from many parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, were divided into two battalions, which traversed the whole land and spread themselves in every direction, until the soil was steeped in human blood. Battle succeeded battle, siege followed siege, and the towns conquered remained deserted of their inhabitants. This constant wrestling had the effect of more completely eradicating the weak remains of native tribes, and of rendering more confused the already mixed nature of the ancient population. If, however, any characteristics remained of Iberic or Celtic nationality, notwithstanding the political and social facts we have rapidly sketched, the administrative system of Augustus Cæsar and his successors, who carried out—although with diverse motives—the civilising scheme of Sertorius, definitely completed to dispel these characteristics, the sole exception being the Basque people, who always continued independent and isolated on their mountains.

The Peninsula, which at the time of the Republic had been divided into two great sections, *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, now became subdivided into three, Betica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania. Later on Constantine the Great again subdivided it into five, Tarraconensis, Carthagena, Galicia, Lusitania, and Betica. Some say that this division dates from the time of Adrian, but there is little foundation for this belief.

These provinces were now divided into districts, or *convents*. In the territory of modern Portugal, of the three divisions two fell to Lusitania, and one of the three to Galicia. The first were Beja and Santarem, and of the latter Braga. In these districts resided the magistrates, judicial and military Of the other towns the principal ones were the *Colonys*, whose name indicates the Roman origin of their dwellers; and the *Municipios*, who enjoyed nearly all the advantages

of the Colonys, and had the privilege of ruling themselves, not by the common law, but by their laws and local institutions, and at the same time could avail themselves of a great part of the Roman public rights. In course of time this important distinction disappeared, and in the time of Adrian only those who were learned in the law knew which were the essential differences of the two descriptions of cities, since the privileges of the municipality were, as a fact, abolished.

Besides these already mentioned, there were a few towns that appear to have been exclusively inhabited by the natives, and who, perchance, because they had been unwilling to resist, had accepted the Roman yoke, and to these was conceded the vain title of *Confederates*. The next were the *Exempt* and the *Stipendiaries*. The first were not subject to the general imposts, and the second were. The *Contributas* corresponded in a certain sense to our villages, because they were boroughs dependent upon other more important towns.

Great historians have described the darksome scene of the dissolution of the Empire of the Cæsars. This dissolution completed the task which Providence had assigned to it in the work of human progress. Christianity was taking root in the depths of the earth. It was springing up, watered by the blood of the martyrs. It was covering with its vast shadow the whole of society. The legions, the policy of the emperors, and the majesty of the Roman name served for a time to keep in check this new invasion. Nevertheless, it was God who released the torrent. It was a sublime scene to witness the wrestling of civilisation against barbarism, but it broke down the barriers. The hosts and savage tribes of the North cast themselves upon the Empire, and wave followed wave. Out of that cataclysm rose up the modern nations.

Spain, situated in the extreme of Europe and defended by the rough *serras* or rugged mountains of the Pyrenees, did not shrink from the common lot of the other Roman provinces. During the first years of the fifth century, when the Empire was already divided and under the sway of two emperors, one on the East and the other on the West, and a number of civic bands formed of ambitious individuals, Geronico, a Roman general who commanded in Spain, induced one Maximilian to be acclaimed emperor, and opened a path across the mountains to admit the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi.

This event suddenly altered the fate of the Peninsula. The Vandals and the Suevi took possession of the territories of Galicia and what is

now called Old Castille. The *Alans* occupied Lusitania and Carthagena. The *Silingos*, a tribe of the Vandals, took possession of the part of Betica at present called Andalusia. This incursion of barbarians was signalised by every species of devastation. A great number of people perished at the first irruption, before the ferocious conquerors had apportioned the various provinces they intended to settle upon. To the war was added famine and pestilence, until the people were reduced to such extreme misery that they actually ate human flesh. Mothers devoured their own offspring, and the wild beasts that left the forests to seek the prey of the dead bodies actually devoured the living. The barbarians then divided among themselves this almost desolated country, and established themselves separately as mentioned above, while the remainder of the inhabitants of the invaded provinces accepted the yoke of the victors.

But the people who were to supplant this first invasion and establish their dominion in Spain for three centuries were not long in crossing the Pyrenees. The Visigoths, commanded by Attaulfo, invaded the Peninsula. For some years they waged war against the first invaders, and, indeed, it must needs have been a war of extermination that which raged between such ferocious people and the remnants of the ancient population. Wallia, the successor of Attaulfo, attacked the Alans of Lusitania and the *Silingos* of Betica, and after wrestling for three years, compelled such as had outlived the destruction of their race to seek in Galicia the protection of the Suevi. Wallia made peace with the Roman Emperor Honorius, and in the wars the Visigoths were considered as auxiliaries to the Empire. The Alans and the Silingos joined with the Suevi, and these latter, although as a fact were independent, yet they acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, while the Visigoths contented themselves with the dominion of the South of Gaul or Gallias. Peace was yet impossible. The Vandals commenced a sort of civil war with the Suevi, who disbanded them, and compelled to quit Galicia, precipitated themselves anew upon the Betica. After some time they transported themselves to Africa, and Spain remained with scarcely more than the Suevi, allied with the diminished remains of Alans, who had continued in the country after their expulsion by Wallia. However, after the Vandals had forsaken Europe, the Suevi began to extend their empire in Lusitania and the Betica, until after warring with the Romans and the Visigoths, who had already superseded them in the dominion of

Spain, they at length joined the Visigothic Monarchy in the time of Leuwigildo.

The population Hispano-Roman in a great measure disappeared beneath the swords of the barbarians; but the weakened remains of this people had not become generally identified with the conquerors. The Visigoths being the most civilised of the Germano-Gothic race, retained for a length of time in their institution a line of demarcation between them and the Romans. But this line soon became obliterated. The intercourse between the races became more general; the distinction of Gothic and Roman rights became abolished, and all members of society were under one and the same code of laws; until at length the inhabitants of the whole Peninsula, at least outwardly, constituted themselves as one nation, under the name of Goths. Then followed the Arab conquest, which came to cast into greater confusion this heterogeneous mixture of races and peoples of varied and diverse origin.

Further in our work we shall examine which were the immediate elements of the modern population of Spain, and more especially that of Portugal. In this rapid sketch of the revolutions effected in the land during the epochs of antiquity, we wish to enable the unbiassed reader to comprehend the difficulty of assigning a common relationship or nationality between us and the Lusitanians, or any other tribe or race whatsoever, who primitively inhabited the Peninsula. These first migrations from Asia, whether Iberians, or Celts, or what it may, followed too immediately the infancy of the human race to be numerous. With no artificial means of transit for crossing Europe, ever engaged in hostile wars with each other, they could not multiply sufficiently to render them able individually to resist the contact of the Phenician Colonys which brought them the first benefits of civilisation. During the protracted Carthaginian dominion the Punic influence was certainly deeper, and the Roman conquest came to terminate almost completely Celticism. By this we do not imply that there exist no vestiges of the Celts; some ruins of their rude dwellings may subsist; some words of their uncouth language; perchance, some rough-hewn altars of their almost unknown gods. But what comparision do these bear with the vestiges of the Romans, which are still found in every place, and in all things? In language, in architectural monuments, in stone inscriptions, and in numerals; popular customs, social institutions, and civil law, which never became altered with the restoration, but were preserved throughout the Gothic and Arabic domination? What proportion have

they with the few vestiges of the Greek emporiums of which a few records remain in the pages of history? From the relative importance of these vestiges, as compared with what history records concerning the various peoples which successively followed each other, either as conquerors or for establishing commercial relations and political systems with the great nations of ancient times, is deduced the conclusion that when the Empire of the Romans ceased, the national character of the earlier settlers in Spain (of which there were a diverse mixture) became speedily incorporated into the more powerful Roman nationality. The remains of the monuments of the Visigoths, which still exist, afford an indirect proof of this. When the Visigoths wished to distinguish the individual Spaniards who did not belong to the Germanic race, and as they could not discover any sign or characteristic to betray a diversity of origin, they would constantly and uniformly designate them by the appellation of Roman, the Roman and Gothic societies being, as a fact, the only ones which existed in the Peninsula. From this epoch all the historic monuments which exist concur to prove that the inhabitants of the Peninsula were completely identified with the Romans. One of the most notable facts is the use of names purely Latin by the Spaniards during the period of the Empire, and this was carried to such a degree that all barbarian names entirely disappeared—a circumstance which did not repeat itself during the dominion of the Visigoths, and, moreover, it appears to be a fact that these also in their turn had forsaken their own Gothic language for the vernacular Roman, notwithstanding that in history figured the Theodorics, the Euricks, and the Hermenegilds. The same is true to say of the Arab domination, according to the evidence of Alvaro de Cordova, that the Muzarabes used to forget the Latin tongue and spoke only the Arabic, nevertheless they still preserved the use of proper names of Latin, Greek, and Gothic origin, as may be witnessed in the history and documents of that period.

Not a single monument of the epoch of this universal Roman domination exists in the Peninsula to afford us a proof that the Celtic language continued to be used among the Spaniards; while the Iberian, the Euskara or Basque not only subsisted through that epoch, but have even reached to our own days, and this is simply because the tribes which spoke those languages never entered the fold of Roman civilisation. This fact compels us to believe that the Celtic could not resist the Latin influence, since it scarcely left in the Portuguese, the

Castillian, and the Catalan languages, a particle or word whose origin appears truly Celtic.

These epochs of antiquity may bear a relation to the history of the Spanish Monarchy, never, however, with that of ours.

Portugal, which sprang up in the twelfth century in a corner of Galicia, and, extending itself along the territory of Saracen Gharb, constituted without regard to any previous political divisions, and seeking to increase its population with the Colonys brought from beyond the Pyrenees, is a nation completely modern, as we shall prove farther on. But, notwithstanding its short existence, she has no need to appropriate to herself the glory of Sertorius, or to invest with fictitious importance the actions of Viriathus, with the object of aggrandising herself. Her true history is sufficiently honourable and illustrious, and does not require any alien glories, whose value when viewed closely cease to possess that importance attributed to them, and which only carries us into the field of conjecture and fable.

A province separated from the Monarchy of Leon by events which we shall briefly study, and constituted into a political whole by the bravery and persistent efforts of our first princes and their knights, the Kingdom of Portugal was founded and established by means of revolution and conquest. The foundations of this independence were laid by Henry of Burgandy, the Count of the district, at the death of Alfonso VI., and consolidated by his widow; then it was definitely established by his son, and completed by the conquests effected during the reign of the first four successors to the throne, up to the middle of the thirteenth century, when it reached the Moorish territories of the Gharb or West.

The new Monarchy, therefore, was composed of two elements, the Leonese and the Saracen. From the first it derived its origin, and with it the physiology and physiognomy of its society; and from the conquering race its individual characteristics, although with organic modifications. These two facts belong to the history of the civilisation of the nation, and constitute the mainsprings of that civilisation. But closely allied to these two facts are two others which belong to the political order, the wrestling for dismemberment and for consolidation. The monarchy of which Portugal formed a part made, as was natural, a long resistance. The Mussalman society resisted also most energetically to its incorporation, as was more natural still. These active resistances formed the principal portion of the history of the events

which took place during the first period or infancy of Portuguese society. Hence results the necessity of tracing, if only in a cursory manner, the successes relating to the great Christian monarchy which had its birth on the Asturias, of which Portugal was the offspring, and of the Mussalman States of Spain, at the cost of which she extended her dominion, and increased in power to enable herself to acquire a distinct nationality, sufficiently vigorous to subsist to the present day without dismemberment, or having to join the vast extent of the States of the Peninsula which had been subjected to a factitious union by Ferdinand and Isabella, and constrained to a closer adhesion by the iron gauntlet of Charles V.

Therefore, solely with the object of tracing the lineaments of the political history of Portugal, and to assist the reader in its study, we shall preface this history with a narrative of the Arab domination in Spain, and of the Monarchy of Leon. In this sketch we have not consulted primitive sources for our information, because we do not pretend to write the annals of the Peninsula, but drawn our extracts from the narrative of such modern writers who appear to us to have more carefully studied the subject under consideration.

II.

The conquest of the Peninsula by Tarik and Musa—The Arab Governors of Spain—Incursions beyond the Pyrenees—Civil wars among the Mussalmans—The first conquests of the Christians of Asturias—Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Muawiyah, surnamed Ad-dakhel, establishes an independent Ameership in Cordova—Invasion and retreat of the Franks—The Dynasty of the Beni-Umeyyas—Hixam I.—Abdu-r-rahman II.—Mohammed-al-Mondhir—Abdallah.—Abdu-r-rahman III. is acclaimed, and assumes the title of Caliph—He extends his dominion in Africa—Caliphate of Al-hakem II.—Minority of Hixam II. and Government of the Hadjiz Mohammed, called Almansor—His sons, the Hadjibs Abdu-l-malek and Abdu-r-rahman, succeed him—Benu-Umeyyah Mohammed assumes power and is proclaimed Caliph—The African troops rise—Civil wars—Wrestling between the Beni-Umeyyas and the Idrisitas—Dissolution of the Caliphate and extinction of the Dynasty of Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Muawiyah—Dismemberment of Mussalman Spain into independent States—Entrance of the Almoravides—Origin and progress of this sect.

THE dissensions which existed in the Empire of the Visigoths induced the Mussalmans to enter Spain. The latter had just conquered the northern part of Africa, called Barbary, a name derived from the people who in remote times had inhabited it. The *Berbers*, or *Amazijhs*, who followed various creeds previous to the occupation of their land by the Arabs, such as the Jews and the Christians, when they were subjugated, accepted in a great measure the Alcoranic law, and conformed to the tenets of the belief of their conquerors. Musa Ibn Nosseyr, nominated Ameer of Africa by the Caliph of Damascus (702), induced the greater number to adopt Ismalism, and established peace among them. Septum, now called Ceuta, with its neighbouring territory, had been from the time of the Romans a dependence of Spain, and the Visigoths had preserved it united to the monarchy. The Ameer attempted to take possession of that city, but was repulsed by Count Julian, who then was governing in the name of Witiza. Soon after this event Witiza was dethroned, through some conspiracy, it appears, which placed Roderic, or Rodrigo, on the throne (709). Witiza left two sons, who endeavoured, both openly and secretly, to wrench the crown from one whom they held to be a usurper. Julian joined this new conspiracy, and besought the assistance of Musa. He opened the gates of Ceuta, and induced him to send an expedition to the Peninsula. After two attempts at landing, during which the Mussalmans—or Saracens, as they were more

generally called by the Christians—took some rich spoils, the Ameer sent an army of 12,000 men, principally Africans, commanded by Tarik Ibn Zeyad, his lieutenant in the government of the Moghreb (Mauritiana). This expedition was joined by Julian, and on arriving at the base of the mountain called Calpe they stopped and fortified it, and awaited reinforcements, which soon arrived. Since that time the ancient name of Calpe was altered to that of Monte de Tarik (Gebel, Tarik =Gibraltar). The Mussalman General was not long in penetrating the Peninsula. While Roderic was gathering together his forces to oppose him, he was desolating the provinces of the south, routing out the Gothic bands who attempted to oppose his course. At length the two armies met on the shores of Chryssus or Guadalete. A battle took place, the description of which is given by Christians and Arabs in contradictory narratives. It is certain, however, that this conflict proved a decisive event, and the Empire of the Visigoths became broken up. The Goths were completely destroyed, and Roderic, it appears, perished in the conflict. The spoils sent by Tarik to Musa, with the news of the victory, roused up the envy and ambition of the Ameer. Instead of congratulating him for this illustrious act, he sent orders to delay any further conquests until he himself should cross the strait with the new reinforcement. This order came too late, Tarik had continued his advance when the orders of Musa reached him. He then held a council with the officers of the army to decide the best to be done in the case, and it was resolved to advance with the victory. Mugheyth-Al-rumi, a Greek renegade who commanded the cavalry, then marched towards Cordova; a division was sent to Malaga, and another against Elvira. With the rest of the forces Tarik proceeded to Toledo, which was then the capital of Spain. These troops spread terror on every side. The Jews, a numerous class in the Peninsula, and who were greatly oppressed by the Goths, joined the conquerors, and aided them to take possession of the besieged towns. On the approach of the Saracens Toledo flung open its city gates, while the principal residents, among whom was the Bishop Sindered, fled to take refuge on the mountains of the north, towards which Tarik also proceeded, after the city had surrendered, to continue his conquests.

Meanwhile Musa landed in Spain. After taking Seville, which endeavoured to resist him, he proceeded towards Lusitania, a province whose name and limits of demarcation, assigned by the Romans, the Visigoths still preserved.

Niebla, Ossuna, Mertola, and Beja speedily fell into his hands. Merida defended itself bravely, but in the end succumbed.

After sending his son Abdu-l-aziz into Seville, which had revolted, the Ameer quitted Merida and wended his way towards Toledo, subjecting all the towns he passed. In Talavera Tarik met Musa, to all appearance on friendly terms, and both entered the capital, leaving their respective armies encamped outside the city. Scarcely had they entered the royal precincts—or Alcasar, as the Arabs called it—than Musa summoned the officers of the army, and in their presence accused Tarik of disobedience, and would have proceeded to some extreme act of violence against his lieutenant had not Mugheyth taken up the defence of the accused. This he did in a manner which disarmed the wrath of the Ameer, who only punished Tarik by depriving him of the command and arresting him, since he had dared to deprive him of a part of the glory which he coveted for himself.

Meantime Abdu-l-aziz had again subjugated Seville, and bent his steps towards the south-west of the Peninsula, which as yet had not been conquered. Theodmiro, a celebrated captain of the Goths, who was duke or governor of a portion of the Betica, had retired to Seville with the remains of his army after the battle on the Guadalete, and had formed a sort of Gothic Monarchy on the territories of the now modern provinces of Murcia and Valencia. For a great length of time the valiant Theodmiro resisted Abdu-l-aziz, but constrained, with inferior forces, to engage in a pitched battle on the plains of Lorca, he was routed, and retreated to Orihuela (Auriola) with what remained of his army.

Besieged by the Saracens, he was compelled, after a brave resistance, to accept the Mussalman yoke, but under advantageous conditions, being acknowledged a Prince of the Goths, although tributary, in the districts over which he formerly reigned. The compact or agreement made on that occasion was preserved by Arab historians.

About that epoch an order from the Caliph arrived in Spain to the effect that Tarik should be released and reinstated in his rank. As by virtue of this supreme order he received the command of the troops, principally those of Barbary, or Moorish, who had effected the conquest of the Goths on the Guadalete, Tarik directed his forces towards the eastern portion, while Musa with his Arabs marched towards the north, destroying the towns which offered any resistance.

From Astorga the Ameer turned to the right, and following the

course of the Douro, encountered his rival, who had avoided the *serras* of Molino and Siguenza, and had besieged Zaragoza on the Ebro. On the arrival of Musa the inhabitants lost all hope of success, and delivered themselves up. The taking of Zaragoza completed the surrender of the principal cities of Spain, and all were now under the Mussalman power.

Later on, the Moslems became masters of the modern provinces of Aragon and Catalonia, from whence they returned towards the west and subjugated Galicia.

This proceeding of Musa aroused deep hatred between the two rival Saracen captains. The character of Tarik was by nature opposed to that of the Ameer. Both were valiant and enterprising, but proceeded differently in their conquests. Musa was naturally covetous, bloodthirsty, and an oppressor of the Christians. Tarik was generous, clement, and just. In their correspondence with Al-Walid, the Caliph of Damascus, they mutually accused one another, each asserting that the system of his rival was opposed to the interests of Islamism. The ill-will existing between them rose to such a pitch that Al-Walid decided to withdraw them from the Peninsula, and summoned them to his presence. Tarik immediately obeyed, but Musa delayed his departure, awaiting more peremptory orders to compel him to quit Galicia and pass over to Africa. He nominated his son Abdu-l-aziz Ameer of Spain, and established Seville as the capital. Arab historians extol the riches he took with him, besides 30,000 captives, among which were 400 noble Goths. This he did to prove the importance of his conquests.

The character of Abdu-l-aziz bore a greater resemblance to that of Tarik than to his father. The leniency he manifested towards the Christians was ascribed by some to be due to the love he bore Eglona, the widow of the last King of the Goths, whom he took to wife, and allowed free liberty to follow her religion. The new Ameer concluded the subjection of the rest of the Peninsula, and regulated the tributes to be paid by the conquered. Notwithstanding his love for Eglona, he filled his seraglio with the noblest Christian virgins, and this fact, in a measure, destroyed the influence he otherwise would have had owing to his leniency with the Goths. On the other hand, the widow of Rodrigo incited him to rebellion, and to render himself independent of Suleyman, who had succeeded his father Al-Walid in the Caliphate. Suleyman disapproved of the choice of Abdu-l-aziz as Ameer of Spain, while the

accounts brought to him of what was taking place induced him to put an end to the son of Musa. He therefore sent agents with secret orders to spread among the soldiers odious suspicions against his victim, and in accordance with the cruel customs of the East, the Caliph ordered him to be assassinated, when the army should be roused up. This order was carried out. As he entered a mosque which stood outside Seville, at the hour of morning prayer, he fell pierced through; his head was then severed from his body, and sent to the Caliph as a token that his order had been executed. Then Ayub Ibn Habib Al-lakhmi, nephew of Abdu-l-aziz, who had been a party to the death of his uncle, took the command at the choice of the army and the Diwan, or Council of State, a body which, in Moslem government, directed all affairs appertaining to provincial administration.

Mahommed Ibn Yezid was at the time ruling Africa for the Caliph, and held superior authority over the Peninsula. Perceiving that it was unsafe to allow a relative of Abdu-l-aziz to hold power in his hands, he decided to substitute him by Al-horr Ibn Abdu-r-rhaman Ath-takefi. At this time Ayub exchanged the seat of government from Seville to Cordova, judging the latter to be a more central city, and visited the different provinces to regulate and administrate affairs, distributing equal justice among the Mussalmans who had established themselves in Spain, and the Christians who submitted to the rule of the Caliph. These latter were styled *Mostarabes* or *Musarabes*,* a name given by the Saracens to the people who, without forsaking their own religion, were nevertheless under the Moslem yoke. Then it was that Al-horr took up the reins of government.

His stern, warlike character contrasted with that of Ayub. He put down rigorously the abuses which had crept into the administration. He exacted punctually the tributes paid by the Christians, but at the same time he was implacable with the Mussalmans who had grown rich by illegal means, and he compelled them to restore all they had usurped, under threats of torture. Not satisfied with instilling fear, and even hatred, he was ambitious of military glory. Therefore, he prepared to cross the Pyrenees and invade France; but his attempts proved unsuc-

* From the word *Mostarabes*, which signifies *made* or *turned into Arabs*, and not derived from *Mixtiarabes*, as some writers imagine. The denomination *Mosarabes* prevailed, but it is worthy of note that even in the register of Toledo, given by Alfonso VI. at the commencement of the twelfth century, they were called *Mostarabes*.

cessful, and the very men whom he had punished for their want of fidelity when collecting the tributes, were those who plotted to obtain his dismissal from the Caliph. He was succeeded by As-samah Ibn Malik Al-khaulani, a former captain of Musa and Tarik, and a person in every way worthy of the charge confided to him. To his military genius was added a talent for administration. He drew up an important statistic of the state of Spain, and instituted a more equable division of imposts, which he submitted to the Caliph, besides other useful public works. He then resolved to continue the war beyond the Pyrenees, which his predecessor had attempted.

Heading the Saracen army, he crossed the defiles of the Serras, or mountains, and attacked Narbonne, Beziers, and other towns, which he took; and spreading terror and dismay wherever his sword passed, he proceeded even beyond the Rhone, and, after reconnoitering Provence, he returned through Burgandy, and retired to Narbonne, laden with spoils, and taking a great number of captives. He then directed his forces against Aquitania; besieged Tolosa, which was then on the eve of surrendering, when the Duke Eudon appeared on the field with a numerous army to defend it. The encounter was a fearful one, and for a long time the issue was uncertain, until the death of As-samah decided the victory in favour of the Christians. Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Abdillah Al-ghafeki, an Arab leader who more greatly distinguished himself in the battle, reorganised the fugitives, and although persecuted by Eudon, was able to save his men and retire to Narbonne. He was acclaimed Ameer by the soldiers, and met with some opposition from Anbasah Ibn Sohaym, who had been entrusted with this post by As-samah, but he was compelled to yield, as the election was approved by the Ameer of Africa. However, soon after this, being accused of prodigality by his enemies, Abdu-r-rahman was dismissed, and Anbasah nominated in his stead, who probably had conspired to his fall. The new Ameer of Spain commenced his rule by imitating his predecessor in organising the affairs of government; and he also imitated him later on in his martial undertakings. With an army more numerous than the forces of As-samah, and which he commanded in person, he entered France, took possession of Carcasonne, and later on of Nismes; while a body of horsemen went into Burgandy and destroyed Autun. At this epoch the inhabitants of Septimania were collecting together forces, and with these they proceeded to meet the Saracens, whom they encountered, with the same result as in Tolosa. Anbasah was routed, and fell

mortally wounded. Pending the nomination of a successor by Beshr, the Wali of Africa, the Saracen chiefs elected in place of Anbasah, to govern Spain, Odhrah Ibn Abdillah Al-fehri. This post was later on filled by Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbi. The new governor united in his character military genius, martial energy, severity and justice in defending the Christians against the violence of the Mussalmans. This latter trait gave great discontent to the Mussalmans, and caused him to be deposed and his post successively filled by Hodheyfah Ibn Alahwass and Othman Ibn Abi Nesah, whose administration appears to have been greatly harassed by the turbulent spirits of the Mussalman chiefs who came from the Moghreb to establish themselves in the Peninsula. After a short term of government Othman was substituted by Al-haytham Ibn Obeyd, a cruel, hard, and vindictive Arab. Annoyed by the discontent of the Mussalmans, Al-haytham put them under an iron yoke, with the pretext, true or false, of protecting the Mosarabes from their persecutions. Conspiracies followed, which were discovered by the Ameer, who punished the conspirators by torture and death. At length the dissatisfaction rose to such a pitch that it reached the ears of Hixam, who was then Caliph, and induced him to send Mohammed Ibn Abdillah to Spain to investigate the conduct of the Ameer, and if found at fault to punish him. Mohammed arrived to Cordova and examined fully all the bearings of the case, with the result of casting Al-haytham into a dungeon, from whence he was taken to parade through the streets riding on an ass with his arms tied behind him, in order to be jeered by the populace. After this indignity he loaded him with chains and sent him to the Wali of Africa.

For the space of two months Mohammed held the reins of government for the Peninsula, during which time he endeavoured to arrange public affairs and select a new Ameer. The choice fell to Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Abdillah, the same person who had saved the remnants of the Arab army close to the walls of Tolosa. The Ameer at once began to organise the administration and remedy the abuses which had crept in. He demanded strict accounts from the ministers and public officials, and dismissed those who had transgressed. He gave back to the Christians their temples and which belonged to them in virtue of the treaty drawn up at the time of the conquest, but at the same time he ordered that all edifices erected by suborning the magistrates should be levelled to the ground. When he had settled all public affairs and things were in peace, he prepared to make war in the land of the

Franks, a name given by the Arabs to the territory beyond the Pyrenees.

When his predecessor, Othman, was dismissed from his post of Ameer, he had the command given him of the troops on the frontier of Gallias, and had formed an alliance with the Duke of Aquitania, to whom, it is said, he gave his daughter in marriage. Trusting to the protection of his father-in-law, Othman, who was a Berber by race, and consequently a political adversary of Abdu-r-rahman, himself an Arab, endeavoured to establish an independent government at the foot of the mountains to the north of the territory of the Franks. Abdu-r-rahman, however, foresaw his designs, and unexpectedly sent against him a force which compelled him to retreat into the Serras, where he was captured and put to death. His head was cut off and sent to the Caliph. When the news of this event reached the ears of Duke Eudon, he endeavoured to ward off an invasion of Saracens. But mustering an army greater than any which had hitherto entered Gallias, Abdu-r-rahman crossed the Pyrenees. All resistance proved futile. The Saracens reached up to Garonne, close to which they met the Duke of Aquitania and his forces, and in a fearful battle the latter were completely broken up. Bordeaux fell into the hands of the Arabs, who sacked and burnt down their temples. After this, following the Dordogne, they destroyed and appropriated a large extent of territory, casting down churches and burning towns. Directing his steps to the north, Abdu-r-rahman blockaded Tours. Meanwhile Karl, son of Pepin of Heristal, and Duke of Austria, whose aid Eudon had solicited, was crossing the Loire with his army of Franks in order to defend Tours. The Saracen army were undisciplined, and Abdu-r-rahman, fearing a defeat, retired. He was followed by Karl, and met near Poitiers. The battle lasted two days, and ended in the Saracen army being completely destroyed, and Abdu-r-rahman left dead on the battle-field (732). The remnants of the Mussalman army retreated to the Pyrenees. The news of this event spread consternation throughout Spain, and when it reached to Africa the Wali Obeydullah at once sent a new Ameer in the person of Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehri—a nomination which was approved of by the Caliph. However, owing to his great age (being ninety years old), or either through deficiency of military tactics, or on account of the dispirited condition of the soldiers, Abdu-l-malek was unfortunate in all his ventures to further the war of Afrank. This impelled the Caliph to send a successor. He therefore sent Okbah

Ibnu-l-hejaj, who in Africa had successfully carried on a war against some of the tribes of Barbary which had risen. Okbah came to Spain as Ameer. He was a man strictly just, but extremely severe. He commenced his administration by dismissing all the public officials guilty of any act of violence against the people. He regulated the administration and the tribunals, founded mosques and schools, and placed the Peninsula under a firm and uniform organisation. Leaving to his predecessor the command of the northern frontiers, and preparing to cross the Pyrenees, he was re-called to Africa to subdue again the Berbers. After four years he returned to Spain. The good he had previously effected had been in part destroyed during his absence. The Walis of the various districts were engaged in petty discords with each other, meanwhile that the Duke of Austria was putting an end to the Saracen dominion in Septimania, and at the same time extending his conquests towards Provence, and entering into treaties with the inhabitants, who, Gallo-Roman by origin, preferred the rule of the Arabs to that of the barbarian Franks. Soon after his return Okbah died, or was put to death in Cordova, while dissensions raged between the district governors, the rival conquering races, the Arabs, and the Moors. The aged Abdu-l-malek then assumed power, but which he did not long retain, owing to the events which at that juncture were taking place in Africa. Two of the Arab commanders, Balj Ibn Beshr and Tha'lebah Ibn Salamah, were routed by the natives of the Moghreb in Africa, who, after the death of Okbah, had again rebelled. These had taken refuge in Ceuta, with the object of passing over to the Peninsula. This Abdu-l-malek tried to prevent, as he feared it might lead to complications. However, when the Arabs of Spain knew of it, they effected a passage, and resolved to put down the Ameer. On the other hand, the Berbers, a great number of whom were established in the Peninsula, elated by the victories achieved by their brethren in Africa, resolved to follow their example, and shake off the yoke of the Arab race. They rose up in rebellion, but on all sides were unsuccessful. Yet peace was not established. Balj Ibn Beshr received an intimation to quit the country. He resisted the orders of Abdu-l-malek, feeling that he was sufficiently strong, and summoning the troops whose principal strength consisted of the Assyrian element which he had brought over with him, he marched against Cordova. The inhabitants of Cordova, who probably were in treaty with Balj, then rose up, crucified the aged Ameer, and

opened the gates to his adversary. As might be expected, Balj was proclaimed Governor of Andalus.* Spain then became divided into three bands or factions. Tha'lebah, who accompanied Balj from Africa, disputed the power with him, on the plea that the election of the Ameer to the Peninsula rested with the Caliph, or with his delegate, the Wali of Moghreb. The majority of the resident Arabs sided for Umeyyah, son of Abdu-l-malek, and the Wali of Narbonne, Abdu-r-rahman, declared for him with the Berbers, who took this opportunity to refuse allegiance to an Arab. Then Abdu-r-rahman marched with a large army against Balj, and notwithstanding that his forces were weakened by the defection of Tha'lebah, did not retire, but met him in battle on the outskirts of Calatrava. In this combat the new Ameer fell by the hand of Abdu-r-rahman himself. The remains of the vanquished army joined Tha'lebah.

The Wali of Africa, Hondhalah Ibn Sefwan, had meanwhile subjugated the Berbers. With the object of diminishing their strength, he sent 15,000 Berbers to Spain, and likewise a man capable of restraining the civil wars raging in that province. He named Abu-l-khattar Hussam Ameer, and sent him with the forces. At first all ceded to him, but new causes of perturbation arose. Tha'lebah passed over to the Moghreb, while his brother Thuabah Ibn Salamah placed himself at the head of a rebellion organised by a certain As-samil. The question was solved at the first combat. Abu-l-khattar was vanquished and cast into a dungeon in Cordova, and Thuabah assumed the title of Ameer. As soon as the son of Abdu-l-malek, and Abdu-r-rahman, who had acknowledged the authority of Abu-l-khattar, became acquainted with the imprisonment of the Ameer, they assisted him to escape, and he soon after was again master of Cordova. Thuabah and As-samil then marched against the Ameer, who came out to receive them, but finding himself suddenly assailed in the heat of the battle by the people of Cordova, who had rebelled and joined the enemy's flanks, he lost the battle, and with it his life. Thuabah then assumed the government of Cordova, and As-samil remained Wali of Zaragoza.

The dominion of the conquerors, however, was not yet large. The provincial governors made themselves independent. The various Mussalman races which had successively come to colonise Spain grouped

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Andaluz. The name by which Arab historians commonly designate Spain.

themselves separately within their districts. The emulation which rose up among them was the principal cause of the civil wars which then were raging. The whole of the Peninsula became divided into parties—the Arabs of Yemen, the Modharites, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Berbers.

While all this was going on, the Christian monarchy founded by Pelagio in the Asturias, and ruled over by Alfonso I., was profiting by these rebellions, and gained new forces. The Gothic soldiers descended the mountains and began to spread towards the south and the east the empire of the Cross, while the Saracens, occupied with their internecine disputes, neglected to raise barriers to stem that torrent which later on was to submerge them. At length, out of the excess of evil came the remedy. The chiefs among the Arabs resolved to put a term to anarchy by choosing a head whom all should obey, one having sufficient power to establish peace. The choice fell on Yusuf Ibn Abdi-r-rahman Al-fehri, a man of renown, who was respected by all parties, yet had never leagued with any. He accepted the charge of Ameer, and completely dedicated all his energies to the fulfilment of the duties imposed upon him, and to restoring what the wars had destroyed. The effects of his good government were not of long duration. Many of the chiefs who had taken part in the previous disputes began to conspire and incite rebellion. Although fortune had ever favoured him, and he had succeeded in quelling four or five revolutionary attempts, which had invested his rule with a sort of halo, his power was gradually becoming weaker. His election had been effected independently of the Caliph of Damascus, the Prince of Believers, and this was held illegitimate by public opinion, and in a certain sense authorised the rebellion. The most influential men among the Mussalmans thought to remedy this circumstance by seeking a prince as ruler who would unite the moral gifts of Yusuf to an authority sanctified by a purer origin.

At this period of our history the Abbasides had expelled from the Caliphate the family of the Beni-Umeyyas, successors to the Prophet. A grandson of the Caliph Hixam, who had escaped from the cruelty of the Abbasides, wandered in the deserts of Africa constantly persecuted by his enemies. He was a youth of twenty, whose span of life, so full of hardship and vicissitude and misfortunes, had taught him in his wanderings how to support the storms of the world. Being almost miraculously saved from great perils, Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Muawiyah,

as he was called, came to seek shelter among the Berber tribe called Zenetes, where he had relatives on his mother's side. It appears he then became acquainted with the discords existing in Spain, and resolved to profit by them to his advantage. His attempts proved successful. The Arab chiefs, as we said above, were predisposed to dispossess Yusuf on the very ground which would move them to accept Abdu-r-rahman as their prince. All things being prepared, the proscribed youth crossed the sea, accompanied by one thousand knights of the Zenetes who desired to follow him. Those who covertly had connived at his coming now joined him, and in a short time he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. Yusuf had just concluded putting down the rebellion. He resolved to resist, and began to war against him, but after being defeated in several combats, he at length submitted, but again rebelled, and perished in a miserable manner. His two sons kept on the resistance for some time, but were vanquished and made prisoners, thus leaving Abdu-r-rahman the peaceful master of the Peninsula (760).

This peace was of short duration. Abdu-r-rahman desired to depart for the eastern frontier, where the successes which had attended the preceding disorders naturally called him. The Mussalmans, engaged in their deplorable quarrels, had abandoned the defence of the territories they possessed beyond the Pyrenees; and the Franks were not long in taking possession of the lands conquered by the Arabs, not excepting Narbonne. In this way the mountains once more became the frontiers of Islamism. It was, no doubt, the intention of the Ameer to increase these possessions, but events followed which prevented its fulfilment. The Abbasides were dissatisfied that the throne of Spain should be occupied by a scion of the race of Beni-Ummeyyah. Almansor, the successor of Abu-l-abbas, who had transferred the seat of the empire to Bagdad, ordered the Governor of Africa, Al-ala Ibn Mughith, to labour in reducing the Peninsula to the dominion of the Caliphate And in effect Al-ala passed over to Andalusia. All the malcontents joined him, and this enabled him to take possession of the Gharb, or Western Provinces, while he daily increased his forces by offers of gold and the influence of the name of the Caliph. Abdu-r-rahman, to whom was given the epithet of Ad-dakhel (conqueror or invader), marched against him. In a battle which took place near Seville the Governor of Africa was routed and slain. The remains of the conquered army then divided and formed themselves into bands. These parties

attacked the open places, and even attained to take possession of Seville, which, however, they could not yet defend. Toledo offered a longer resistance, but at length fell also. It was, however, found impossible to stamp out completely the marauders which the long-sustained wars had induced to come over, and which were continually reinforced by the Berbers sent from the Moghreb. This state of affairs lasted nearly ten years; then Abdu-r-rahman was able to gather together the insurgents, and exterminated them in a battle which they were driven to undertake. Once securely settled in the dominion of Spain, the descendant of the Beni-Umeyyas directed all his efforts towards constructing a fleet sufficiently powerful to prevent the Africans from effecting a landing, and to repress any attempts on the part of the malcontents, and of the Christians of Asturias, who had taken advantage of the long-continued dissensions of the Saracens to increase and strengthen their arms.

But a greater danger menaced, not only Abdu-r-rahman, but also Islamism. Karl, the son of Pepin, renowned in history under the name of Charlemagne, was reigning in France and over a large portion of Germany. Some of the Walis of Spain, of the eastern divisions, were discontented with the Ameer of Cordova. These Walis sided with the Prince of the Franks in order to satisfy their political revenge, and even offered him their allegiance should he desire to cross the Pyrenees with an army. Two divisions of the army of Karl traversed the mountains, one of which was commanded by the son of Pepin himself (778). On nearing Pampeluna the Wali of the city, who was a confederate, opened the gates to him. From thence the son of Pepin marched on to Zaragoza, where the second division of Franks had reached. Suleyman Ibn-Arabi, the Wali of the city, and one of the principal agents of this invasion, could no longer deliver it up. His treachery had so irritated the people that they unanimously took to arms and defended Zaragoza. Karl, finding his expectations frustrated, judged that he ought no longer to continue the war in a land whose people had risen as one man to oppose his designs, and he began to retreat, constantly followed by the Saracens. On his return to cross the Pyrenees or Serras through the defiles of Roncesvalles, the Basque, its savage mountain dwellers, descendents of the ancient Iberians, became so excited at the sight of the spoils which the invaders were carrying away with them that they attacked the rear-guard of the army. Some say that this attack was initiated by Lupo, the Duke of Aquitania, who

was an irreconcilable enemy of Karl. From the mountain heights the Basques hurled large blocks of rock down on the Franks, who in that narrow ravine were marching single file, and a fearful slaughter ensued. Although the disastrous ending of this expedition did not altogether restore to the Saracens their conquests in Gallias, nevertheless it prevented for years any attempt on the part of the Franks to recross the Pyrenees; while it served to consolidate permanently the power of Abdu-r-rahman, who, moreover, had no need to take part in the wrestling.

It seemed destined that the Ameer should not enjoy long days of peace. Mohammed Abu-l-aswad, the son of Yusuf who had been in the dungeons of the tower in Cordova, made his escape, and took refuge in the mountains of Jaen, where he very soon gathered together some six thousand malcontents. Abdu-r-rahman at the head of his troops marched against him, and quickly dispersed the insurgents; but it was difficult to bring them to a decided combat, though they at length became totally destroyed.

After these events peace and union reigned in Arab Spain. But Abdu-r-rahman felt that his end was near, and in his latter days directed all his efforts to the peaceful duties of state. He visited Lusitania, whose inhabitants were principally Egyptians and Berbers, and ordered the erection of a large number of temples in the provinces. The renowned Mosque of Cordova, which still exists, was also founded by Abdu-r-rahman. Before his death, he convened all the Walis of the six provinces which composed the Mussalman territory and the Governors of twenty-two of the principal cities, and in his palace at Cordova, in presence of the Wazirs and the Hajib (First Minister), and of the Diwan (Council), declared as his successor his third son Hixam, to the exclusion of his two elder sons, Suleyman and Abdullah, whose characters and dispositions he judged were not suitable to cope with the difficulties of government. Soon after this meeting Abdu-r-rahman died in Merida, at the early age of fifty-nine (787).

When Hixam ascended the throne he found his states at peace. The good name of his father secured him the affection of the people. With the exception of the Asturias, whom the Mussalmans held in little esteem, as an inhospitable, miserable state, the whole of the Peninsula acknowledged his authority. But the fire smouldered beneath the ashes. The Berber race was subjugated by the Arab, and a mutual hatred existed between them. On the other hand,

Suleyman and Abdullah could not brook the thought that they were subject to a younger brother, and it was not long before they rebelled against his authority. After routing and defeating Abdullah he submitted, but Suleyman still continued the war for some time. Forsaken at last by his own partisans, he found himself compelled to seek the clemency of the Ameer, who forgave him on condition that he quitted the Peninsula.

After repressing some minor dissensions, and with the object of occupying the turbulent spirits of his people, and at the same time revive the glory of the Moslem arms, Hixam proclaimed a war against the Christians. Two armies were at once formed. The first, led by Yusuf Ibn Bokht, entered the State of Galicia, which had already become united to the Monarchy of Asturias, and destroyed and sacked all before them. The second division, commanded by the Wazir Abdu-l-malek, proceeded to the Pyrenees, with the object of invading France. Gerona, which had fallen years before into the power of the Franks through the treachery of its inhabitants, was now retaken, and its dwellers put to the sword. After this, Abdu-l-malek marched against Narbonne. At this juncture Ludowig, King of Aquitania and son of Karl the Great, was in Italy with the principal forces of the province. Narbonne was taken and sacked, while its inhabitants shared the same fate as those of Gerona. The Christians were defeated in a battle near Carcasonne, and the Arabs returned to Spain laden with spoils. A fifth part of these spoils belonged to the Ameer. This portion was assigned to finish the magnificent construction of the Mosque of Cordova.

The states of Asturias, which during their early stage were held in such small account by the Saracens, and which later on we find the Arab historians scarcely mention, commenced in the reign of Hixam to command more serious attention. The reason of this was due to the fact, as we shall see farther on, that Alfonso II., a martial, energetic prince, was reigning in that province. In the year following the war of France (793) a body commanded by Abdu-l-kerim marched to destroy the castles erected by the Goths, probably in Bardulia (Old Castille), while Abdu-l-malek attacked Galicia on its western side. At the time a Berber tribe of Takerma were rebelling on the south of the Peninsula, but Abdu-l-Kader, the General sent by Hixam against them, not only reduced but exterminated the race; and the territory remained for years deserted of inhabitants.

The victories gained by the Ameer, joined to his merciful, generous disposition, endeared him to the followers of Islam, but caused him to be feared by his enemies. He promoted the progress of letters and civilisation among the Moslems, as among the Christian Mosarabes; and the science of agriculture was his greatest delight. His approaching death was announced to him by an astrologer, and in consequence he had his son Al-hakem proclaimed successor. The prediction proved correct; he died soon after in the prime of life, beloved and regretted by all as a model prince.

Al-hakem ascended the throne when scarcely twenty-two years of age. He was brave, comely, and clever, but of a stern, choleric temperament. His uncles, Suleyman and Abdullah, had not dared, during the lifetime of Hixam, to take part in any event, but now they judged the time opportune for renewing their former pretensions. Not satisfied with inciting the spirit of rebellion in the provinces of Toledo, Murcia, and Valencia, Suleyman proceeded to the Moghreb to gather together stipendiary troops, while Abdullah went to the Court of the Frankish Emperor to beseech his aid, which he obtained, but the conditions are not known. The Saracen returned to this side of the Pyrenees with Hludowig, the youthful King of Aquitania. All things being ready, the revolution broke out. Abdullah took possession of Toledo and several strongholds; while Suleyman landed on the coast with a body of Africans, and proclaimed himself sovereign. Al-hakem did not lose time or hopes. At the head of his mounted troops he proceeded to Toledo, where Suleyman and Abdullah had already met. On the way the Ameer was apprised that the King of Aquitania had taken possession of Narbonne and Gerona, and crossing the mountains was coming towards the Ebro. He was also told that the Walis of Lerida and Huesca had offered their allegiance to them, and that the Wali of Barcelona had already been to the Court of Karl to ask the great favour of investiture of its government as a defender of the Empire. Al-hakem at once ordered a body of cavalry to join the Wali of Zaragoza. Meanwhile Pampeluna was falling into the hands of the Franks.

On hearing of so many reverses, Al-hakem appointed Amru Kayid of Talavera, and left him to defend Toledo while he proceeded with the flower of his knights towards the frontiers. The presence of Al-hakem changed the aspect of the war. Lerida and Huesca were restored, the Christians compelled to retire, and Barcelona and Gerona surrendered. Then, crossing the Pyrenees, the Ameer retook Narbonne, where he

indulged the ferocity of his character by ordering the defenders of the city to be put to death, and the women and children made captives. The revolution was, nevertheless, progressing in the south of the Peninsula, and spread itself along Toledo, Murcia, and Valencia, although combated with variable fortune by the Walis of Cordova and Merida. The arrival of Al-hakem improved the state of affairs. The rebel troops, gathered from all parts, and more numerous than the army of Al-hakem, were disorganised, and could not resist his martial, well-disciplined troops. On all sides they were defeated and broken up, and the rebels were forced to take refuge in the *serras* of Murcia and Valencia.

Amru was able to retake Toledo. The war continued for some time longer until Suleyman was conquered and dead; Abdullah was put to flight in a decisive battle, but came forward to tender his submission to his nephew, who generously pardoned him and all his partisans.

The ninth century dawned in the midst of these events, and with it arose fresh causes for apprehension. Alfonso II., King of Oviedo, who obtained some advantages from the Arab Kayids placed on the frontiers of Asturias, besought the protection of Karl by sending to Hludowig, King of Aquitania, part of the spoil collected during his raids against the Mussalmans. Bahlul, the General of Al-hakem, who governed the frontiers, banded with the Franks, although his motive for doing so is unknown, and proceeded to facilitate a passage across the mountains. After reconquering the towns and territory of Gallias which Al-hakem had taken possession of, the Franco-Aquitano army entered into the Peninsula. Hludowig took several towns on the southern brow of the mountains, and established a district (Mark) dependent on Aquitania, taking all the necessary precautions to defend it. He garrisoned it, and nominated as its governor a Frankish Marquis (Markgraf) called Borel. Owing to the conquest of Barcelona, which after a long resistance fell into the power of the King of Aquitania, who personally directed the conquest, the kingdoms of Hludowig began, in 802, to acquire a great importance.

Al-hakem, who appeared remiss in succouring Barcelona, proceeded with a numerous army to attack the Aquitanos. Yusuf, son of Amru, Kayid of Talavera, who formerly had quelled the rebellions of Toledo, was then Wali of the city, and had greatly irritated the inhabitants

by the fierceness of his character. The populace rose up against him, but were pacified by the more prudent ones. The Wali endeavoured to wreak his cruelty upon them, and the very ones who had saved him from the populace now arrested him and brought their complaint to the Ameer, explaining why they had arrested him. Al-hakem showed himself indifferent to the result, and removed Yusuf to another administration, nominating Amru to succeed his son. Amru conceived the thought of revenging the insult offered to Yusuf, and began to harass the people in every way. Not satisfied with this, he proceeded further. As Abdu-r-rahman, the son of the Ameer, was passing through Toledo with five thousand horsemen to join the army on the frontiers, Amru invited him to a splendid supper, to which were asked the *élite* of the city. Deceived with the festivities, they fell into the snare. As the guests arrived amid the bustle of the banquet they were conducted to the subterranean chambers of the Alcasar, and there decapitated. Four hundred fell victims to his treachery. Since then the name of Al-hakem, to whose orders this deed is ascribed, became execrated by the Toledans. Soon after this occurrence the Wali of Merida, Esbaa, brother-in-law of Al-hakem, rebelled against him on account of some feud. The Ameer marched against Merida, but a good understanding was established between them through the intervention of Al-Kinza, wife of Esbaa, and sister to the Ameer, and the Ameer forgave the Wali, and even allowed him to continue in his post. The District-Governor of Beja, who also had rebelled, and was proceeding to Lisbon, was routed by the Ameer. Meanwhile Kasim, the son of his uncle Abdullah, warned him to return at once to Cordova. The people of that city, who were ever restless, and moreover dissatisfied with the rigid government of Al-hakem, were taking advantage of his absence to revolt. They thought to find in Kasim, who was a representative of the most ancient line of princes excluded from the succession, a leader who would carry out their scheme. He listened to their proposal, and pretended to enter into their designs, but he proceeded to apprise his uncle of the conspiracy, and even revealed the names of three hundred of the chief conspirators. The Ameer retired to Cordova, and at dawn on the day when it was arranged the rebellion should break out, three hundred heads were found suspended from the turrets of the Alcasar. At the moment when the news of this crime was known, the bloody proof of the retribution appeared.

After these events the attention of Al-hakem was directed to the

obstinate war which the Christians were making, not only in Asturias, which was of less importance, but by the Franco-Aquitanos, which was of greater moment. In 809 an army, consisting of two divisions, left for Barcelona. One division, personally conducted by Hludowig, went against Tortosa; and the other, commanded by Borel, Markgraf of Gothia—a name given to the Frankish district on this side of the Pyrenees—and by Bera, Count of Barcelona, proceeded to the margins of the Ebro, and joined the troops of the King of Aquitania on the ramparts of Tortosa. The youthful Abdu-r-rahman, son and successor to the Ameer, and who already served in this war, marched jointly with the Wali of Valencia to fight against the besiegers, and compelled them to raise the siege and retreat to Barcelona, from whence Hludowig departed to the other side of the Pyrenees. Meanwhile the Christians of Asturias, who probably were in league with the Franks, descended their mountains, crossed the Douro, and laid waste the north of Lusitania. Al-hakem sallied forth to meet them, defeated the Asturian troops which had advanced close upon Lisbon, but was unable to subjugate completely the Galicians of Braga, who constantly made attempts, but without coming to a decisive battle.

The attention of the Ameer was now drawn to a more serious danger. A new expedition of Aquitanos was leaving Barcelona against Tortosa, and ended with the same result as the former one. But Al-hakem, troubled by the Christians of the West, and fearing lest the repeated attempts of Karl, whose name was now renowned throughout the world, should prove fatal to Mussalman Spain, sent envoys to the court of Aquisgran proposing a truce, which was accepted. About this time (812) the war with the King of Asturias (Alfonso II.) ceased. The Ameer then abdicated in favour of his son Abdu-r-rahman, and delivered up to him the duties of government, while he himself retired to his Alcasar to rest amid delights. The youthful Ameer had already signally distinguished himself by his martial spirit and bravery during the preceding engagements. The ex-Ameer, who hitherto had been so punctual and assiduous in performing his duties, now gave himself up to licentiousness and banquets, at which, against the laws of the Koran, flowed strong wines. A part of the tributes collected were spent in these dissolute feasts, while the indignation of the people against Al-hakem daily increased. He was surrounded by a body-guard of five thousand men composed of Christian Mosarabes and slaves, which on the smallest suspicion he would sentence to death. During one of these executions

the people of one of the districts mutinied and attacked the guards of the Ameer, whom they compelled to retire into the Alcasar. Al-hakem felt his old courage revive. Heedless of the pleadings of his son Abdu-r-rahman and of the Wazirs, he placed himself at the head of his guards and furiously assailed the mob. The people fled in terror back to their district, where they attempted to resist him, and blood flowed in streams. Three hundred heads were nailed to posts along the river shore. For three days the district was sacked, the inhabitants all expelled, and the town levelled to the ground. After wandering about, these hapless people after some time settled in Toledo, while a few crossed over to the Moghreb and helped to populate Fez, a city which was being founded under the auspices of the Ameer Idris Ibn Idris.

The voice of conscience, however, avenged the terrible deed carried out under the influence of wrath by the Ameer. From that time a furious madness took possession of Al-hakem, and its paroxysms ended in a profound melancholy. After four years of great moral and physical suffering, this prince, whose ending was as dark as his early years had been brilliant, died a slow, painful death after a reign of twenty-six years (822). Then his son, Abdu-r-rahman, ascended the throne, which he had virtually filled since he was acknowledged heir during the life of his ill-fated father. Abdu-r-rahman was surnamed Al-modhaffer (the victorious). He was an indomitable warrior, but gentle and merciful in peace, and ever ready to protect the weak and the lowly. To these moral gifts he united intellect and education, and the physical ones of a handsome figure and comely countenance. Scarcely had he been acclaimed Ameer than his prowess was called anew into action. The aged Abdullah, uncle to Al-hakem, still survived, and lived in Tangiers. When he heard of the death of his nephew, he was fired anew with the ambition of reigning, and, mustering all the men he could, crossed the sea. He entered the Peninsula, and as he proceeded on his march declared himself Ameer. Abdu-r-rahman at once sallied out to meet him, broke up his forces, and compelled him to retire towards Valencia. Persecuted and driven towards the sea, Abdullah resisted for some time in the capital, but at length convinced of the futility of his attempt, a reconciliation was effected with Abdu-r-rahman through the intervention of his own sons, who had continued faithful to the Ameer. Then, in order to gratify the old man's ambition, the prince granted him the Governorship of Murcia for life, a post he held for two years.

Delivered from the anxiety of these domestic wars, the Ameer was able to turn his attention to remedying the reverses sustained in the interval on the Christian frontiers, more particularly on the Frankish side. The Counts of Aquitania had effected an inroad into the Mussalman territory, where they left deep traces of their passage. Abdu-r-rahman marched towards Barcelona, which he placed in a state of seige for a time. The Arab historians say he took possession of it, but the Christian chroniclers doubt this assertion. From thence he proceeded to Urgel, which fell into his hands; the enemy was defeated on all sides, and forced to take refuge on the mountains. Satisfied with these triumphs, he returned to Cordova. At this juncture he received a proposition from the Basque, a race which had never bowed to any yoke, to form an alliance against the Franks. The powerful Ameer accepted the proposal, which proved a useful alliance. An army of Aquitanos entered as far as Pampeluna, and, attacked by the generals on the frontiers, and by the new allies of the sovereign of Cordova, were destroyed in the ravines. One of the chiefs of this expedition was taken captive and conducted to the capital with a great number of prisoners.

While this war took place Abdu-r-rahman was sending his cousin Obeydullah Ibnu-l-balensi against the Asturians. The raids effected by Alfonso II. had seriously disturbed the Mussalmans. According to Arab historians, the war waged by Obeydullah was attended by happy results, and compelled the King of Oviedo to take refuge in the defiles of the mountains and in fortified places.

Scarcely, however, had the Saracen general returned to the capital than the Christians sallied out from their hiding-places and renewed the attacks on the territories of the Ameer, and compelled him to sustain a perpetual war against this indomitable, restless people, whose raids and devastations were a presage of the lightning-flashes which later on would strike down and destroy the Mussalman Empire in the Peninsula.

On this occasion Aizon, a Gothic Count, had rebelled against Hludowig, who, after the death of Charlemagne, had succeeded to the Frankish throne. Aizon had taken possession of some territorial boundaries of the Saracens, and sought the aid of Abdullah against Hludowig. Arab troops were already on the road to aid him, and the Ameer was preparing to follow to take the command in person, when an unforeseen circumstance altered his plans. This prince was liberal

to excess. On all sides he multiplied works and erected sumptuous buildings, and rendered the capital splendid. Not satisfied with this, he lavished upon all who contributed to his pleasures the enormous sums of money which daily poured into the State coffers through heavy taxations. The people grew weary of these exactions, and became discontented. Hludowig was aware of this, as is proved by a letter to the people of Merida inciting them to rebellion. The inhabitants of the capital of ancient Lusitania were principally Christian Mostárabes, who were greatly irritated by this taxation. The revolution broke out in Merida. At the head was one Mohammed, formerly a collector of taxes dismissed by the Ameer. The houses of the Wazirs, or Ministers, were attacked and destroyed, while the people flew to arms to prevent devastation. By order of Abdu-r-rahman, the garrison of Toledo and the troops stationed along the Gharb came to besiege the rebels. The Ameer, fearing lest this wealthy and populous city should be destroyed, were he to allow the armed forces to enter in, decided not to attack those inside, but to confine them by encircling the walls closely. Within the besieged city discontent began to reign, and at length the city was delivered up through treachery, while Mohammed and some of the ringleaders saved themselves.

But the same causes of discontent existed in other places besides Merida, and the luckless issue of this first attempt did not discourage the people irritated by this oppression. Toledo followed the example set by Merida. The ancient capital of the Monarchy of the Visigoths was principally peopled by Christian Mozarabes and rich Jews, and among them was soon found a leader in the person of Hixam Al-atibi, one of the most opulent young men of Toledo. Money and arms were soon distributed, and the Moorish guards of the Alcasar suborned. The revolution then broke out. The Wali was then absent from the city, but as soon as he knew of the outbreak he sent word to Abdu-r-rahman, who, without loss of time, sent his son Umeyyah against Toledo. Meanwhile the rebels garrisoned the city with their less experienced soldiers, and proceeded to sally out and meet the troops sent to repress them. Fortune favoured the Toledans, which encouraged them to continue the rebellion. This state of discord lasted three years, during which Umeyyah was unable to obtain any decisive advantage against the Toledans, until the latter fell into a snare laid for them near the river Alberche, and a great number perished. The fugitives took refuge in Toledo, which, in spite of the repulse, they continued to defend,

The Wali of Merida came with his men to assist Umeyyah, and they obtained a signal victory. The fugitive Mohammed had collected some forces in the district of Lisbon, and aware of the absence of the Wali of Merida, and, moreover, that the city was insufficiently defended, proceeded to the capital. By degrees his followers introduced themselves into the city, and he was able to effect an entrance and took possession of Merida. When this became known, Abdu-r-rahman in person marched with his men and came to Merida, where at first he met with an active resistance, but at length the rebels were forced to yield, and the Ameer took possession of the city, out of which once again the rebel Mohammed was able to escape.

Notwithstanding the example of Merida, Toledo still resisted. For the space of nine years the dexterous Hixam preserved the city independent of the Ameer, resisting all the generals which the latter sent against him, and even destroying whole forces. At length, reduced and driven with his men to occupy solely the town itself, and being wounded, he fell into the hands of the Wali Abdu-l-ruf, who directed the siege, and reduced Toledo to the last extremity. The Wali ordered Hixam to be decapitated, and took possession of the city.

The death of Hixam put an end to the revolution, and the sway of Abdu-r-rahman remained undisputed. The news of peace filled with joy the spirits of those who already were weary of this continued civil war; but the martial spirit of the Ameer did not allow him a long rest. The troops of the Gharb received orders to proceed to the holy war against the King of Galicia (as the Saracens denominated the Monarch of Asturias), and the troops of Axarkia, or of the east, to attack the Christians from the land of the Franks. These wars, which caused so many ravages on both sides, were sustained by the Mussalmans rather with the object of preserving the troops in good martial order than for glory, or to extend their dominions, which were already becoming narrowed.

At this juncture appeared on the coasts of the Peninsula, for the first time, new and unexpected enemies for the Christian as well as for Mahommedan Spain. These were the Normans. Those barbarians of Jutland, who left the Baltic in fragile barques, were already spreading terror along the shores of England and France. Crossing the Bay of Biscay, they came to visit with robberies and death and desolation the maritime parts of the Peninsula.

When the Normans attempted to land in Corunna (853), Ramiro I., who was then reigning in Oviedo, sent against them forces which repulsed them and destroyed some of their barques. Meeting with no success with the Christians, they followed the sea coast towards the Gharb. Fifty-four Scandinavian pirates entered the Tagus and effected a landing at the mouth of the river, devastating the outskirts of Lisbon. From thence they continued their terrible voyage, going from place to place sacking all the open spots, and even dared to ascend the Guadalquivir up to Seville, which they partly destroyed. Repulsed by the people of the adjacent lands, who had all collected together to resist the incursion, they sallied forth again before they were captured by a squadron of fifteen war-ships sent by Abdu-r-rahman to hinder their progress. The pirates then returned by the same way they came, and continued to assault the coasts of the Gharb, meanwhile that Abdu-r-rahman sent orders to the Kayids of Santarem and Coimbra to garrison the shores and beach, and drive away these disagreeable visitors, against whose sudden assaults resistance nearly always arrived too late. Convinced that the only way to destroy the Normans was by sea, Abdu-r-rahman ordered the construction of a fleet in Cadiz, Carthagena, and Toledo, intrusting the naval affairs to his son Yacub, and taking every precaution possible to succour promptly any part assailed by the Normans.

From that time Abdu-r-rahman turned his attention to adorning Cordova and other cities with useful and superb buildings. When sixty years of age he had his son Mohammed proclaimed successor, and soon after died, esteemed for his active character, cultured mind, a valiant captain, and the most illustrious Ameer who had as yet ruled Moslem Spain.

Mohammed was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne, and was endowed with similar gifts to his father. Desirous of adding lustre to the Saracen arms, he ordered the Walis of Merida and of Zaragoza to attack respectively the Christians of Galicia and the Franks. His plans, however, were frustrated by the ever-turbulent spirit of his subjects.

Musa Ibn Zeyad, a renegade Christian and Wali of Zaragoza, and his son the Wali of Toledo, had been, it was said, dismissed by the Ameer. A desire of revenge induced them to seek an alliance with the Christians, which when once secured, they mutinied in their respective districts, and took possession of many important cities,

establishing a kind of independent government, which included the territories of Zaragoza, Tudela, Huesca, and Toledo, and extended to one-third of the Peninsula. While Lupo or Lopia Ibn Musa, the son of Ibn Zeyad, was collecting forces in Toledo to resist Mohammed, his father dared to wage war against the Franks. In consequence of this, Musa allied with Navarre, a kingdom founded in the ancient Province of Aquitania on this side of the Pyrenees, and over which the successors of Karl, or Charlemagne, had assumed a dominion, which the new allies of Musa opposed. The latter passed over the mountains and ravaged the south of Gallias with such success that the Franks were forced to offer him terms of peace.

Meanwhile the Ameer proceeded on to Toledo, and although he caught the enemies in a snare laid for them and there was a great slaughter, he was unable to reduce the city, and retired to Cordova, leaving his son Al-mundhir, who had just entered the profession of arms, to continue the siege.

The siege continued for a long time; but the aid which Musa Ibn Zeyad afforded Lupo or Lopia compelled the generals of the Ameer to raise the siege. The civil war was prolonged. At length Musa was overthrown by Ordoño I. in a fierce battle which took place near Clavijos, a battle due to the arrogant Wali having ventured to enter the territories of the King of Asturias to found in the Rioja the Castle of Albayada, and this engagement so weakened him that he was forced with the remnants of his army to retire to Zaragoza, while Toledo capitulated, and Lopia was compelled to seek aid from the conqueror of his father to succour him against Mohammed, and was constrained to seek an asylum in the land of his new ally.

Soon after the submission of Toledo, the Normans, a second time repelled from the coasts of Galicia which they attempted to infest, renewed their attempts to enter along the sea-coast of Mussalman Spain. After causing great havoc, and driven by the cavalry of the Ameer, they re-embarked, and proceeded to spread the terror of their name on the shores of Africa, the Balearic Islands, and even as far as the Sea of Greece. Then, laden with spoils, they dared to return to winter on the coasts of the Peninsula, from whence they went back to Scandinavia in the spring.

Meanwhile the King of Oviedo, encouraged by the victory in Clavijos, proceeded towards the south-east to reduce to arms Coria, Salamanca, and other towns. Mohammed, disquieted by the progress

of the Christians, sent against them a large army commanded by Al-mundhir, who encountered them on the shores of the Douro, and, according to Arab historians, broke them up. From thence Al-mundhir marched to the eastern frontier, or the land of the Franks, where, after obtaining new successes against the Christians, he retired to Cordova. There was no respite of combats between the two inimical races. Ordoño made an onset to the south of Lisbon. The Ameer, in revenge, invaded Galicia with the troops of Andalusia, and proceeded as far as Santiago. But very quickly did the civil war prevent him from continuing his inroads on the Christians. Disturbances and revolutions, it appears, had taken place in the eastern provinces, and part of the forces of the Ameer were directed to combating the insurgents. These frequent eruptions were unavoidable in Mussalman Spain, where a deficiency existed of political institutions sufficiently strong to maintain a social union. The mutual aversions springing from the diversities of races, not only of Arabs and Berbers, but between these and the Christian Mozarabes (the natural enemies of these two classes of conquerors), separated by a diversity of origin, belief, and the subjection of a conquered people. The narrative of the civil wars which arose during the last years of the reign of Mohammed as Ameer is told by Arab historians in such a confused manner that it would be impossible to verify their statements within the narrow limits of this sketch without falling into grave errors. It seems, however, certain that at this juncture commenced the first attempts at revolution initiated by Omar Ibn Hafssun, the renowned general who played so conspicuous a part in the Peninsula during the reign of Al-mundhir.

As soon as these civil disturbances would permit it, Mohammed directed his forces against the Christians in the kingdom of Asturias, whose importance and power was daily increasing. The death of Ordoño I. aroused internal contentions, which the Saracens took advantage of. A fleet was despatched to the coast of Galicia, while the Walis on the frontier were diverting the attention of the Christians. The attempt, however, failed, owing to a terrific tempest, which wrecked the Saracen fleet on reaching the mouth of the Minho. Alfonso III., who was already reigning peacefully in Asturias, drew courage from this event to invade the Mussalman territories, took Salamanca, and besieged Coria. Repelled by the Saracens, who effected an entry into Galicia, they were, however, destroyed at a turn of a narrow defile with great loss of life. Alfonso III. proceeded anew towards the

south, and took possession of the more important cities of the modern Province of Beira. The forces of the Ameer had been divided, owing to the Wali of Zaragoza having rebelled, and a brother of his made himself master of Tudela. The prince Al-mundhir, who marched against them, could not obtain any decisive advantage, and meanwhile the turbulent Toledans acclaimed as Wali, Abdullah, son of Lopia, their former chief in the past disturbances. The political horizon was dismal indeed for the Ameer. Musa, the Wali of Zaragoza, was assassinated by his own partisans, while Abdullah, vainly expecting assistance from the King of Oviedo who felt he was insufficiently prepared to resist the forces sent against him, fled, leaving the Toledans to the mercy of Mohammed, who generously forgave them.

The unsuccessful attempt against the Christians of Asturias, added to famine and the pestilence which at the time was devastating the Peninsula, induced the Ameer to hold a truce with Alfonso III., but hardly had the term expired than the latter invaded farther than the Christians had ever reached—that is to say, to Sierra Morena. There he broke up the forces which opposed him, and subjugated various towns of modern Portugal, and then retired to his States. These triumphs were mainly due to the disturbed condition of Mussalman Spain. The rebel Omar Ibn Hafssun was actively labouring to muster together both Mosarabes and Christians. The news of the progress effected by the Asturian arms compelled the Ameer to turn his attention to that frontier, leaving the punishment of Omar Ibn Hafssun to Al-mundhir, and to Abu-Abdullah, the celebrated chief of the former revolution, and who attempted, and in fact was, re-instated in the favour of Mohammed. This able but turbulent soldier had almost concluded putting down the rebellion, when, disappointed of obtaining the post of Wali of Zaragoza, he, with the city, rebelled and joined the partisans of Hafssun, against whom he had formerly fought. Al-mundhir then marched against him; but unable to effect the surrender of Zaragoza, he contented himself with attacking Alava and Old Castille, provinces which were already in the possession of the King of Oviedo. Meeting with a resolute resistance from the Counts who defended that frontier, he proceeded against Leon; but apprised that Alfonso III. awaited him on vantage-ground, the prince retreated to Cordova, desolating some of the towns on his way.

The war between Christians and Saracens was long and active. Both desired peace, more particularly Mohammed, who was harassed

by the rebellion of Abu-Abdullah. He made proposals of peace to the King of Asturias, which were accepted, a truce being held in Cordova between Mohammed and the envoys of Alfonso III. (833). But if the Mussalman and the Christian rested awhile from their combats, the clangour of their arms did not cease. Omar Ibn Hafssun, allied to Abu-Abdullah, was an adversary strong, and capable of offering a protracted resistance against the government of Cordova. After three years of skirmishes and encounters the forces of Mohammed were broken up in a battle, and its commander Abdu-l-hamed taken prisoner, leaving the insurgents, for a time at least, secure.

In the midst of these wrestlings the year 876 commenced, which was to see the death of Mohammed, who, besides the good name he left behind, as well as his father the Ameer, was lamented for his high reputation as a talented poet, a gift highly valued by the Arabs, and a clever caligrapher, a gift no less esteemed by them. He possessed a deep knowledge of the exact sciences, and was a consummate orator. The continued wars and perturbed state of Spain were the only causes which prevented him from promoting the progress of civilisation as from his talents would be expected of him.

Two years previous to his death, Al-mundhir had been declared successor to the throne. The long service which he had rendered to Spanish Islamism and to the Ameer fully entitled him to this reward. From his earliest years, it might be truly said, he was clothed in mail. And now that he was raised to the Ameership it was not granted to him to rest from his past fatigues. During this time Omar Ibn Hafssun succeeded in removing the obstacles existing between him and the other insurgent chiefs. In this way he was able to employ the united forces under his obedience, and which daily increased. At the head of ten thousand knights, besides foot-soldiers, he proceeded towards Toledo, where he secretly had made friends. The inhabitants, ever seeking new excitements, received him with demonstrations of joy. Al-mundhir apprehended the danger of daring attempts on the part of Omar, who already styled himself Ameer, and ordered the garrisons of Andalusia and Merida to join together, sending before them, against Toledo, Hixam, with the flower of his cavalry. The rebel, fearing a long, unequal combat from his well-disciplined guards, resorted to deceit. He proposed a truce to enable him to retire into private life, engaging to deliver up Toledo, and showing signs of repentance for the

attempts. Hixam joined in persuading the Ameer to accept the proposal, and, in fact, Omar quitted the city, pretending to forsake it altogether; while he, meantime, left all things prepared for carrying out his designs. Leaving the troops of the Ameer to garrison Toledo, the hajīb returned to Cordova. He had scarcely left than Ibn Hafssun returned, and assisted by his confederates, who had remained concealed within the city, he retook Toledo, and also the neighbouring castles which had been abandoned. The news of this event cost Hixam his life, and his two sons their liberty, because Al-mundhir, who had never felt any predilection for the old minister of Mohammed, now accused him of complicity with the rebels. The Ameer then in person marched against Omar; but the latter had distributed his troops at all the castles and fortified places of which he was now master. With varied success this war was prolonged for over a year, until Al-mundhir was slain when assaulting the Castle of Bixter, or Zobaxter, one of the greatest strongholds possessed by Hafssun (888). Thus ended the sixth Ameer of Spain of the race of Beni-Umeyyas in an inglorious combat, and after only two years' reign.

Abdullah, brother of Al-mundhir, who was in the army, at once proceeded to Cordova, where he was acclaimed Ameer without meeting any opposition. One of his first acts was to liberate the sons of Hixam, who had been unjustly punished, and he entrusted to them important charges. This proceeding occasioned new dissensions to break out, and this time in the very bosom of his own family. His own son, who was a personal enemy to the sons of Hixam, leagued himself to his brother Al-asbagh, and their uncle Al-kasim, against the Ameer. The latter, apprised of the plot, sent Abdu-r-rahman Al-modhaffer or Al-mutref, another son of his, to labour in reducing the rebels. The attempt proved a useless one. Mohammed rose up with the Province of Jaen at the same time as the Ameer was marching against Ibn Hafssun, and routing him close to the margins of the Tagus, severed the communication between the two flying corps of the insurgents and Toledo, and narrowed the circle of the siege. He then received the news of the unsuccessful mission of Abdu-r-rahman, and likewise of the two seditions which had burst out in Lisbon and Merida. In the midst of these conflicts Abdullah did not lose courage. A fleet was sent to the Tagus commanded by the Wazir Abu Othman, while he himself proceeded with an army of forty thousand men to Merida, which he reduced to obedience. Apprised of

the rising in Jaen; he then marched towards it, destroyed the troops which came out to oppose him, and took possession of Jaen. Leaving Abdu-r-rahman Al-modhaffer in charge to disperse the remaining partisans of Mohammed, he went to Toledo to strengthen the siege. The combat between the brothers was long, but he who fought for his father caught his brother and uncle in an engagement. The captive prince did not long survive his imprisonment by his brother, who, it is said, poisoned him. A portion of the conquered fled to the mountains, and the rest went to swell the ranks of Omar.

Omar sustained an obstinate resistance against the Ameer, and the war was prolonged in spite of all the efforts of Abdullah. The ranks of the son of Hafssun were daily strengthened, and assuming an importance which was increasing.

One of the Generals of Omar called Ahmed felt himself sufficiently powerful to attack the King of Oviedo, who, since the time of Mohammed, had been at peace with the government of Cordova. Alfonso III. defeated Ahmed in a sanguinary battle near Zamora, and advanced against Toledo with no better success than Abdullah. These events, which united in closer bonds the fellowship between Oviedo and Cordova, and from which it might appear good results would accrue to the Ameer, only, however, engendered evils. The enemies of Abdullah took religion as an occasion to promote popular discontent against him. They accused him of being a bad Mussálman on account of his alliance with the Christians, which gave them the opportunity of spilling the blood of the true believers. This accusation had the desired effect. Symptoms of sedition began to appear. They spoke of refusing to pay tributes, and Kasim, the rebel uncle of Abdullah, whom he had forgiven, was already inciting the people of Seville to disobedience. The Ameer then ordered him to be taken prisoner and poisoned, and had the chiefs of the rebellion banished from Seville. Meanwhile Omar did not rest, and the war grew fierce between his own partisans and those of Abdullah. Defeated by the Wali Abu Othman, he retired to Toledo, where the forces of the Ameer had not ventured to attack for three years. Prince Al-modhaffer, who had succeeded in pacifying the districts of the south, now besought the post of governing Merida, held by Abu Othman, with the intention of infusing spirit into the war of Toledo. The aged Wali acceded promptly, but nevertheless the thorn of ill-will against his successor rankled within. Nominated Captain of the Guards of the Alcasar in Cordova, he unceasingly laboured

to induce Abdullah against the interests of Al-modhaffer, to name as his successor the youthful Abdu-r-rahman, son of the Prince Mohammed who died in prison. He had been brought up by his grandfather, who bore him great affection on account of his moral gifts and the intellectual powers which dowered him. Abu Othman succeeded in his wishes. Feeling that his death was approaching, Abdullah summoned Al-modhaffer to agree to the election of his nephew. Whether through generosity of heart, or from remorse for having poisoned his brother, the prince not only consented, but moreover promised to protect and defend the new Ameer as his own son. Soon after this event Abdullah died (912), and Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Mohammed, in accordance with the wishes of his grandfather, was acclaimed, being then in the twenty-second year of his age. He was the third of the name of Abdu-r-rahman, and Arab superstition drew from this circumstance presages that the youth would equal in glory his two illustrious predecessors of the same name. The hopes reposed in him induced the Mussalmans to invest him with the title of *Amir-al-Mumenim* (Prince of Believers), a title which belonged to the Caliphs of Bagdad and to the Ameers of Spain. Shortly after was superadded that of *Imaum* (Pontiff), which, added to his other title, was equal to being called Caliph, or Supreme Chief, religiously and politically, of Islamism. This proves that the decadence of the Beni-Umeyyahs was beginning to be felt. And, in truth, while civil wars were multiplying, and threatened to destroy the union of the Mussalman Empire in Spain, the Christian Monarchy of Asturias was gaining ground and strength to the point of effectually combating against those who, but a century earlier, had held her with no greater esteem than as a despicable association of miserable adventurers.

The first business the Caliph attended to was putting down the revolution of Omar. Forty thousand men, picked from among those who had volunteered to take part in this affair, accompanied Al-modhaffer and his nephew to the district of Toledo. The castles fortified by the enemy all fell successively into his power, but the ancient capital of the Goths resisted. Omar, meanwhile, was approaching with an army which exceeded in numbers that of the Caliph. Al-modhaffer went out to meet him, and a battle ensued. The two armies fought valiantly, and for a long time the victory was undecided, but at length Abdu-r-rahman won the day, the battle-field being covered with ten thousand slain. The fugitive Omar took refuge in Hins-Conca.

The youthful Caliph returned to Cordova, and Al-modhaffer continued unrelentlessly to pursue the partisans of the Hafssuns.

The partisans of Omar were principally Berbers, and were numerous enough to offer a long resistance to Abdu-r-rahman. After meeting with several repulses, and when Zaragoza had already submitted, Omar ventured to propose to Abdu-r-rahman to allow him to reign in peace over the eastern frontiers, which he would defend against the Christians, while he, on his part, would deliver up Toledo, with all the strongholds and places which were under his authority along the west of Spain. The Caliph indignantly rejected these proposals, declaring to the envoys of Ibn Hafssun that the only manner of obtaining peace would be by a speedy submission. This reply induced the rebel to draw new strength, and he desperately continued to defend himself until his death. He left two sons, Jafer and Suleyman, who, inheriting their father's energy and martial spirit, continued to wage war against Al-modhaffer, who took upon himself to conduct this war. Disturbances rose up in the district of Jaen, due not only to the turbulent spirit of the people, but also to the exactions and taxes and to the undisciplined condition of the soldiers. To these evils were added famine and pestilence, which were desolating Africa and Spain. All these adverse circumstances and evils seemed to belie the hopes which the election of Abdu-r-rahman had inspired, but at length the situation began to improve. The disturbances in Jaen were put down, and the Toledans, driven to despair by one of the longest sieges known in history, and seeing their neighbouring districts all destroyed, and they themselves forsaken by Jafer who had shared and borne with them so many trials, at length threw open the city gates to the Caliph (927). He took possession of the capital, and generously pardoned the inhabitants.

But while the Caliph was sustaining these civil wars the Christians of Oviedo and Navarre continued the wars against him, and the Moslem arms were not always victorious. In another part of this history we shall have occasion to consider the military successes which occurred during the reign of Ordoño II.

By the death of Ordoño, the Christians, who were themselves engaged in domestic dissensions, were precluded from rigorously prosecuting the Saracens, although they effected some raids into the enemy's territory whenever their internal disturbances allowed them to direct their forces against them. The same occurred with the

Mussalmans. It appears that Abdu-r-rahman was not very willing to combat the Christians, whose indomitable valour and ferocity rendered them formidable foes, and whose territories, moreover, were not considered sufficiently rich or cultivated to afford the Mussalmans rich spoils with which to indemnify themselves for the robberies and damages effected by the Christians in the Mussalman States, which were more opulent and cultivated. For this reason Ramiro felt himself secure on his throne, and continued to follow the policy of his two predecessors, Alfonso III. and Ordoño II. His first care was to form an army sufficiently strong to inspire terror in the States of Abdu-r-rahman. He then effected an unexpected entry as far as Magerit (Madrid), which he laid waste, and returned unscathed to Leon. The success of this undertaking was mainly due to the fact that the attention of the Caliph was drawn away to other affairs, which we shall briefly narrate, in order that the reader may comprehend the events which followed.

The reader who has patiently followed us in the narrative of the series of revolutions which Spain suffered from the date of the Arab Conquest, will perceive that the weakness and want of harmony of the political institutions founded on the false or incomplete doctrines of the Koran, the diversity of races united by the one moral bond of a common belief, and the unlimited despotism of the supreme powers were the primary causes of the violent state of the social body, the continued agitation of which causes on the spirit a kind of vertigo.

We have seen nought else pass before our mental view during the last two centuries but rebellion, battles, dismemberment of States, following one another rapidly. We see civilisation proving insufficient to oppose barriers to these disorders, which are daily renewed, transported, multiplied, and taking every change of aspect and seeking new pretexts. The scene which Spain presented to us is reproduced in Africa and repeated in Asia; indeed, wherever the sectaries of the Prophet carried the Moslem faith, and the organisation founded on that belief. While Christianity was laying the basis of peace and order amid the semi-barbarian and ferocious people of the West who adored the God of Calvary, the Mahommed people of the East, who were far more civilised, were retrograding towards barbarism and dissolution, beneath the shadow of the blood-stained standard of Islamism.

The Moghreb, or Western Africa, had been likewise the theatre of

events similar to those enacted in the Peninsula. As the particulars of these events do not enter into the plan of this work, it will suffice to state that about this epoch a powerful empire was founded on the ruins of a former one which the blast of political storms had laid waste. This was the Empire of the Beni-Idris; the other, the Fatimitas. Since remote ages the Beni-Umeyyas of Cordova were allied with the Idrisitas by a common identity of blood and interests. Abdu-r-rahman viewed with anxiety the progress of Obeydullah, the chief of the Fatimitas, who had already assumed the title of Imaum or Amir-al-Mumenim. The Spanish Caliph was seeking a pretext for effecting a rupture, and the opportunity soon came. The partisans of the Idrisitas, who still retained some of the sea coast, besought the aid of Abdu-r-rahman, who promised to accord it, asking as surety the cities of Ceuta and Tangiers, which were actually delivered up, and which he garrisoned, at the same time sending a fleet to the coast of Africa, and a powerful army to oppose the captains of Obeydullah. These reinforcements were, however, useless to re-establish the Beni-Idris, because the Monarch of Cordova had in view his own interests, or rather his own stability, in waging war against the Fatimitas. Musa, one of their generals, held the command of the government of Fez, the centre of the Moghreb-al-aksa (central Moghreb) and of the ancient dominions of the Idrisitas. The Spanish Caliph had found a means of attaching him to himself, and through his intervention in a short time he was acknowledged sovereign of all that part of Africa (932), thus deriding those who had afforded him such an easy conquest.

Three parties now disputed the dominion of the Moghreb—the partisans of Obeydullah, those of Abdu-r-rahman, and the representatives of the ancient dynasty of Idris. Fez was successively taken by each of these parties, and acknowledged the rule of Abdu-r-rahman during the last years of his reign, and which he transmitted to his son and successor, Al-hakem, along with the Caliphate.

The destruction of Madrid by the King of Leon roused the indignation of the Mussalmans. They mustered together in great numbers, and effected an entry into Castille, carrying desolation and devastation wherever they went. Count Fernando Gonsalves, who then governed the province, sought and obtained the aid of Ramiro, who at once joined him, and both marched against the Mussalmans, and defeated them close to Osma. As at this time the strength of the forces of the Caliph was engaged across the sea, the triumph of Ramiro was rendered

easier to win, and helped to kindle the spirit of rebellion among the Saracens. The Wali of Santarem, who felt he had ample cause of complaint against Abdu-r-rahman for having put to death his brother, the Wazir Mohammed Ibn Isak, now rose up in rebellion, but not feeling equal to combating single-handed against the sovereign, he, with the principal nobles of the Gharb, besought aid from the King of Leon. On the plea of aiding him, Ramiro took advantage to effect an entry into the territories of the south, which he devastated, and then retired laden with spoils. The aged Al-modhaffer, who still survived, then entered with a body of cavalry into Galicia, while the Caliph, who was preparing to level a tremendous blow to the Leonese power which stood in his way, soon followed, heading a more serious attempt by marching against the Christian king with a force of one hundred thousand men. Ramiro did not hesitate to meet the enemy near Simancas, when a fearful battle took place, and where it appears the Saracens did not fare best. This battle, however, did not prove a decisive one. The uncertain events which followed this attempt, and the retirement to Cordova of Abdu-r-rahman, at least proved that his hopes and designs were frustrated. In one word, the cities on the frontiers which the King of Leon had lost during the first onslaught of the Mussalmans were soon after restored to his dominion.

The strife between these two inimical races still continued, but with no material difference to influence the political situation of the Leonese and the Saracens. At length, weary of these ravages, Abdu-r-rahman and Ramiro concluded a treaty of peace for the term of five years (944). On the expiration of this term the King of Leon effected an entry as far as Talavera, near which he destroyed the forces that came out to oppose him. In revenge for this outrage, the Caliph in the following year invaded Galicia; his adversary, being on his death-bed, was unable to oppose him. And, in truth, Abdu-r-rahman required to be released from such a harsh assailant, since new civil disturbances were arising within the bosom of his family. He had elected his eldest son Al-hakem to be the successor, and had even received the oath of allegiance from his subjects, who acknowledged him, when his second son Abdullah took umbrage. This prince was ambitious, and considered himself possessed of higher talents and in every way superior to his brother. Taking advantage of his popularity, and the right possessed by the sovereigns of the house of Beni-Umeyyas to elect their successors independent of the law of primo-

geniture, he decided to oppose his brother. Instigated by one Ibn Abdi-l-barr, a shrewd, covetous man, Abdullah commenced to form a party in order to dispute the crown at the death of his father. These plots reached the ears of the Caliph. With the advice of Al-modhaffer, who still continued to influence public affairs, Abdullah ordered that his son and Ibn Abdi-l-barr be arrested. The latter committed suicide in prison, and Abdullah was sentenced to be beheaded (949). The father turned a deaf ear to the pleadings of Al-hakem, whose natural affection prompted him to forgive the attempt, and to his own promptings as a parent to save his life, but who judged that State reasons, and the fear of future disturbances in the kingdom, precluded him from granting a reprieve. To this fearful tragedy was added the death of Al-modhaffer, which took place soon after this event, and which increased the deep melancholy which already filled the soul of Abdu-r-rahman on account of the fearful punishment visited on his son.

The truce of peace was now ended, and from all the mosques resound again the summons to join in the *djihed*, or holy war. These wars had as yet assumed no greater importance than frequent raids and entries, and one encounter of greater moment near Talavera, a town which Ramiro II. unsuccessfully attacked, although he defeated in its neighbourhood a body of Saracen troops. The death of the King of Leon, and the subsequent successes against the Christians, prevented these for some time from devastating the territories of the Caliphate. On the other hand, the Mussalmans took advantage of this to penetrate into Galicia, whose wealth was beginning to be more valued, and might indemnify them for the losses they had sustained.

Ordoño III., who firmly secured the crown of Leon, which had been so disputed, took revenge for the damage done to his subjects, by invading the Gharb, penetrating as far as the mouth of the Tagus, and took Lisbon, although he abandoned it after sacking the city. He then returned to Galicia laden with spoils. This proceeding encouraged reprisals from the Saracens against Castille, where they effected great inroads. Meanwhile the Mussalman arms had obtained considerable advantages in Africa, and they had concluded to subject the greater part of Mauritiana to the dominion of the Spanish Caliph, whose tribes he held in subjection by ruling them with a sceptre of iron. But notwithstanding all this, the war waged against the Fatimitas was no less violent by sea and by land, and the Mussalmans of

Andaluz obtained glorious victories for their co-religionists of Africa. The name of Abdullah resounded throughout the globe, and embassies from the Empires of Greece and Germany came seeking his friendship, returning to their lands bearing witness to the greatness and power of the Caliph of Cordova. In their civil disputes the Leonese themselves would resort to the protection of the Mussalman prince. Sancho I., who had been expelled from the throne by Ordoño the Bad, besought, and obtained from him, succour to enable him to regain his own dominions; and Ordoño himself had to take refuge in the States of Abdu-r-rahman, who was ever ready to afford a generous hospitality to the oppressed.

But while glory and prosperity surrounded the aged Caliph, great reverses meanwhile tempered these gifts of fortune in Africa. Jauhar, the general of the Fatimite Prince Muizz, was routing the sheiks of the tribes subject to Cordova and the captains of the Andalusian troops, carrying all before him at the edge of the sword. He took possession of the cities of the Moghreb, without excepting Fez, the capital of the States of Mauritiana dependent on Spain. But Abdu-r-rahman, nevertheless, watched over the integrity of the Empire. A fleet with troops crossed the sea, and in a short time all things returned to their former subjection. Fez resisted for a length of time, bravely defended by the Fatimitas, who, however, had to give in after great losses on its being scaled by the conquerors. The name of Abdu-r-rahman again resounded in the mosques at the *chotbah*, or hour of prayer, under the title of Pontiff and *Amir-al-Mumenim*, or Prince of Believers.

Soon after these successes, death terminated the long and glorious government of the Caliph (961) in his seventieth year, and fiftieth of his reign. He died in the Palace of Azzahrat, or Zahra, five miles from Cordova, a magnificent residence erected by him, and whose extension is like a vast city. During this long period the superior intelligence of Abdu-r-rahman had repressed the revolts which menaced the complete dissolution of the Caliphate. Moreover, he had extended his dominions in Mauritiana, restraining the conquering spirit of the Leonese, who even appealed to him in their domestic contentions. The splendid Court of Cordova was frequented by the most celebrated men in science and letters possessed by Islamism; while the renown and glory of the Caliph induced the most powerful reigning heads of Europe to send their envoys and seek alliances with him. He spent

large sums in erecting Azzahrat and many other monuments, and yet he left huge treasures amassed during his peaceful prosperous years, collected from the tributes levied on the victories obtained from the Leonese and the Saracens. But, notwithstanding all these gifts of fortune, he left written down in a kind of diary wherein he recorded the events of his life, that during his long reign, beloved as he was by all, feared by his enemies, and satiated with delights, he had scarcely enjoyed fourteen days of supreme happiness—an astounding proof of the vanity and misery of human greatness.

On the death of Abdu-r-rahman, his son Al-hakem was proclaimed Imaum and Amir-al-Mumenim. The new Caliph had already attained his forty-seventh year. His chief delight was literature, and he amassed a library of four hundred thousand volumes as a testimony of his love of letters, in which he was renowned. Peace still subsisted between the King of Leon, and Al-hakem, whose character was essentially peaceful, continued to follow his studies, although only as a relaxation from the graver duties of government. This state of things, however, lasted but a short time. The Counts of Castille were disturbing the Mussalmans by their assaults and raids on the boundaries. Al-hakem was compelled to punish them and invoke a holy war against them. The result of this ended in the defeat of the Count and the loss of various important towns. His imprudence compelled him to seek the mediation of the King of Leon, to whom he was subject, to effect a reconciliation with Al-hakem, and who, naturally being of a peaceful disposition, granted it, and turned again to his literary studies, and to reforming the abuses which had crept into the administration and customs.

Some years of profound peace followed, and the reign of Al-hakem appears on the pages of history like an oasis in the midst of the desert, offering the student a period of gladsome repose after the protracted spectacle of continued wars and devastations presented to us by the annals of the Saracens of Spain. Events in Africa, however, occurred to shadow the scene, and to cast once more the Empire into agitation and war. Balkin Ibn Zeiri, General of the Fatimitas, invaded the territories of Mauritania, which acknowledged the supremacy of the Caliph of Cordova. Balkin successively took possession of the principal coasts of the Moghreb, destroying the tribes and the Andalusian troops distributed along the African Provinces. The Ameer of the Idrisitas, called Al-hassan Ibn Kanun, who governed

those districts under the authority of Al-hakem, and who possessed the confidence of the Prince, now declared himself in favour of the Fatimitas. The news produced a deep sensation in Cordova. The Caliph, a lover of peace, nevertheless was ever prompt to resort to arms when needful, and he at once sent a fleet from Ceuta, with troops commanded by the Wazir Mohammed Ibn Al-kasim, to proceed against Al-hassan. A fierce battle ensued, in which the Spaniards were defeated, and the General Mohammed left dead on the battle-field. This reverse manifested to Al-hakem the necessity of employing the forces of the Caliphate towards re-conquering that portion of the dominions bequeathed by his father. Collecting together money and soldiers, he manned a fleet under the supreme command of his leader Ghalib, a man of singular bravery and skill. The Caliph bade him depart, telling him to return only as conqueror or dead from the expedition.

Ghalib carried out the wishes of the Caliph. Suborning the sheiks of the Berber tribes, and routing those who would not agree to his terms, the Cordovese General soon made himself master of the greater part of the Moghreb.

Forsaken by his own people, Al-hassan retreated to the Castle of Hajaru-n-nasr, which Ghalib at once besieged. Provisions and water failed the besieged. They proposed terms of surrender on the most advantageous conditions possible under the circumstances. Ghalib accepted the terms, desiring to reduce them to obedience, and to establish peace in that government. The Idrisitas were granted their lives and goods, but under the condition of coming to reside in Cordova; and the Moghreb once more acknowledged the dominion of the Beni-Umeyyas. After residing in the Peninsula for a length of time, Al-hassan obtained leave from Al-hakem to return to Western Africa, flying to the Court of the Fatimite Caliph, who secretly was partial to him.

Two years after these events Al-hakem died (976), at the age of sixty-three, and in the fifteenth of his reign, during which the glory and power of the dynasty of Beni-Umeyyas rose to its highest pinnacle. He was justly famed as one of the noblest characters and most cultivated minds among the Mussalmans of any period. From his death dates the decadence of the Empire of Cordova, notwithstanding all the efforts made by many energetic men to save it. Providence had decreed the restoration of Christianity in the Peninsula, and Its

decrees had to be fulfilled, although at times events occurred which appeared to oppose their execution.

On the death of Al-hakem, his only son Hixam was declared Caliph. Hixam was barely ten years of age, and too youthful to take the reins of the government of such a vast Empire. His mother, Sobha, was greatly loved by the late Caliph, and had gained unlimited influence. Her secretary, Mohammed Abi Amir Al-maaferi, was also her favourite, and his affability, good manners, and mental gifts had gained for him the esteem and confidence of both Sobha and Al-hakem. During the minority of the prince, Mohammed was raised to the rank of Hajib, or Prime Minister, and tutor to Hixam. In union with Sobha, he became in reality the Caliph, not in name, but virtually in power. He endeavoured by every means to acquire popularity, declaring his intention to sever the truce of peace with the Christians by fighting against them until he should reduce them completely to the obedience of his pupil. For this purpose he made peace with Balkin Ibn Zeiri, who was again reconnoitering the Moghreb, and had besieged Ceuta. The latter engaged to send annually a certain number of Berber knights, under reciprocal conditions, and a fixed sum of money. These preliminaries settled, Abi Amir proceeded towards the eastern frontiers, and bade the Walis and Kayids to hold a conscription yearly, in order to effect twice a year a raid on the lands of the Christians. Then, proceeding towards the western frontiers, he ordered the forces of the Gharb to advance, and made the first attempt in Galicia. The Galicians, taken by surprise at this unexpected onslaught, were defeated. He devastated the country, set fire to villages, robbed the herds, took captives, and returned highly satisfied with his first attempt in the war of extermination waged against the enemies of Islamism.

From this epoch until the end of the tenth century the wrestling against the Christians continued, and the implacable Hajib reduced them to the greatest straits. In these combats Mohammed was nearly always victorious, and Christian blood flowed freely. Captives and rich spoils were taken, and the terror of his name invested him with the character of being one of the greatest captains of his time. He wielded supreme power in such a manner that, during the last few years of his life, Mussalman Spain seemed to forget that she was being ruled by only a phantom, with no real authority or power.

Al-makkari, one of the Arab historians, narrates the commencement and growth of power of the famous Hajib, Mohammed, who, elevated

from a Kadi to the post of Wazir, took advantage of this step to usurp the power of the youthful Hixam. Assisted by Jafer Ibn Othman Al-muchafi, a Hajib of the Caliph, and by Ghalib, the Governor of Medina-Celi, and also by the eunuchs of the palace, he put to death Al-mugheyrab, brother of Al-hakem. He forbade the Wazirs to hold communications with the Prince, and only on stated occasions to salute him, but to retire without conversing with him. He paid the soldiers liberally, and to the learned he gave important posts; and in this way effectually put down seditions. In one word, he wielded supreme authority without in reality possessing any. He married the daughter of Ghalib, the celebrated general of the late Caliph. He erected a castle for his residence called Az-zahirah, in which he placed his treasures, and founded a kind of arsenal. He then assumed the title of Hajib Almansor (the victorious minister), and in his decrees employed terms and expressions used only by sovereigns, all decrees being given under his own name; in fact, he left to Hixam nothing but the prerogative of being mentioned in public prayers, and having his effigy stamped on the coins of the realm.

The victories Mohammed gained against the Christians in Galicia, Leon, and Castille bore out his assumed name of Almansor, by which he is more generally known in history. The province of Moghreb required likewise the attention of the Hajib, and he had in part to withdraw from Cordova the resources of the Caliphate. The Caliph of the Fatimitas instructed his General, Balkin, to favour the attempts of Alhasan, the former Ameer of the Idrisitas, to reconquer the sovereignty of that part of Africa. Protected in this way, Al-hasan actually took possession of a portion of his late dominions, and even laid siege to Ceuta, where Omar, the brother of the Hajib, dwelt.

As soon as Almansor was acquainted of this, he sent his young son Abdu-l-malek with an army against the Idrisite, who, not daring to resist, gave in his submission. His surrender was of no avail to save his life, for the Hajib ordered him to be assassinated. Abdu-l-malek was then made Governor of Moghreb, and assumed the title of Almodhaffer.

Later on, Abdu-l-malek returned to Spain, and new complications ensued in Africa. Balkin took possession of Fez, which was disputed, and after many encounters and battles fought by the various tribes, Abdu-l-malek went to Africa, and once more subjugated the Moghreb to the dominion of Almansor, and returned to the Peninsula.

During the height of his power and triumphs Almansor was ambitious to render his name illustrious in science and letters, as had been those of Abdu-r-rahman and Al-hakem. When proceeding to war he always took poets to recount in poetry his successes, and sing his victories. His palace was turned into an academy, where all the learned were welcomed.

The term of his greatness and prosperity came to an end during one of the most terrible scourgings, given by the Spanish Christians, since the first Arab invasion. The eleventh century had commenced, and in the spring of 1002 new relays of soldiers from Africa arrived to the Peninsula in order to start further invasions. This proceeding aroused the terror of the Christians, and laying aside their private disputes, all joined together to defend the common cause. Leonese and Castillians, Navarrese and Basque, and even troops from across the Pyrenees, mustered together to await Almansor close to the rise of the river Douro. The battle was a fierce one, and the result undecided, but the Saracens retreated during the night after sustaining an enormous loss. The greater loss was, however, sustained by the Hajib, who was either wounded or fell ill, and was taken to Medina-Celi, where he expired. The command of the troops was then taken by his son Abdu-l-malek. Almansor at the time of his death was sixty-five years of age, and had governed Cordova twenty-five years.

Sobha, the mother of Hixam, still survived. Hixam continued in the enforced state of infancy to which he had been condemned. His existence was passed in the perfumed gardens of Azzahrat, regaled with music and feasts, the dances of slaves, banquetings, and delights. The aged Sultana, faithful to the memory of her favourite Almansor, declared his son Abdu-l-malek first Hajib. Wishing to revenge the death of his father, he renewed the attack on the Christians. His first campaigns were attended by only one important success, the ruin of the city of Leon. But after two years had elapsed (1005 to 1007), the war was continued with great damage, many towns being destroyed. The Christians took their revenge on the following year (1008), when they destroyed an army commanded by Abdu-l-malek as it entered Galicia, and he himself was forced to retreat to Cordova, where he died, it is supposed, by poison.

Abdu-r-rahman, the second son of Almansor, was elected to succeed his brother. Abdu-r-rahman was of a totally different temperament from his brother. He neglected the duties of his state, and spent his

days in military exercises, and his nights in revels. He was on friendly terms with Hixam, and as the latter was childless, he was induced to name Abdu-r-rahman his successor. As soon as the Beni-Umeyyas became aware of this plot against their dynasty and succession, they persuaded him to prevent it. The youthful Mohammed, cousin to the Caliph, and who expected to succeed him, placed himself at the head of the resisting party. The hatred against the family of Almansor smouldered beneath the ashes, kept under by terror. The principal nobles were partial to Mohammed, and in a very short time he found himself at the head of a numerous and strong party. They attempted, and successfully took possession of Cordova, at the moment when Abdu-r-rahman had quitted it to lead an expedition against the Christians, and captured Hixam, whom they compelled to abdicate.

Apprised of what had taken place in the capital, and trusting to his popularity, the Hajib immediately returned. It was an easy task to enter Cordova, but on approaching to the plazas of the Alcasar, the troops of Mohammed, as well as the nobles and the mob of the city, all opposed his entry, and a bloody affray took place.

Abdu-r-rahman, who had confided in the favour of the crowd, and which now rose against him, lost hopes, and though he tried every effort, he fell into the hands of Mohammed, who condemned him to be crucified. Thus ended ignominiously (1009) the successor of Abdu-l-malek, and son of the renowned Almansor.

Revolutions followed, and took new phases. The crowds detested the Africans, which constituted the larger part of the troops, in particular the numerous guards of the Caliph. Mohammed at once ordered these to quit the Alcasar, and also the city; while all the suspected Walis were changed. He then decided to put an end to the Caliph. Vadhed, chamberlain to Hixam, dissuaded, it is said, Mohammed from carrying out his intention, but resorted to an expedient which was no less atrocious. An individual was sought for who resembled the Prince, was captured and strangled during the night, and then placed in the royal bed; and the hapless Hixam was securely imprisoned and put away. After this farce was enacted, Mohammed judged himself securely placed on the throne of the Beni-Umeyyas. Subsequent events, however, proved his hopes to be vain.

The Africans were too powerful in numbers and popularity, and too brave, to accede to this unjust treatment. They took up arms and

attacked the Alcasar, demanding the head of Mohammed, whom they accused of tyranny, and with the assassination of Hixam.

The Caliph sallied out with the Spanish troops. The people, remembering the pride, and perchance the violence, experienced at the hands of foreigners, rushed against these and attacked them. The combat lasted the whole day and night and the following morning. The streets and plazas of the vast and populous Cordova were steeped in blood and covered with the slain. The leader of the Berbers, Hixam Ibn Suleyman Al-raxid, was taken prisoner, and his head soon after was flung out of one of the turrets into their midst. Indignation impelled the outlaws to declare the cousin of the dead leader, Suleyman Ibn Al-hakem, their chief; but he, feeling that his forces were too weak to combat against Mohammed, retreated to the frontiers of Castille to obtain aid and form an alliance with Count Sancho Garcez. Fortified by a body of picked Christian knights, the African General went forth with his troops to menace the capital. The Caliph met him with his army, and, after a long combat, Suleyman won the victory with a loss of nearly twenty thousand Cordovese. Mohammed retired to the district of Toledo, whose Wali was his son Obeydullah. He there found means to benefit himself by resorting, like his adversary, to alliances with the Counts of Barcelona and Urgel.

Meanwhile Suleyman was approaching Cordova, and Vadhed, the saviour of Hixam, and who acted like a mediator between the different parties, persuaded the inhabitants to offer no resistance. The African guards then entrusted him with the government of the city, and encamped outside the walls to avoid any encounters between the soldiers and the irritated inhabitants. Later on he entered the city to be acclaimed Caliph. All the towns on the frontiers of the district of Toledo down to Tortosa on the east, and to Lisbon on the west, had declared for him. The governments of Algesiras and Ceuta, which were the two keys of the strait between Spain and Africa, were respectively entrusted to the brothers Al-Kasim and Aly, two young warriors already renowned, of the illustrious family of the Idrisitas.

Envy and emulation among their followers, particularly the Sclaves and Christians, gave Suleyman no peace. Vadhed revealed the existence of Hixam, whom he advised should be vindicated and restored to the throne. Suleyman endeavoured to conceal him all the more, placing stricter guards over him.

Meanwhile Mohammed, aided by his party and strengthened with Christian troops led by the Counts of Barcelona and Urgel, marched with an army of some forty thousand men against Cordova. Ten miles beyond the capital he was encountered by Suleyman, who had come out to meet him, with, however, a force much inferior to his, but determined to wage war. The battle was fierce, and the Africans were routed, and after passing the celebrated Palace of Azzahrat, which they sacked, they wended their way towards Algesiras, intending to cross over to Africa.

Mohammed was received enthusiastically by the people of Cordova as their liberator, for they deeply hated Suleyman. Mohammed, elated by this triumph, and heedless of the fatigued state of his army, turned to further pursue or follow the fugitives. These had encamped in the neighbourhood of Algesiras. Mohammed came upon them so unexpectedly that they could not avoid the conflict. The Africans roused up their forces, attacked Mohammed, and triumphed. The troops of Mohammed then turned back, and were pursued by Suleyman to the very capital. It appears the Christian troops covered the retreat, since they arrived after Mohammed, who had endeavoured to reinforce himself. The outposts and watchguards of the Africans were already appearing on the heights surrounding Cordova. Discontent was rising among the inhabitants, while want of provisions and disease contributed to increase their aversion against the Caliph. Vadhed now attempted a revolution, and induced the former Caliph, Hixam, who still survived, to come forward, and presented him to the people, who, with every sign of joy, received him as their legitimate sovereign. Mohammed, comprehending that it was all lost for him, endeavoured to conceal himself, but being discovered, he was led to his cousin Hixam, who, aggrieved by his many and long-continued misfortunes, ordered Mohammed to be beheaded, and his head sent to Suleyman in order to bring him to submission. Suleyman, however, was not disposed to yield up his hopes of assuming supreme power, and had the head embalmed and sent it to Obeydullah, the Wali of Toledo, who was a son of the dead man, with the offer of assisting him to revenge the assassination. The offer was accepted, and together they began to collect troops and joined the Africans. Vadhed, who in reality governed Cordova, left the charge to other hands, and proceeded to side with the Count of Castille, who had drawn him to his party in exchange for some castles which he ceeded to the Christians. Assisted by him, they

attacked and took Toledo, whose Wali had gone to join the Africans, and had left the city undefended.

As soon as Obeydullah heard of this he retreated to those parts; while Vadhed, leaving the city to the care of one Ibn Dhi-n-nun, sallied out to meet him, where he was routed, taken prisoner, and sent to Cordova, when he was beheaded. The conquering army proceeded then to the capital, while Suleyman endeavoured to obtain succour from the Walis of Zaragoza, Medina-Celi, Guadalajara, and Calatrava. With the Africans, and the troops which the Walis had afforded him, Suleyman continued to agitate Cordova. Provisions were failing, pestilence was devastating Andalusia, and the people, who attributed these scourges to punishment from Heaven on account of the alliance effected by the Hajib with the Christians, murmured and conceived hatred against him.

Vadhed, it is said, began to hold secret communications with the African General, and when this came to the knowledge of Hixam, he, losing confidence in those around him, ordered Vadhed to be arrested, and, finding papers in his possession which justified his suspicions, instantly ordered his head to be cut off, appointing Khayran, a Sclave of high birth, and an officer renowned for his bravery and skill, to the post of Governor of Almeria.

Up to a certain point Khayran was able to restrain the suspicious, cruel nature of Hixam, but could not succeed in pacifying the general discontent. Suleyman, who had formed a party within the walls of the city, now attacked it, and, favoured by the abettors within, entered in. The valiant Hajib disputed the victory with him, but, being wounded, the enemy broke in, and took possession of the Alcasar and of the person of the Caliph, who probably was assassinated secretly, as he was never more seen. The city was sacked for three days, many nobles were cruelly put to death, and then Suleyman proclaimed himself anew the Caliph.

Although Khayran fell wounded, he was able in the confusion to escape disguised from Cordova, proceed to Orihuela, where, collecting together men and money, he at once regained his former post of Wali of Almeria. From thence he went to Ceuta, where he assured Aly Ibn Hamud that Hixam was still living, although a captive of Suleyman. He induced him to cross the strait and join his brother Al-Kasim, Governor of Algesiras, and both would together effect the liberation of Hixam, who had elected him, Aly Ibn Hamud, for his successor. Aly

took the supreme command of the united forces, and proceeded to restore Hixam. Suleyman, who feared they would besiege him in Cordova, made an attempt to stop their advance near the ancient Italica, but he was unsuccessful, and was defeated in two battles, when he and his brother were taken prisoners. Aly then entered Cordova, and took the father of Suleyman prisoner. He then ordered the three into his presence, and bade them reveal the hiding-place of Hixam, and on their declaring that they knew not where he was concealed, he himself, with his own hand, decapitated the three.

This victory enabled the Idrisite, Aly, to ascend the throne of the Beni-Umeyyas (1016). The sovereignty was passing from hand to hand, by means of revolution and fierce battles; and signs of dismemberment were already visible in Mussalman Spain. The Wali of Denia made himself independent, and took possession of the Balearic Islands, meanwhile that the Governor left in his place was doing likewise.

The elevation of Aly to the throne, and the example set by Denia, prolonged the civil war. The Walis of Seville, Toledo, Merida, and Zaragoza refused to acknowledge the new prince, while his disagreements with Khayran, who had turned against him, soon enkindled anew civil wars. Incited by the former Wali of Almeria, and leagued with the Governor of Zaragoza, the Kayids of Arjona, Baeza, and Jaen raised an army with the object of placing on the throne a Caliph of the race of Beni-Umeyyas. Khayran marched at the head of this army against Cordova, but was defeated. A great-grandson of Abdu-r-rahman the Great was then elected Caliph. He was rich, virtuous, and beloved, and, moreover, bore the same name as he who had left such a glorious renown. The Governors of the western districts at once acknowledged Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Mohammed, with the exception of the Wali of Granada, who remained faithful to Aly-Khayran, and with his party marched against the one whom they held as a usurper to the throne.

Aly was a skilful captain, and Khayran and his men were defeated and dispersed; yet this reverse was not sufficient for the Walis of Zaragoza, Valencia, Tortosa, and Tarragona, and they still refused to acknowledge the supreme authority of Abdu-r-rahman. The fugitive Hajib had taken refuge in Almeria, and Ibn Hamud laid siege to the city, and after taking it he slew Khayran. He then returned to Cordova, and was preparing to open the campaign against Abdu-r-

rahman, when he was assassinated in his bath by the Sclavi who served him, and who were probably suborned by the Prince Benu-Umeyya.

The African captains at once acclaimed their former Wali of Algesiras, who was now Wali of Seville, Al-kasim Ibn Hamud, and, followed by four thousand knights, suddenly appeared in Cordova. Meanwhile the son of Aly, called Yahya, as soon as he heard of the assassination of his father, left Ceuta with what troops he could muster, among which was the excellent cavalry corps of negroes from Sus, fully determined to dispute the Caliphate of his uncle. His youngest brother Idris marched towards Malaga with a portion of the army, while his brother proceeded to Cordova. Yahya speedily entered Cordova. These family wars among the Idrisitas could only end in the complete triumph of Abdu-r-rahman. They came and endeavoured to be reconciled. Yahya, who was proceeding to succour Idris, returned to Cordova with the consent of Al-kasim, who undertook to combat the party of the Beni-Umeyyas, and when once vanquished to divide the power between uncle and nephew. Al-kasim then proceeded to conduct the body of Aly to Ceuta, where he intended to give him an honoured burial. While performing this fraternal act, Yahya returned to Cordova, and proclaimed himself Caliph without regard to the convention made with his uncle, and declared that he alone had a right to the throne. After this act of treachery Al-kasim crossed over the sea to proceed against his nephew, who happened to have his best troops away in an engagement against Abdu-r-rahman, and therefore did not attempt to oppose him; thus, without bloodshed, Al-kasim found himself master of the capital. His occupation was of short duration, for he had to fly for his life soon after this, owing to a popular revolution. By their own energetic efforts the inhabitants of Cordova freed themselves of the African yoke, and were on the eve of acclaiming the Benu-Umeyya Caliph, when they received the news of his death in an encounter with the generals of the Idrisitas (1023). The popular disappointment was very great, but they chose yet another Abdu-r-rahman, a brother of Mohammed, who was a Caliph also. The prince-elect was a virtuous, enlightened youth, and these very gifts occasioned his fall. His first act, after assuming the supreme authority, was to check the unbridled state of the army, particularly of the Sclave Guards.

The resentment which this gave rise to among the men favoured

the ambition of Mohammed, cousin to the new sovereign. A rebellion, instigated by him, broke out, and Abdu-r-rahman fell dead in his own Alcasar, pierced through by the swords of assassins. With hands still embrued in the blood of his relative, Mohammed was acclaimed Caliph by the soldiers. He acted in a totally different manner from his predecessor. He allowed the soldiery full rein to their corruption, and favoured their leaders. He then retired to the Alcasar and yielded himself up to a luxurious life, and when his treasures were exhausted, levied new and heavy taxes. The people detested him. Cordova was a prey to tumults. The guards turned against him, and accused him of parsimony. The Walis of the Provinces refused to obey him, and amid civil wars they each endeavoured to make himself independent. Anarchy reigned rampant, and the Mussalman Empire of Spain, which but a few years previously had been so brilliant and powerful, was showing every sign of a speedy dissolution. A terrible revolution at length broke over the empire, and assailed him in the midst of his pleasures in the palace of Azzahrat, and Mohammed had to fly for his life, and take refuge in the Castle of Ucles, where he was subsequently poisoned.

Disorder and agitation had reached their last stage. Like Rome in the days of her decadence, which afforded the hideous spectacle of a few Pretors building up and overthrowing the throne of the Cæsars at the mercy of party passions or momentary caprices, so do we behold in Cordova the last Caliphs, raised to-day to fall to-morrow, at the beck of an unbridled army, or of a mob no less unbridled.

Anarchy somewhat subsided after the expulsion of Mohammed, and the partisans of the Idrisitas took courage. Yahya, the son of Aly Ibn Hamud, was their chief, and after he escaped from the fury of Al-kasim, succeeded to make himself master of Malaga and Algesiras. In these districts, and in those of Africa which his father had possessed, he established an independent power, less brilliant, but more secure, and in some respects stronger than the dominion of the Caliph in Spain. But he had not yet forgiven Al-kasim the injury received. When a mob rose against him, and he, in his turn, had to fly from the capital, and was taking refuge in Xerez, Yahya sent a body of cavalry to arrest him. He was then brought before him, and sentenced to be thrown into a dungeon, where he died, although some say he survived several years. In this way the son of Aly remained the only representant of the ancient African dynasty, and of the disputed dominion of Cordova,

which offered him for a short term a throne with no competitor to dispute the crown. The Cordovese, wearied of so much bloodshed, received him triumphantly. The Walis, however, of the Provinces refused their allegiance under various pretexts. Mohammed Abdu-l-kasim Ibn Ismail Ibn Abbad was the Wali of Seville. In punishing this one the Caliph desired to make an example of severity as a warning for the others.

Mustering some troops, he marched against Ibn Abbad. The Caliph fell, however, into the snare laid by the wily Wali, which caused his death and the destruction of his army (1026). The news of this event caused in Cordova a deep sensation, and filled the inhabitants with new apprehensions. It was needful to resort to prompt measures to evade another civil war taking place among the ambitious ones. In Ham-Albonte, leading a secluded life, lived Hixam Ibn Mohammed, the great-grandson of Abdu-r-rahman the Great, and to him all turned to save them, influenced by Jauhar Ibn Mohammed, the Wazir of the capital. The throne which was offered to him was so undesirable that the prince-elect manifested repugnance to accept the offer, but after a time he accepted. Instead of proceeding to the capital, of which he feared, he went against the Christians who had taken advantage of the discords existing among the Saracens to further their dominions.

He combated against the Christians with varied success, until Jauhar apprised him that it was expedient to visit Cordova, and find a means to reduce the Provinces to obedience, as their tributes had ceased to fill the State coffers. Hixam followed his advice, and wrote to the Walis and Kayids, manifesting to them that by pursuing their course of action and their divisions they were preparing the ruin of Islamism in Spain; but his endeavours proved useless. They made him promises, but their acts were contrary to their promises. He then resorted to harsh means to reduce the rebels, but rebellions surged out from every place, and the very ones whom he had entrusted with the government of important cities sooner or later followed their example.

Finding it impossible to set bounds to this torrent, the Caliph began to make concessions to the rebels with the object of at least establishing peace in some way; but this action occasioned public discontent, particularly among the Cordovese, who ascribed every evil to him, and tumults and discords increased. But the root of the evil lay in their own vicious institutions, in popular licentiousness, in their want of national unity among the races of varied origin and oftentimes inimical

and all these evils were already manifest during the period of highest opulence and prosperity of the Caliphate, and truly did Hixam declare that the Cordovese could neither govern themselves nor allow any one to do so. At length public discontentment rose to such a pitch that, acting under the advice of Jauhar, the Caliph one night quitted the capital, when the revolutionary mob demanded his deposition or banishment (1031), and retreated to the Castle of Hisn Abi Cherif, in Sierra Morena. Persecuted even here by his subjects, he sought an asylum in Lerida, whose Wali, Suleyman Ibn Hud, afterwards Wali of Zaragoza, was his particular friend.

Thus reduced to live an obscure existence, he died after five years' exile, leaving the reputation of having been a merciful prince, brave and enlightened, and well able to have raised up the Empire were its salvation a work within human possibility. With his death ended the Caliphate of Cordova, and the dynasty of Beni-Umeyyas, which for nearly three centuries uninterruptedly occupied the throne, and had bequeathed to history some of the most illustrious characters in the annals of Mussalman Spain.

On the expulsion of Hixam, Jauhar was elected Ameer. Jauhar was shrewd, and took advantage of the times and circumstances. Accepting the more modest title of Ameer, he did not wish to assume, or seem to assume, the whole supremacy, and contented himself with presiding at the Diwan or Council composed of the Sheiks and principal men of Cordova who resolved the affairs of government. Yet his position as Ameer, and the superiority of his talents, invested him with the necessary influence to steer through the reforms needful to sustain the edifice of the tottering State. Like Hixam, he wrote to the Walis of the Provinces urging them to recognise his supremacy, or rather that of the Diwan which had been established, and, like his predecessor, he only received excuses from some, and indifference from others.

With no forces at command to bring them to submission, he disguised his situation, and even feigned to praise those who had refused to appear in Cordova under the pretext of important business. This proceeding on the part of the Ameer was really a tacit declaration that the unity of the Mussalman Empire in Spain was virtually at an end, being divided into many independent monarchies ruled by the Walis. The rapid decadence of Islamism and the increase of the Christian States were the consequences resulting from this disunion.

We have said that the Idrisitas had established an independen government in Malaga, and that the brothers Beni-Hamud ruled between them in Africa, Ceuta, and Tangiers, and in the Peninsula, Malaga, and Algesiras. We also said that three members of that family, Aly, Al-kasim, and Yahya, obtained successively the Caliphate of Cordova. At the death of the latter his brother Idris succeeded him to the States of Malaga and Ceuta (1027), assuming the title of Amir-al-mumenim. To the brothers Alys (by which the dynasty is known) were allied the Wali of Granada, Habuz Ibn Maksan, and the Beni Berizila, lords of Carmona and Ecija. In Seville ruled Mohammed Abu-l-kasim Ibn Abbad, he who destroyed the Caliph Yahya in 1026, the epoch from whence dates the independence of the Ameership of Seville and its aggrandisement through the vast province of Andalusia.

From 1021 the race of the Alamiris reigned on the eastern coasts of Spain, extending from the dominion of Almeria in the interior up to the frontiers of Barcelona. The Ameer of Valencia, Abdu-al-aziz Abul-hassan, grandson to the celebrated Almansor, was a kind of suzerain of the Walis of this family, and of the Tadjibitas, lords of Zaragoza, who, later on, were substituted by the Beni Huds. In this way the Alamiris held possession of the various districts included in this wide territory, and to which were joined the Balearic Islands. The Province of Gharb, or ancient Lusitania, was in the power of the Tadjibitas family, and Abdullah Benu Alafftas declared himself sovereign, and established his Court in Badajoz. Hence modern Algarve remained outside their yoke, and constituted an independent principality, ruled over by the Wazir Ahmed Ibn Said, who was succeeded by his son-in-law, Said Ibn Harun, and, lastly, the Province of Toledo, under the authority of Ismael Ibnu Dhi-n-num, formed another independent Ameership, and one of the five principal states (Malaga, Valencia, Seville, Badajoz, and Toledo) which had resulted from the dissolution of the empire of the Beni-Umeyyas. This dismemberment of Mussalman Spain, caused by years of revolution, produced consequences easy to divine—the increase and gain of their enemies, the Christians. It suffices to say that after a series of continual combats, rebellions, treachery, sieges and conquests of cities, and repeated devastations over the greater part of the Mussalman territory, the Ameer of Seville, Abbad Al-mu-tadhed-billah, who succeeded his father, Mohammed Abu-l-kasim (1042), had become so powerful that his forces were superior to all the troops of the other Ameers joined

together. The next in importance was Toledo. Its Ameer, Al-mamon, was a rival to the Ameer of Seville, and always at war with him, assisted by the Christian troops of Leon and Castille.

The Toledan Prince, among other states which he conquered, were those of the Wali of Valencia, while the Ameer of Seville brought to subjection the territories of the successors of Jauhar, that is to say, the Province of Cordova. During the war between the two potentates, all the lesser States had to acknowledge one or other of these two champions. The death of the Ameer of Seville did not alter the hapless state (1069) of Mussalman Spain, and wars still continued. Al-mamon took possession of Cordova and even entered the capital, while Mohammed Al-mutamed Ibn Abbad, the son and successor of the Ameer of Seville, was triumphing over the Idrisitas, lords of Malaga, and his ally, the Ameer of Zaragoza, menaced Valencia. Al-mutamed at once proceeded to Seville, and in a short time those who had besieged and taken the city were in their turn besieged and conquered.

The Ameer of Toledo, who in person witnessed that conquest, expired during the siege (1076). The death of Al-mamon altered the successes of the forces. His son or grandson, Hixam or Yahya Dhi-n-nun, was still too youthful to reign, and remained under the tutorship and protection of the King of Leon, Alfonso VI.

Ibn Abbad regained Seville and Cordova, and later on took possession of Valencia and Murcia, and subsequently expelled the Idrisitas out of the Peninsula. Meanwhile Alfonso VI., taking advantage of the dissolution of the Saracen Empire, took possession of Toledo (1085) and many other important towns. From this moment the political question became simplified, and the Mussalmans beheld into what an abyss their long-continued discords and sanguinary wars had cast them. The power of Alfonso VI. increased to such a degree that were all the Mussalman Princes to join together it would be a difficult undertaking to resist him. By general assent the Spanish Saracens then decided to invoke the aid of the Almoravides, whose power in Africa, due to their repeated triumphs, had rapidly increased. The influence which this resolution effected on the subsequent events which occurred in the Peninsula renders it necessary here to explain the origin of this sect, at once religious and political, and whose chiefs attained to bring under their dominion Mauritiana and Mussalman Spain, and by their conquests delayed the decisive victory of Christianity.

The name of Almoravide is a Spanish corruption of the Arabic word *Al-morabethyn*, which signifies *hermits*. This sect was founded amid the Berber tribes of the desert south of Tarudante, better known by the common denomination of Zanagah—rude and ignorant tribes imperfectly converted to Islamism, but of which they scarcely knew more of its religious tenets than the simple symbol of the Mohammedan faith—*God only is God, and Mahomet is the envoy of God.*

In the year 1037, Yahya Ibn Ibrahim, the Ameer of these tribes, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and on returning by Kairwan, he brought with him a certain Abdullah Ibn Iasin, a man well versed in the science of the Koran, and who purposed to civilise and illustrate those barbarian tribes of Zanagah. However, when they heard the new apostle sternly reprove them for their vices and brutalities, they turned away and treated him with contempt. He then retired towards the sea-coast, and erected a hermitage. The Ameer Yahya, who had brought him to these regions, now joined him, and others also followed. In a short time the disciples of Abdullah increased, and the renown of the wisdom of this fakir, or monk, drew towards him many proselytes, who then took the name of Morabethyns. When sufficiently powerful to employ the means of conversion so successfully exercised by the Prophet, that is to say, fire and the sword, he sent to the tribes who had refused to listen to his peaceful admonitions an army of some three thousand Almoravides (1042), and proceeded to the tribe of Kedala, and all who escaped with their lives became converted. The same treatment was followed among the Lamtunas and the Mozusas. After these examples the other tribes at once acknowledged the divine mission of Abdullah, who reserved to himself the dignity of Imaum, or Pontiff, with which he constituted a kind of dictatorship of a supreme order, and appointed as Ameer for temporal concerns the Chief, Abu Zakaria Yahya, of the tribe Lamtuna, because he who had more greatly contributed to his elevation, Yahya Ibn Ibrahim, had died.

Following the inspirations of the Imaum, or Spiritual Chief, the new Ameer continued the war, reducing to submission Sahara, or desert, and commenced the conquest of the land of the negroes, where he was slain. He was succeeded by his brother Abu-bekr, who extended the dominion of the Almoravides along the north of Africa, although the founder of the sect perished in a battle.

Having subjugated a large portion of Mauritania, or Moghreb, he

went with his army to quell some disturbances among the Berber tribes. During his absence he appointed to govern the northern districts his cousin Abu Yacub Yusuf, an individual of great attainments, but ambitious. Taking advantage of the absence of the Ameer, he consolidated permanently in his own person the authority entrusted to him. When Abu-bekr returned Yusuf received him with every demonstration of joy and friendship, but at the same time made him understand that he would not yield. Abu-bekr, feeling that his forces were too weak to oppose him, resolved to legitimise the usurpation, and reserve to himself the dominion of the tribes of the desert. He perished shortly after, in a war with the negroes, and Yusuf was acknowledged Ameer of all the provinces of the Almoravides. He then founded Morocco, which he made the capital of his empire, and by renewed victories subjected the rest of Mauritania. It was after this event that the Spanish Mussalmans turned to him for aid. The glory of his exploits and the noble qualities of his character had invested him with a renown which eclipsed the most celebrated captains of the time. In the terror inspired by the renewed conquests of Alfonso VI. the Saracens of the Peninsula looked towards him as the only warrior who could deliver them from the power of the terrible Nazarene. Time manifested to them what in their hour of anguish they had not foreseen—that the salvation of their liberty and religion, which was threatened by the Christian, might be only purchased at the expense of their national independence.

When Yusuf placed a spoke in the wheel of fortune, which at the time appeared to turn favourably for the King of Leon, he had no other aim in view, perchance, but to add one more rich province to his vast empire. When we narrate the wars of the reign of Alfonso VI. we shall have occasion to enter into the principal causes which occasioned the protracted struggle sustained by this prince with the Almoravides, whose history from the end of the eleventh century claims all the successes achieved by Mussalman Spain.

III.

Foundation of a new Gothic Monarchy in Asturias—Alfonso I. commences extend it—Victories of Fruela I.—Reigns of Aurelio, Silo, and Mauregato—Bermudo the Deacon labours to civilise the nation—Cedes the crown to Alfonso II. the Chaste—Wars with the Saracens, and progress of civilisation—Ramiro I.—His cruelty—Ordoño I.—Conquests of the Mussalman territories—Fruela the Intruder is assassinated—Alfonso III. ascends the throne—Long and glorious reign of this prince—Rebellion of his two sons, and abdication of Alfonso III.—Garcia I. and his brothers—Separation of Navarre—Ordoño II.—Invasions in the Mussalman dominions—Fruela II.—Alfonso IV.—Ramiro II.—Civil wars—Continuation of the war against the Saracens—Truces with the Caliph of Cordova—Ordoño III.—Sancho the Fat, expelled by Ordoño the Bad, is restored by the Caliph Abdu-r-rahman—Minority of Ramiro III., and regency of Elvira—The Government of Ramiro in Leon, and of Bermudo in Galicia—Civil wars—Invasions of Almansor—Bermudo II., and misfortunes of his reign—Alfonso V.—Regency during his minority—The government of this prince—Bermudo III.—Civil wars—Castille joins Navarre—Strifes between Castille and Leon—Bermudo loses the greater portion of his States—Foundation of the Monarchy of Castille—Battle of Carrion, and death of Bermudo—Ferdinand of Castille unites Leon to his crown—Brilliant reign of Ferdinand, surnamed the Great—The kingdom Castillian-Leonese is divided between the sons of Ferdinand I.—Wars and discords between the three brothers—Alfonso of Leon is conquered and expelled by Garcia the elder—Alfonso attains to unite the three crowns—Triumphs and undertakings of Alfonso VI. against the Saracens—The conquest of Toledo—Battle of Ucles—Death of Alfonso VI.

The revival of the Visigoths against the Arab domination commenced in Spain a few years after this conquest. Amid the rugged mountains of Asturias a few Goths who had not accepted the Mussalman yoke unfurled the standard of a war of religion and independence, this war lasting some seven centuries, or until the final overthrow of the Koran by the Gospel. The battle of Cangas of Onis, where the Infidels were defeated, was the first of a succession of combats which were continued to the end of the fifteenth century, when the last defenders of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, conquered the capital of the last Moorish kingdom of the Peninsula.

The leader of these Goths, who had taken refuge in the Asturias, was Pelagio, who founded the first Christian Monarchy of Spain, known later on as Oviedo and Leon. The States of Pelagio continued, during his reign and that of his son Favila, to be circumscribed to the

Asturian Mountains; but on the death of Favila, whose reign was short and obscure, he was succeeded by an extraordinary man, who, by repeated victories, extended the boundaries of the country, which never accepted the yoke of the Infidels. Alfonso I., the son-in-law of Pelagio, ascended the throne after Favila, and he soon penetrated into Galicia up to the Douro, and to Leon and Old Castille. Previous to this time the war, whether defensive or offensive, had always been carried on exclusively with the Christians; but in this epoch of Alfonso I. the desolated towns, with their temples reduced to ruins, began to rise up again. After a long and glorious reign, this prince died, and the Goths elected his son Fruela, or Froila, who rivalled him in bravery, but was a man of a violent character. In an encounter of small importance Fruela broke up the Arabs near Ponthumium.

Rebellions had arisen in Galicia, which he put down, and then quelled the Basques, to the north, who had risen against him. Suspicions against his brother Vimarano induced him to put him to death, but the justice of God followed him. Fruela was assassinated by the Goths, and following the ancient usage of the Visigoths to elect the successor to the throne, they refused to bestow the crown on his son Alfonso. A nephew of Alfonso I., called Aurelius, the son of his brother Fruela, ascended the throne, which he occupied for six years. During this period the States of the King of Asturias enjoyed external peace, but Aurelius had to combat against a rising of the Servi, which he repressed.

Canicas, or Cangas, was the capital of the Asturias since the time of Pelagio. Fruela founded Oviedo, to the west, and this State became later on the head of the monarchy. His successors, it appears, preferred Pravia, which lay to the north-west of Oviedo, where Silo, the successor of Aurelius, resided. Silo was chosen by the Goths on account of his wife Adosinda, daughter of Alfonso I. The reason of this is not told by the chroniclers, although they affirm the fact. According to the chroniclers of that time, peace subsisted with the Mussalmans during the reign of this prince, and at his death his widow wished the crown to be placed on the head of the youthful Alfonso, son of Fruela I.; but an illegitimate son of Alfonso I., called Mauregato, was elected by the malcontents, and he expelled Alfonso, assuming the crown of Asturias, which he held six years, and a peaceful reign followed until his death in Pravia.

A brother of King Aurelius was then summoned to rule the Goths.* Bermudo had purposed to follow the religious profession, and had even received the order of deacon. This, which would exclude him from the royal dignity, according to the ancient institution of the Visigoths, did not, however, prevent his election. In those times, when the semi-barbarian existence of the Christians of Asturias deeply contrasted with the civilisation of the Mussalmans of Spain and Africa, the generous, enlightened spirit of Bermudo rises like a beacon in the midst of the surrounding darkness. Piety, clemency, and generosity are attributed to him by the most ancient chroniclers. Soon after he assumed supreme authority, in imitation of the example of some Visigothic kings previous to the Arab conquest, he appointed the son of Fruela, who had been twice repelled from the throne, to take a part in government, and thus secure the succession to the throne. As soon as the youthful prince had won the affections of the people, Bermudo, of his own will, returned to the sacred ministry, although, against the sacred canons of Spain, he had taken to wife Nunila, by whom he had Ramiro, the same who later on succeeded Alfonso II.

During the period which elapsed from the death of Alfonso I. to the abdication of Bermudo, the kingdom of Asturias continued peaceful side by side with the Saracen dominion. But in the third year of the reign of Alfonso II. we find this peace severed between the two races, and the Arabs invading the Asturias. This was caused by the raids practised by Alfonso against the Mussalmans, who were defeated. From this dates the renown of Alfonso II., known among historians by the addition of "the Chaste," from the fact that he always led a celibate life.

About this period Charlemagne was reigning beyond the Pyrenees. Alfonso sought an alliance with him, sending messengers with presents of rich spoils, said to be the results of raids effected from the Douro to the margins of the Tagus. He established the capital in Oviedo, which he enlarged and adorned with churches and palaces. A revolution expelled him from the throne, but which his party within a few months regained for him. Alfonso died in 842, and was succeeded by Ramiro, the son of his predecessor, Bermudo. The death of the aged

* The denomination of Goth, given to the descendants of the Visigoths after the conquest of Spain who took refuge in the Asturias, is not really correct, but it is generally received by the historians of the Peninsula, in the same way as the names of Saracen and Moor are both used to denote the Mussalmans.

monarch caused, as may well be supposed, grave dissensions. Nepociano, a count of the palace, acclaimed himself sovereign in Oviedo, but Ramiro, who at the time was in Bardulia (Old Castille), rushed to dispute the crown with him. The army of Nepociano forsook him as soon as they saw him fall into the hands of Ramiro, who captured him near Pravia, and, drawing his eyes out, shut him up in a monastery.

Ramiro, securely seated on the throne, was successful in obtaining victories against the Mussalmans, and repulsed the Norman pirates, who were then beginning to infest the coasts of Galicia. The attempt to expel him from the throne was again repeated, but proved unsuccessful. Ramiro was of a cruel, vindictive character, and he secured the throne for his son without any contradiction. Ordoño I. was brave and victorious like his father, but did not possess his cruel character. He rebuilt various towns of Leon, Galicia, and the parts called *Campos Gothicos*, such as the city itself of Leon, which later on became the capital of the province, and Tuy, Astorga, and Amaya.

The Gothic renegade Musa, whom we mentioned elsewhere, and who had attempted to render himself independent of the Ameer of Cordova, now dared to enter the territories of the Christians, and erect the fortress of Albaida, or Albelda, in the modern Rioja. The King of Oviedo came out to meet him, and defeated him close to Clavijo, taking Albelda. He also repulsed a new attempt of the Normans along the coasts of Galicia, and then effected several raids on the lands of the enemy, subduing the Basques, who, ever restless, had rebelled again. He took Coria and Salamanca from the power of the infidel, reconquering Orense, a city of Galicia, which they had taken possession of. Ordoño died in the year 866. Before his death he had proclaimed his son Alfonso successor. Meanwhile Fruela, the Count or Governor of Galicia, aided by the nobles of the province, assumed the title of King, and marched at the head of an army to the capital. The subjects of the son of Ordoño forsook him, and Alfonso fled from Oviedo towards Castille. The reign of Fruela was very short. A rebellion broke out in the Court, and the nobles who were against him slew him in his own palace. The son of Ordoño then returned, and was proclaimed King.

After this the Basques rebelled, and King Alfonso III. had for a long time to fight against them with varied success, and the war only terminated, according to Basque traditions, when a concession of independence was granted to this indomitable race.

After three years of peace, followed a fierce war with the Saracens along the south and south-east line of demarcation of the Douro, which divided the Mussalmans from the Christians. Alfonso crossed the river and occupied Salamanca, then besieged Coria, which was in the power of the Goths, and compelled them to retire. The Saracens, as they were forced to retreat, entered the Christian provinces, but were ensnared in the ravines, where horsemen were useless, and completely defeated.

For a period of twelve years the history of the reign of Alfonso III. was a series of combats on both sides, defensive and offensive, but in which the Christians were generally victorious; and their territories were chiefly extending towards the ancient Lusitania. Lamego, Viseu, and Coimbra fell into the power of the King of Oviedo, devastations reaching as far as the districts of Idaña and Merida. After this, it appears, Alfonso retired to his former States of Asturias and Galicia. The battle of Polvoraria, near the river Orbiego, when the Mussalmans were defeated and put to flight, brought a cessation of hostilities for three years, and then the war recommenced. The King of Oviedo retired to the Asturias after entering as far as the Sierra Morena, where he broke up the Arab forces which came against him.

The Infidels took their revenge, and assailed Old Castille, where the Asturian dominions had been consolidated by their many fortified places and castles, from whence the name of Castille is derived. The Christians resisted on all sides within their strongholds, and Al-mondhir, the Arab General, penetrated towards Leon. When Alfonso was apprised of this he turned to the south-west, and camped near Orbiego, from whence he returned to Cordova. The Saracens soon after renewed hostilities, ravaging Navarre, and descended towards Castille and Leon; but finding themselves repelled on all sides with great losses, they retreated to Cordova. Wearied by so many devastations during these protracted wars, the Goths and the Saracens seriously bethought them to establish peace, which was done, and the treaty signed by the Ameer of Cordova and Alfonso III. This peace continued during the rest of the reign of Alfonso, a period of twenty-seven years. The demarcation of the limits of the Christian territories was definitively settled to the south and south-east of the Douro; and the King of Oviedo was thus able to improve the interior state of his dominions, which already included nearly one-third of the Peninsula. He restored order in Leon and in Old Castille he raised out of the

ruins the more important towns, and fortified them, on the frontiers, Zamora, Simancas, Donas, and Touro. The great improvements he effected, and the victories gained, invested him with the surname of "the Great."

But while Alfonso III. thus laboured in the interior, a new war arose to disturb the peace of the Christians. Dissensions among the Saracens had severed the unity of the Mussalman Government. Cordova was still the centre of Moorish Spain, but some of the provinces bordering on the State of Alfonso had rebelled and become independent. Ahmed Ibn Al-kithi, or Alchaman as he is called by the Christian chroniclers, had gone over to the party of Omar Ibn Hafssun, the most powerful enemy of the Ameer of Cordova, and been entrusted with supreme authority over the territories of Toledo and Talavera. Out of these mutinied districts of the territories averse to the Ameer, and even from Africa, Ahmed gathered together sixty thousand men, and assailed the lands of the King of Oviedo, who, owing to the long peace, had neglected to prepare, and was taken by surprise. The Christians who were able to save themselves fled to the fortifications of Zamora, which Al-kithi at once besieged, while the Government of Cordova hastened to assure the King of Galicia that the invasion was disapproved by him.

Meanwhile Alfonso III. marched against Ahmed. The two armies met on the fields of Zamora, and after a well-sustained battle, the Arabs were vanquished with tremendous loss. In this engagement perished Ahmed and his brother Abdu-r-rahman, the Wali, or Governor, of Tortosa. The King of Oviedo, wishing to continue his victories, proceeded to Toledo, intending to reconquer the ancient capital of the empire of the Visigoths; but the difficulties which presented themselves during the siege were such that he was induced to accept a large sum of money as a ransom from the inhabitants, and he returned to Asturias, destroying on his way some of the Saracen towns.

The Christian King did not enjoy long in peace the fruits of so many victories. Domestic disturbances took the place of the strifes with outsiders. Garcia, his eldest son, assisted by his brothers, and even by his mother, and instigated by his father-in-law, Nuno Fernandes, Count of Castille, conspired to dethrone him. When Alfonso learned this attempt on the part of his son, he arrested him in Zamora, and loading him with chains, sent him to the Castle of

Gauzon. This act proved a signal for rebellion, wherein the King of Asturias beheld other members of his family taking part.

Civil war followed, and resulted in the forced abdication of Alfonso III., who survived this blow less than a year, but during which time he made another entry into the lands of the rebel Hafssun, simply as a general of his son. On retiring from this campaign he died in Zamora, in the year 910, leaving in the pages of history the most distinguished place of all the successors of Pelagio.

Of the cities raised by the great captain from their ruins, Leon, the ancient Legio of the Romans and of the Goths, appears to be the most considerable. Garcia established his Court there, leaving his brother Fruela to govern the Asturias, and Ordoño Galicia, if not as separate kingdoms, at least with a certain degree of independence. This equivocal situation of the two princes was, perchance, the reason why the King of Oviedo changed his title to that of Leon, and which appears in the reign of Garcia as the first attempt towards dismembering the Spanish Monarchy. Previous to this, in the reign of King Alfonso III., Navarre, always rebellious, had shaken off the Asturian yoke.

Alfonso entrusted its government to Sancho Inigo, Count of Bigorre, called by the Basque Arista, which means in their language *oak*, or *strong*. At his death the Navarrese proclaimed his son Garcia Sanches successor, an election which the King of Oviedo was powerless to oppose. Since that period Navarre remained an independent State, and therefore the victories and events which took place in that portion of the Peninsula cease to have any immediate reference to the origin of the Portuguese Monarchy.

The reign of Garcia in Leon was of short duration. At first he waged war against the Saracen party of Hafssun, devastating the district of Toledo; later on he dedicated himself to the rebuilding of the frontier towns of his wide dominions, such as Osma, Coruña of Conde, and Gormaz. After only three years' reign he died, and was succeeded by his brother Ordoño.

Ordoño was of a brave and warlike spirit, and after three years of peace he recommenced the raids in ancient Lusitania, on both sides of the Tagus up to the Guadiana, spreading ruin and slaughter on all sides. The inhabitants of Merida, terrified by the ferocity of the Christian king, offered him large sums of money to pacify him. Ordoño accepted them, conscious of the difficulty of conquering the fortified

places of that large town, and returned to Leon loaded with spoils, and carrying terror wherever he passed. He soon after invaded the Mussalman territories, reducing Salamanca to ashes.

The forces of the Mussalmans were then directed against the King of Navarre, whose independence, no doubt, was acknowledged by Leon and Asturias, as we find Ordoño combating in Junquera side by side with the Navarrese prince. The Christian camp was broken up, with great loss of life, and Ordoño, with the remnants of his army, fled towards Leon, forsaking the King of Navarre, who took refuge within the solid walls of Pampeluna. The Saracens, inebriated by these victories, passed the Pyrenees, and, skirting the suburbs of Tolosa, returned to Spain. The losses they sustained, particularly in the defiles of the Sierras, forced the Ameer to retreat to his capital.

While the Saracens were thus invading the South of France, Ordoño, adding fresh troops to the remnants of his army, effected an entry into the interior of Mohammedan Spain, penetrating to the eastern districts of Andalusia. The martial character of the King of Leon, and the absence of his conquering army in Junquera, renders this event probable, although no mention is found in Arab historians. Ordoño died in 923, in Zamora, and was buried in the Cathedral of Leon.

Although the King left four sons, his brother Fruela was elected King. Fruela II. reigned scarcely one year. Alfonso, son of Ordoño, succeeded to the throne of his father, notwithstanding that Fruela left three sons. Alfonso IV. was of a peaceful disposition and of a religious nature. Barely had he reigned six years when he summoned his brother Ramiro, who was governing the district now called Bierzo, to come to the Court, and, with the consent of the nobles of Zamora, he abdicated in his favour, and then retired to the monastery of St. Facundo, or Sahagun. Ramiro was a turbulent, martial character, and on ascending the throne at once began preparing to renew the war against the Saracens. An event occurred, however, which altered his designs.

Alfonso IV., who had retired to the monastery, now quitted Sahagun, proceeded to Leon, and acclaimed himself again King. Ramiro, who was still in Zamora, at once started to the capital. He fought day and night until he effected an entrance, took his brother prisoner, loaded him with chains, and cast him into a dungeon.

The three sons of Fruela took the part of the captive, and tried to

capture Ramiro by a snare. As soon as he heard of this plot he arrested them, and cast them into the same prison with Alfonso IV., ordering their eyes to be plucked out. In this miserable state Alfonso survived two years, leaving a son called Ordoño, better known by the epithet of "the Bad."

Ramiro II. started an invasion into Arab Spain, which penetrated as far as Madrid, and some say Talavera, which served as a stronghold on the frontiers to protect the Christians from entering Toledo. The town was entered into, sacked, and its inhabitants were either killed or made captives, and the place remained desolate. From thence Ramiro returned to Leon. The Saracens were unable to oppose his passage. Then the Saracens attacked the province of Castille with a powerful army. Count Fernando Gonçalves, who was then Governor, besought the aid of Ramiro, who quickly arrived. If we credit Arab narratives, the Mussalmans had time meanwhile to devastate the Christian territories as far as Galicia. However, on their passing the Douro, near Osma, they were met by Ramiro, but the encounter did not decide the victory, although the battle of Osma left the forces on both sides greatly broken up, as they had to agree to a truce of peace for the term of three years, at the expiration of which hostilities recommenced more vigorously than ever.

At this period Umeyyah Ibn Isak Abu Yahya was Kayid of Santarem, and his brother Mohammed Wazir, or Councillor, at the Court of Cordova. The Caliph had reasons to be displeased with Mohammed, and put him to death. The Kayid of Santarem, indignant at this act, leagued himself to Ramiro along with a great number of Saracen knights, and offered their submission, delivering up to him the castles of the Gharb dependent on him. By this alliance the King of Leon was enabled to devastate ancient Lusitania, taking the route from Badajoz to Merida, and returning by the neighbourhood of Lisbon, from whence he proceeded towards Galicia loaded with spoils. It appears his progress was somewhat disturbed by the enemies who attempted a raid beyond the Douro.

As soon as the Caliph of Cordova, Abdu-r-rahman, knew of the devastations which the Leonese King had effected, he resolved to employ all his forces against the Christians, and endeavour to annihilate their power, which was daily becoming more formidable against Islamism.

By command of the Caliph all the Walis and Kayids with their

respective troops marched towards Salamanca, whence Abdu-r-rahman in person took the command of the forces, which numbered over one hundred thousand men. This numerous army crossed the frontiers of the enemy, and after desolating the plains, and levelling to the ground several castles, camped around the walls of Zamora.

Ramiro II., on his side, had collected together in Burgos all the forces of Leon, Asturias, Galicia, and Castille. Garcia, the King of Navarre, came down to succour him, and Abu Yahya likewise assisted him with a large body of Mussalman cavalry. In this way the Christian army was rendered powerful enough to compete with that of the Caliph. Then the Christian army marched against the Caliph.

Abdu-r-rahman quitted Zamora, leaving twenty thousand men to guard it, and proceeded with eighty thousand to meet the enemy on the margins of Pisuerga, close to Simancas. The two armies advanced and met, but the first encounter was a short one. For two days the Saracen and the Christian armies remained passive, as though appalled by the importance of the undertaking, and which was further heightened by an eclipse of the sun. On the third day the cavalry of the Gharb opened the battle, and Ramiro advanced with his squadron. The engagement continued till night, with equal fury and bravery on both sides, and with varied success. At nightfall the battlefield was strewn with the dead and broken arms, yet the victory was undecided. The Arab chroniclers say the losses sustained on the Mussalman side were greater than on that of the King of Leon, and that, had the battle been renewed on the following day, the Christians would certainly have won. However, acting on the advice of Abu Yahya, the King retired during the night. No doubt, as we are led to believe, Yahya had already repented of helping the enemies of the Koran to spill the blood of the Mussalmans, and for this reason advised the King to retire.

The Saracens did not attempt to persecute the Leonese army, but returned to the camp of Zamora. There is so much confusion in the narrative of the Arab historians that does not tally with the Christian chroniclers that it is impossible to assert with truth the particular successes which followed the battle of Simancas. What appears probable is, that the Saracens took possession of Zamora, because Abdu-r-rahman retired to Salamanca, appointing a governor and garrisoning Zamora; but he later on allowed this important town to

fall into the hands of the Leonese, who there captured the Kayid of Santarem, Abu Yahya, the prime mover of all the war, and who in this short space of time had joined his co-religionists.

In that same year (939) Ramiro passed the Douro to consolidate the Christian dominion on the territories which had been the scene of the preceding engagement.

Salamanca, Ledesma, Peñaranda, Gormaz, Osma, and many other places on the frontiers had been ruined and deserted. These he rebuilt, and garrisoned their forts.

From this date commenced the real aggrandisement of the Counts of Castille, wherein principally the above towns were situated, an aggrandisement which caused many perturbations in Christian Spain, and which quickly roused up the rebellions of the Counts Fernando Gonçalves and Diogo Nunes, whom Ramiro brought to submission, and after a period of imprisonment forgave them.

Ramiro sent envoys to Cordova in 944 to make terms of peace with the Caliph, and the latter sent also his Minister, or Wazir, Ahmed Ibn Said, to Leon with the same object. The treaty of peace made at the time continued in force until 949, the last year of the reign of Ramiro, when he made an entry as far as Ebora, now called Talavera, but which he was unable to take, although in its immediate neighbourhood he broke up a body of Saracens after much bloodshed and took many captives. This attempt was replied to by Abdu-r-rahman, who effected a raid on Christian territory, while Ramiro II., bowed down by his last grievous illness, was dying in Leon on the first days of the year 950, having abdicated in favour of his eldest son Ordoño III.

Scarcely had Ordoño III. ascended the throne than his brother Sancho disputed the possession. He was at the time Governor or Count of Burgos, and a youthful warrior. The turbulent Count of Castille, Fernando Gonçalves, favoured his party, and both proceeded to Leon with their respective armies; but Ordoño was forewarned, and the allies were compelled to give up the attempt. The revenge of Ordoño was reduced to repudiating his wife Urraca, daughter of the Count of Castille, who later on wedded Ordoño the Bad.

This attempt of Sancho was repeated in Galicia, but the King of Leon at once went with a large army against the rebels, who were speedily put down. Ordoño then proceeded to effect an entry into the lands of the infidels. He passed the Douro and descended along the Mussalman territory, now called Beira and Estremadura, to the mouth

of the Tagus, took Lisbon, sacked it, and returned to Leon rich in spoils and captives.

Meanwhile the Saracens were entering Castille, causing great damage. Ordoño III., after governing five years and a few months, died, and was succeeded by his brother Sancho, who coveted the crown. Sancho I. reigned but a short time in peace. He was called Sancho the Fat on account of his obesity. Ordoño, son of Alfonso IV., who lived a retired life in Leon, leagued himself to the ever-rebellious Fernando Gonçalves, whose daughter, forsaken by the King Ordoño III., he had taken to wife, and rebelled against his brother. Assisted by the father-in-law, he was able to expel him from the throne. Sancho took refuge in Navarre, and from thence went to Cordova to seek protection from the enemy of his father, the illustrious Abdu-r-rahman.

He did not seek or trust in vain the generosity of the famous Caliph. The Mussalman Prince accorded him the needful succour to regain his States. At the head of a Saracen army Sancho I. re-entered his capital, from whence Ordoño the Bad fled, trusting to defend himself in the mountains of Asturias. Sancho did not allow him any repose until he expelled him out of his territories. Ordoño was therefore compelled to take refuge among the Saracens, where he, no doubt, ended his days in obscurity, since no further mention is made of him by historians.

From the epoch of the restoration of Sancho I. to the throne in 961 to the second year of the Caliphate of Al-hakem, son and successor of Abdu-r-rahman III., peace subsisted among the Christians and Saracens. The raids of Fernando Gonçalves along Mussalman Spain enkindled anew the war. Al-hakem entered Castille, and levelled to the ground Gormaz. He took possession of various other towns, and laid Zamora in a state of siege, then devastating it, returned to Cordova.

Probably the war was continued by the generals of the Caliph, because in the year 965 Sancho I. sent envoys from the frontier Counts of Castille to offer terms of peace. These messages proved that the combats were effected by Fernando Gonçalves, without the approbation of the Leonese king, who remained only a spectator to these strifes. Al-hakem acceded to the prayer of Sancho, and peace was established, and continued until the termination of the government of this prince.

Various Counts of Galicia, conjointly with the Bishop of Compos-

tella, effected a rising, which compelled Sancho I. to punish with a firm hand that province. Gonsalo Sanches, one of the rebel leaders, being unable to resist, pretended to yield, but in a conference held with the King of Leon, was bidden to poison him. Thus ended the reign of Sancho I., towards the end of the year 967. His son Ramiro, aged five years, was chosen to succeed his father, under the regency of his aunt Elvira.

Some minor civil disturbances and the landing of Norman pirates in Galicia were the most notable events of the regency of Elvira. Fernando Gonçalves died in 970, and during the long period he held the government of Burgos, the capital of Castille, he scarcely ever laid aside his arms, being always engaged in some encounter with the Saracens, or instigating rebellions against the kings of Leon. Al-hakem died in Cordova, and his son Hixam, as we have seen, inherited the throne under the regency of his mother, Sobha, who entrusted the reins of the government to Almansor.

The first attempt of the Hajib against the Christians proved a long *algara*, or steady raid, in Galicia, and repeated later on in combats with the Christian troops of Galicia and Castille. The civil discords of Gothic Spain afforded every opportunity to the Saracens to become victorious. Ramiro III. on attaining his majority gave proofs of being self-willed, restless, and proud, which quickly alienated the good-will of the nobles and the public.

At an advantageous moment Bermudo, grandson of Fruela II., assisted by various Counts of Galicia, and even those of Leon and Castille, proclaimed himself king in Compostella. Ramiro, at the head of an army, at once marched against him, and they met near Monteroso, where the two rivals fought a desperate battle (but with no definite success) lasting the whole day, after which Ramiro returned to Leon, and Bermudo to Compostella.

At this epoch Almansor was scouring the frontiers of Galicia. Bermudo seems to have sought an alliance with him, and induced him to attack the territories of his adversary. The Hajib penetrated to the margins of Ezla, which flows into the Douro near Zamora. Ramiro went out to meet him, and one day, when the Saracens were reposing in their camps, he unexpectedly assailed them with such fury that Almansor was nearly defeated; but the energy of his character saved utter ruin, since the Leonese, at first victorious, at length had to retire to their coasts.

The Hajib followed them up to Leon, and would have taken the capital had not suddenly a terrible snow and hail storm broken out over them, and, according to the testimony of both Christian and Arab writers, prevented them from continuing the combat at the moment when the Saracens were already cleaving with their lances the gates of the city. Fearing the severity of the winter which had thus far favoured the Leonese, Almansor retired to Cordova.

The civil wars among the Christians of Galicia and Leon continued for two years, and were only interrupted by the second entry of Almansor in the spring of 984 into Leon, which he came to besiege, and resolved to take at any cost, and thus secure the very centre of the enemy's dominion.

Ramiro, it appears, had died, and Bermudo, who was reigning, fled towards the Asturias, taking with him the most precious objects of Leon and Astorga.

While the successor of Pelagio was forsaking the capital of the monarchy to the fury of the infidels, the Alcaide, or captain of the city, was preparing to offer a stubborn resistence. In truth, the Saracens were beaten with enormous loss during successive combats to take the town; but Almansor, following out his first resolve, would not desist until he took the stronghold by scaling the walls. He sacked the town, put to death the captives and inhabitants, and then ordered the walls and castle to be levelled to the ground. The capture of Astorga was followed by that of Leon, notwithstanding the brave resistance of its defenders. Almansor wished to follow up his victories by himself entering into the rugged Asturias, but repulsed from the castles of Luna, Alva, and Gordon, he retired to Cordova, satisfied with leaving in ruins some of the most notable towns on the enemy's land.

The fiercely disputed crown of Christian Spain on the south at length was carried by Bermudo II. without a rival, but converted into a crown of thorns. The Saracens were scouring victoriously through Leon, Castille, and Galicia, devastating the latter to the very sea-shore, and only stopping their course on the north by the insuperable barriers afforded them by the rugged Sierras, or Mountains of the Asturias. The reign of Bermudo, surnamed the Gouty, was a continued agony, as year by year he witnessed the infidels desolating the territories, and the most beautiful cities of his dominions wrecked. The terrible Hajib seemed to have sworn to extinguish the Christian name in the Peninsula. He had conquered on the north the Catalans and the Navarrese,

and he was reducing the southern States to their last extremity. During his long regency in the name of Hixam, he turned into a wilderness Castille, by taking and ruining the most notable towns; and he did likewise in Galicia, whose frontiers, since the invasion of Ordoño III. in ancient Lusitania, had extended as far as the Mondego.

In the year 987, Coimbra, the Medina Coimbra of the Arabs, fell into the power of Almansor, who destroyed it, and after seven years of ruin repeopled it with Saracens. Civil wars meanwhile were disturbing the towns, and multiplied evils to Spanish Christianity. Sancho Garces, son of the Count of Castille, Garcia Fernandes, was taking arms against his father, and Gonsalo Menendes rose up in Galicia against the authority of Bermudo. In the midst of these revolts the Hajib entered into Castille, and after two days of furious battle completely destroyed the united armies of Count Garcia Fernandes and of the King of Navarre, who came to his aid: the dying Count fell into the hands of the Saracens, and in spite of every care they were unable to save his life.

Almansor continued his victorious march to the Province of Leon, where he broke up the Leonese troops; and the Saracen army returned to Cordova for the winter.

About the year 996, Bermudo, harassed by domestic strifes, and his dominions constantly assailed by the indomitable Hajib, endeavoured to establish peace with Almansor, who in reality was master in Cordova; but although he at first appeared to agree to the terms, nothing was effected, and in 997 hostilities recommenced. A *ghaswat*, or holy expedition, as the Arabs denominated the wars against the Christians, was started by sea and land, intending to destroy Compostella, and extending from the south to the north of Galicia. This project was secretly supported by the various Counts unfriendly to Bermudo. While the latter was traversing the territory of the modern Provinces of Castillian Estremadura, Salamanca, and Alta Beira, where his Christian allies joined him, a fleet from the Alcacer (Al-kassr Abu Danés) was porting in the mouth of the Douro to convey near Oporto (Bortkal, Portucale) more troops and ammunitions of war. All the forces of the Hajib joined him here, and with them he crossed the part of ancient Galicia which is now called Entre Douro and Minho, and overcoming every obstacle which men and the ruggedness of the mountains had placed before him, he reached the walls of Compostella.

The city was unprotected by the inhabitants, and the Saracens

entered into it without meeting any resistance. They broke down the walls, levelled the Castle, and the celebrated Church of Santiago, called by the Arabs the Kaaba of the Nazarene, as though to say the Temple by excellence of the Christians, as Mecca was of the Mussalmans. From thence he advanced towards Coruna, where, if we credit the Arab historian Al-makkari, the Saracens had never yet reached. The fatigued state of the cavalry prevented the Hajib from advancing farther north, but he returned to the Province of Leon, which he newly assailed, and retired to Cordova, after making large presents to the Christian Counts who had assisted him, and whose territories he had carefully respected.

In the midst of these wars the century came to an end, as well as the reign of Bermudo II., who died in 999. The brilliant star which had guided the steps of Pelagio, of the first three Alfonsos, and of Ramiro II. was nearly obscured during the long reign of Bermudo II.

The eleventh century dawned with sad forebodings. Poverty, depopulation, and general depression were visible everywhere. Alfonso, the infant son of Bermudo, succeeded to the throne, for the Goths had neglected to preserve their right of electing the king; and at the present moment an individual was needed at once diplomatic and military, competent to control civil discords, save the Leonese monarchy, and in some way put down with a strong hand the inroads of the terrible Hajib of Cordova.

Hence under melancholy auspices was the youthful Alfonso V. acclaimed king in Leon, which the Christians had begun to rebuild. Fortunately, the helm of public affairs was taken by Menendo Gonsalves, the Count of Galicia, and by Sancho Garçez, Count of Castille, uncle to the king, and both illustrious knights. The widow of Bermudo, Geloira, or Elvira, a high-spirited woman, exercised a great influence over the administration of the nation, and at the Councils of State she presided jointly with the two Counts.

The war pursued in Africa had withdrawn Almansor for a time, and the Christians meanwhile were able to lay aside their arms. Nevertheless, in the year 1000 he attempted an incursion to Castille, which was prevented by Sancho Garcez, and he then passed on to the part of ancient Lusitania which was united to Galicia, and took the Castles of Aguiar and Montemor. It was not until 1002 that the Hajib determined to reduce definitely Castille to the Mussalman dominion.

These preparations on the part of the Saracens filled the Christians with terror. The tutors and councillors of Alfonso V. were making arrangements to meet the strife. Sancho, the King of Navarre, who was surnamed *Quadrimano* from his expedience and activity, came with the forces of Navarre and from the South of France, and likewise the independent Basques joined themselves to the troops of Leon, Galicia, and Castille. The fields of Lorca witnessed for the first time the meeting of those men who professed the same creed, yet had been severed by years of continual political strifes and passions.

The Saracens advanced, following the course of the Douro to the east, and devastating every place as they passed. Near the spot called by Arab historians Kalat-al-nosor, or the Pinnacle of the Vulture, they suddenly came upon the Christian camp, whose numbers filled with astonishment the Mussalmans. A slight skirmish was the result, but at daydawn the battle commenced. The encounter was a terrible one, and lasted the whole day, yet at nightfall neither army had retreated a single step. Darkness put an end to the slaughter, but the victory was undecided. During that night Almansor, finding that the best of his officers and knights had perished, lost courage to proceed with the battle, and ordered what remained of his army to cross the Douro. The Christians, who had experienced equal losses, did not even attempt to pursue the fugitives. The Hajib could not outlive this dishonour. Grief, age, and the wounds he had received, all conspired together, and he expired ere he had scarcely crossed the frontiers of Castille. Abdu-l-malek Al-modhaffer, the son of Almansor, was appointed Hajib.

In the spring of 1003 the new Hajib opened the campaign by attacking Catalonia, and in the autumn he assailed the Leonese monarchy, and captured the city of Leon, which was beginning to be restored, and which he destroyed anew. During the year 1005 these raids ceased on both sides, and a suspension of hostilities was arranged, which lasted until 1007, when Abdu-l-malek entered into Castille, and from thence to Galicia, where he carried everything before him by fire and the sword. The lands remained desolated, and the Castles of Osma and Gormaz levelled to the ground. Following the course of the Douro, the Hajib returned to Cordova laden with spoils.

But the advantages obtained by the Saracens were speedily revenged. In the following year Al-modhaffer advanced to Galicia with a powerful army, whose principal strength consisted of a picked cavalry corps. The Christians came out to meet them, and the combat

was long and bravely sustained, but the Hajib lost, and returned to Cordova, where he died.

The death of Abdu-l-malek produced serious disturbances, and civil wars followed. In the combats which deluged with blood the *plazas* of proud Cordova, the African troops composing the bodyguards of the Caliph Hixam were averse to Mohammed Ibn Hixam, who had taken possession of the Caliphate, and they were forced to quit the capital, driven by the Spanish Mussalmans, and retire to the frontiers of Castille. Suleyman Ibn Al-hakem was their commander, and he proposed to the Castillian Count to deliver up to him certain castles in his possession on the frontiers if he would assist him against Mohammed. The Count accepted his proposal, with what result is seen elsewhere.

Sancho Garcez in this manner obtained from Suleyman some places as a remuneration for past services, to which were soon added San Estevan, Osma, and Clunia, serving meanwhile the adversaries of the Africans. In this way, taking advantage of circumstances, the untiring spirit of the Count of Castille was able to secure during his lifetime the integrity of the Castillian territories restored and almost independent.

It was between the years 1012 and 1016 that discords arose between Alfonso V., who was barely twenty years of age, and his uncle Sancho Garcez; and these discords continued to 1021, when the death of the Count took place. He left an infant son, Garcia Sancho, as his successor. It appears Alfonso V. did not take advantage of the minority of Garcia to annihilate the importance of the Castillian Counts, because we find that his only son Bermudo married Urraca, a younger sister of the young Count, and the latter married Sancha, sister of Bermudo.

Ancient records afford us but a vague description of the wars of Alfonso V. with the Saracens, and the great victories achieved by this prince; but it is certain that he passed the Douro, and proceeding towards the north of the Gharb, besieged Viseu, which had probably remained in the possession of the Mussalmans from the time of Almansor. He perished during this siege in the prime of life. It appears that, being a very hot summer's day, he cast off his coat of mail, and was simply clothed in a cool linen tunic. The king was riding round the walls, when a well-directed arrow shot from the turret tower wounded him mortally, and he fell from his horse. He

was taken to his tent, but Alfonso V. ceased to live shortly after. He was in his thirtieth year.

Bermudo III., son of the late King Alfonso V., ascended the throne. The nobles of Castille, probably the tutors of Garcia, sent envoys to him with proposals of marriage between the youthful Count and the Infanta Sancha, and begging the concession of using or assuming the title of king. It appears Bermudo consented to this, because we find soon after that the nobles of Burgos went to Leon with their ward to effect the marriage which was to terminate the discords between the king and his too powerful vassal.

Bermudo, meanwhile, had left for Oviedo. When the Castillians reached to Leon and found the king gone, they were proceeding on to the city of Oviedo to confer with him, when an unforeseen event prevented them from doing so. The brothers Vigilas, or Velas, who fostered deep hatred against the family of Count Sancho Garcez, collected together a large army of soldiers near Asturias, and, marching all night, entered Leon at daybreak, where, meeting the youthful Count, they assassinated him and many of the Castillians and Leonese who attempted to save him. Quitting the city, they proceeded to the frontiers of Castille, and took refuge in Monzon, a stronghold erected on a cliff, which overlooked the river of Carrion.

The aged King of Navarre, Sancho, he who had married the eldest sister of Garcia, judged it his duty to succeed him and revenge his death. He entered Castille with an army, and besieged Monzon, which he took possession of, putting to death its defenders, and ordered Velas, whom he there captured, to be burnt alive. He then proceeded to Burgos, and acclaimed himself the successor of Garcia Sanchez in union with Castille and Navarre, thus forming one of the most powerful monarchies of Christian Spain. Nevertheless, peace was but of short duration between Leon and Navarre. The project of rebuilding Palencia, which the Navarrese intended to do, as it was situated within the limits of the county of Castille, first broke the peace. Bermudo opposed this as being within the limits of the Leonese district. Sancho, who was a hale, martial old man, at once penetrated into the dominions of his adversary, and took possession of the whole tract between the rivers Cea and Pisuerga.

Bermudo was at the time in Galicia, engaged in putting down tumults in that ever-restless province, and the enemy was enabled to cross the Cea and run along the fields of Leon. The Leonese, however,

took up arms, and Bermudo came to their aid with an army of Galicians. The two kings made terms of peace on condition that Ferdinand, the second son of the King of Navarre, should wed Sancha, the promised wife of the dead Garcia, and Bermudo to yield up the territory conquered by the Navarrese between Cea and Pisuerga. These events, which rendered Sancho the most powerful among the Christian princes of Spain, took place in the year 1032, but his ambition would allow him no peace. We find him in the year 1034 entering Leon in a hostile manner, under what pretext is not known; but he subjugated the whole of the country as far as the frontiers of Galicia, and perchance part of it, and these conquests he retained to the date of his death in the following year. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and sixty-fifth of his accession.

The death of Sancho engendered civil wars. His vast States had been divided among his children. These States included modern Navarre, both Spanish and French; the county of Aragon, then not so extensive as the present province; and Castille—that is to say, two-thirds of the Spanish territory released from the Saracen yoke. Navarre was given to his eldest son, called Garcia, who at the time was away in Italy. Aragon fell to Ramiro, and the new kingdom of Castille, with the portion of Leon situated between Cea and Pisuerga, to Ferdinand, because Bermudo had taken possession of the other side. Ramiro, whose portion was the smallest, owing to being, it is said, an illegitimate son, took advantage of Garcia's absence to ally himself to the Walis of Zaragoza, Huesca, and Tudela, and then entered the States of his brother with the intention of conquering them. Garcia, on receiving the news of his father's death, at once returned to Spain, and when he learnt of this attempt on the part of his brother, sallied out to encounter him with all the forces he could muster. Fortune proved adverse to Ramiro, who was thus pursued by his brother, and barely able to escape, leaving behind many Saracen and Aragonese troops. Ramiro owned himself vanquished, and besought peace, which was granted to him, retaining the small portion of the paternal inheritance.

In a short space of time after the death of Sancho of Navarre, Bermudo recovered the province of Leon, due, it appears, to the spontaneous act of the counts and governors of the castles, without requiring to conquer them. Bermudo had now attained to manhood. He was a high-spirited youth, brave, and a lover of justice. His long minority had necessarily engendered many abuses. The first year of

his government he spent in remedying past evils, and in the next one (1037) he resolved to re-establish the former limits of the Leonese territory, and invade the districts between Cea and Pisuerga, which he had been compelled to yield up. With an army of Galicians and Leonese he entered that district. His cousin, Ferdinand, King of Castille, finding that his forces were inferior, besought the aid of Garcia, who immediately came down from Navarre to assist him. The two brothers sallied out to meet the invader near the river Carrion. A battle ensued, which, it is said, was the best fought ever witnessed in Spain. Many feats of arms took place, and Bermudo particularly distinguished himself by his bravery and skill. Breaking through the Navárrese and Castillian wings, the audacious son of Alfonso fell into the power of the King of Castille, at whose hands he perished, if we credit the inscription over the sepulchre of Bermudo in the Cathedral of Leon, or that of Garcia of Navarre, recorded by the ancient chroniclers.

The victorious Ferdinand at once marched against the capital, whose inhabitants attempted to resist him. By the right of succession, which by degrees had taken the place of election practised by the Visigoths, the crown belonged to Ferdinand of Castille by his mother Sancha, sister and heiress of Bermudo, the latter having died childless. The inhabitants of Leon, therefore, apprehending that the result of this strife would end in having to acknowledge as their king the Prince of Castille, yielded to the conqueror, and Ferdinand was acclaimed King of Leon and Castille.

The new monarch was indeed worthy of the double crown. His character and intelligence during epochs of peace and war invested him in course of time with the surname of "the Great." During the first years he made it his duty to repress the constant rebellions of the Spanish nobles, and established peace, strengthened the laws of the country, and promulgated new ones. The monarchy of Leon and Castille enjoyed exterior peace up to the year 1050 with the Christian princes of Eastern Spain, and with the Saracens, whose empire, ever a prey to discords, was falling into complete anarchy.

Garcia, however, now stepped forward with his ambition to interrupt this calm and prosperous state. He had established his Court in Naxera and was in ill-health. His brother Ferdinand I., through fraternal affection, went to visit him; but he had barely arrived than Garcia ordered him to be taken prisoner. Apprised in time of this

treacherous act, the Castillian king was able to save himself. Soon after this occurrence Ferdinand was taken ill, and, perchance to disarm suspicions, proceeded to visit him in his turn. Ferdinand did not lose this opportunity of revenging himself. The King of Navarre was arrested, and placed in the Castle of Cea. His captivity was of short duration because, by means of bribing his guards, he effected his escape, and took refuge in his States.

War was rendered inevitable after this proceeding. Garcia commenced furious attacks on Castille, destroying all by fire and sword. His brother then mustered together a large army, but before proceeding against him he sent envoys with proposals of peace, and offered to condone the past.

The King of Navarre turned a deaf ear to all proposals, and after ill-treating the envoys, dismissed them with terrible threats, and he immediately proceeded to Burgos.

The King of Leon and Castille came out to meet him a few leagues from the city, and tried once more to avoid a combat. But the King of Navarre, trusting to the prowess of his army, the large number of paid Saracen troops, and to his own individual skill and bravery for which he was renowned, refused all conciliation. At daybreak the two armies encountered each other with equal fury; but a small party of picked knights, which the Leonese king had placed in ambush in a neighbouring wood, now cast themselves, when the battle was at its highest, with lowered lances on to the wing where Garcia was fighting, and clearing all before them, reached the king, wounded him, and he fell dead, or nearly so, from his horse. As soon as this event became known, the Navarrese deserted the field, pursued by their adversaries; but Ferdinand bade them respect the lives and liberty of the Christians, yet to take prisoners, or put to death without mercy, the Saracens who were allied to Garcia. After this he sought for the dead body of his brother, and gave him an honoured burial in the Cathedral of the city.

The forbearance of Ferdinand I. after the victory, which, even in our days, is worthy of admiration, is rendered far more praiseworthy when we take into account the rudeness and the excessive ambition of those times. The crown of Navarre lay at his feet, yet he did not place it on his head, because we find Sancho, the eldest son of Garcia, succeeding his father to the throne, which he filled for many years.

These events took place about the end of 1054. In the following year Ferdinand I., who was in possession of the greater and richer

portion of Christian Spain, beheld the kingdom of Cordova a prey to long and fierce civil wars, which were dismembering it into as many states as there were districts. He resolved to take advantage of this juncture to extend his own dominions at the costof the sectaries of the Koran. He therefore crossed the Douro near Zamora, and proceeded towards the west, entering into the modern province of Beira, whose castles had so often been lost and regained alternately by Christians and Saracens. The Castle of Seia (Sena) was the first he took, ravaging its outskirts, and reducing all other less important castles.

He continued this war each succeeding spring, and successively conquered (1057) Viseu, Lamego, Tarouca, and other strongholds. Changing afterwards the theatre of war to the frontiers of Castille, he continued for years a series of conquests and triumphs, until he laid siege to Alcalá of Henares, situated in the interior of Arab Spain, not far from Toledo.

Al-mamon, the Ameer of Toledo, was besought by the inhabitants of Alcalá to save them. He elected to accomplish it by means of supplications and large bounties rather than at the price of blood. Satisfied with the gifts and the humiliation of Al-mamon, Ferdinand left the Saracens to enjoy peace for a time, and returned to Zamora, which he completely restored the following year.

His martial, restless character would not permit him to lay aside his arms for any length of time. Effecting a new entry towards the west, he reached to the city of Coimbra, the most important town on the Mussalman frontiers, and besieged it.

Coimbra was a stronghold and well garrisoned, and the siege lasted six months. At length the Saracens were forced to surrender, either from want of provisions or because the state of their walls after these months of continued warfare were not in a condition to warrant a more lengthened defence, and in this way Coimbra fell into the power of the Christians, never more to leave it.

These events took place in 1064.* During the subsequent year

* The epoch of the taking of Coimbra by Ferdinand the Great is one of the most disputed chronological events in the history of Spain. The opinion of Fr. Henrique Flores, who assigns this conquest to the year 1058, is at the present day most generally received, but those who say it took place in the year 1064 appear to us to have better foundation, and therefore we prefer to follow it. Those who desire further to investigate this matter may consult "España Sagrada," T. xiv., p. 90, and foll.; "Ribeiro Diss. Chron.," T. i., p. 1, and foll.; "St. Bonaventure Hist. Chron. and Crit. d'Alcobaça," p. 154, and foll.

Ferdinand I. reached to the extreme south of Mussalman Spain, that is to say, Valencia, where none of his predecessors had ever attempted. This incursion, from its extraordinary undertaking, would be difficult to credit were it not referred to by both Christian and Arab historians.

Ever since Al-mamon, the Ameer of Toledo, had established peaceful relations with the King of Leon and Castille at the siege of Alcalá, he had always retained his powerful alliance with him. In the midst of the civil wars which were raging in Mussalman Spain, he was called away to war against the Ameer of Valencia, and he besought aid from Ferdinand the Great. The invasion of the territory of Valencia by Al-mamon took place, according to Arab historians, in this year. These affirm that the succour sought for was in reality afforded to him, and the conquest of Al-mamon was the same as the victories ascribed by Christian chroniclers to the Leonese king when the Ameer of Valencia was expelled.

Before the wars of the Ameer of Toledo were concluded, Ferdinand, feeling very unwell, returned to Leon, where he grew worse, and died in December, 1065. Previous to his death he summoned a council to declare that each of his three sons and two daughters should inherit a portion of his vast States. To Sancho, the eldest son, he gave Castille, with the title of King; to Alfonso, the kingdoms of Leon and Asturias; and to Garcia, the province of Galicia, constituted as an independent kingdom.

His daughter Urraca he constituted Sovereign of Zamora, and Geloira, or Elvira, of Touro, with many other estates in the dominion of her brothers, and, what was of more importance, the seigniority of all the monasteries held under the patronage of the crown. The title of Queen was also continued to them, and very probably gave rise to that title being assumed by all the Infantas, or daughters of kings, a custom which we find in use during the first periods of the monarchy.

The three sons of Ferdinand, although dissatisfied more or less with their portions, yet lived in peace, due probably to the influence exercised by their mother, D. Sancha, whom historians depict as a model of virtue, urbanity, and good sense. After her death in 1067 the fire which smouldered beneath the ashes broke out into a flame, and under what pretext is unknown, but strifes commenced between Alfonso of Leon and Sancho of Castille. They made war against each other, and

met near the river Pisuerga. The battle waged furiously with great losses, but at length Alfonso was defeated, and he returned to his capital, and hostilities were not renewed until the summer of 1071, a period of three years.

War was again declared, and the brothers met. When recounting this battle, the ancient chroniclers tell us that the forces of Alfonso were composed not only of Leonese troops, but of Galicians, which induces us to believe that Garcia was on the side of Leon and sent his aid.

The two armies met on the borders of Leon and Castille, by the shores of Carrion. The battle was more furious and obstinate than the former one. At the end of the day the Castillians broke up and fled, dragging Sancho along with them. Alfonso thus remained master of the fields of the King of Castille, and, satisfied with the success of the victory, forbade his army to pursue the fugitives.

But among the soldiers of Sancho there was a warrior who, already renowned for his singular prowess, now had kept his spirit clear in the midst of that melancholy stampede. This warrior was Rodrigo Didacide, or Ruy Dias, better known as the Cid, of whom so many legends are told.

Convinced that a sudden attack upon the unsuspecting conquerors might alter the fortune of that hapless undertaking, he persuaded the King of Castille to return at night, and at the break of day suddenly to throw themselves on the enemy, and win back the victory. The result proved the wisdom of that stratagem. Surprised, and only partly armed, the Leonese and the Galicians were easily defeated, and so completely were they punished that Alfonso himself fell into the hands of his brother, who captured him and sent him to Burgos; then, advancing with the conquering army, he took unresisting possession of Leon. The captive king was compelled to assume the monastic habit in the celebrated monastery of San Facundo, or Sahagun, to avoid a worse fate. After a time he was able to effect his escape, went to Toledo, and placed himself under the protection of Al-mamon, the former ally of his father.

While these strifes were taking place between the Castillians and Leonese, the States bequeathed by Ferdinand the Great to his third son were not enjoying tranquillity any more than those of his brothers. Garcia was reigning in Galicia, and over the territory which was already known by the name of Portugal, which comprehended all

the part of the province south of the Minho and north of the Douro, likewise the district extending from the south of the Douro up to the Mondego, which had been conquered by the Saracens. Garcia was of a stern character, and preferred to govern rather by terror than by affection. Some of the Barons of Entre Douro and Minho, impatient under his yoke, rebelled, and, led by Count Nuno Menendes, were defeated between Brachara (Braga) and Cavado. An historian of the thirteenth century tells us that after this victory the King of Galicia became more tyrannical, and that Vernula, a favourite of the king, was assassinated by the nobles in presence of Garcia because he had informed against them, and that this event only redoubled his vengeance and the oppression of the Galicians and Portugalenses, who thereby became more greatly irritated against his rule. Sancho did not fail to take advantage of this state of affairs to wrench the crown from the younger brother, whom he was able to expel out of his kingdom without meeting scarcely any resistance. Garcia was accompanied by about three hundred knights only, and fled for refuge among the Saracens, and these later on favoured and assisted him to return to the district of Portugal, where he took possession of various castles. However, in one of the encounters with Sancho he was taken prisoner, loaded with chains, and cast into the Castle of Luna. The narratives of these events, which are repeated by the majority of modern historians, are deficient in accuracy, and involve some difficulties.

What appears certain, however, is, that if Garcia continued to govern Galicia and Portugal after the conquest of Leon by Sancho, it was acknowledged under the supremacy of his eldest brother.

In all these disputes Urraca had always taken the part of the King of Leon, and it was she who aided him to escape to Toledo.

Sancho took this pretext to deprive her of the seigniority of Zamora and besiege it. The inhabitants of Zamora attempted to defend it, notwithstanding the power of the King of Castille, and this they did so persistently that Sancho was unable to conquer them. The siege was continued, and the ambitious prince was resolutely determined to take the city at any cost, when an unforeseen event occurred which put an end to the strife. One day that Sancho was quietly riding outside the walls, and totally unprepared, a brave knight of Zamora, called Vellito Adaulfiz, or Bellido Arnulfes, rode out at full speed, lance in hand, and encountered the Castillian king, whom he cast down pierced from his horse, and swiftly fled behind the walls. This he did

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so quickly that no one was able to capture him. The wound proved a fatal one, and Sancho expired on the following day. The besiegers, who were composed of a heterogeneous mixture of Castillian, Leonese, and even Navarrese and Galician bodies, broke up in disorder after the death of Sancho and dispersed. Some discipline was maintained in the Castillian portion of the army, and these resisted the besieged, who had rushed out to pursue them, and were able to rescue the body of Sancho, which they conveyed with military honours to the Monastery of Onha, where he was interred.

These events took place about the year 1072. The unexpected death of Sancho completely changed the aspect of public affairs. Urraca hastened to beseech Alfonso to come and occupy the throne, which was undisputed, since the King of Castille had died childless.

After pledging peace and alliance with Al-mamon, his generous host, Alfonso proceeded to Zamora, where he was at once proclaimed, and acknowledged King by the Barons of Leon, and, according to some historians, by the Barons also of Galicia, and this appears to confirm the hypothesis that in the preceding reign the States of Garcia had fallen into a state of subjection to Sancho. If we credit the historians Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo Ximenes, the Castillians exacted from him on oath that he had not been a party to the conspiracy to put his brother to death. As none of them dared to demand this oath from him, Ruy Dias de Bivar, or the Cid, stepped forward, and in the name of the Nobles of Castille exacted it. All these details may be only inventions to afford some historic foundation to the romances and poems of the Cid, which for a great length of time, and even down to the present day, are accepted by some as true narratives.

The date of the second reign of Alfonso VI. of that name in the series of Kings of Oviedo and Leon is laid to the commencement of the year 1073. It would seem that after he had regained his own lost crown and that of Castille he might have been content with his fortune, but it was not so. Garcia was reigning in Galicia, whither he had gone when he escaped from the Castle of Luna, and had barely ascended the throne than Alfonso VI., acting under the advice of his sister Urraca, deceitfully induced him to come to the Court, where he was cast into prison, from whence he was never released, although treated with every consideration. As neither of the provinces, Portugal and Galicia, refused to accept their new sovereign, Alfonso found himself in pacific possession of the whole inheritance of Ferdinand the

Great, to which was added, three years later, Rioja and Biscay, which Sancho I. of Aragon yielded to him in exchange for being allowed to reign peacefully in Navarre, the greater part of which Sancho had taken possession of. It was not long before an opportunity offered itself to the powerful King of Leon, Castille, and Galicia to manifest his gratitude to the Mussalman Ameer who had so nobly befriended him in time of adversity.

Arab Spain was being torn asunder by the intestine wars which had arisen after the fall of the empire of the Beni-Umeyyas. The Ameer of Seville, who had obtained the dominion of the former capital of the Caliphs, invaded the States of Al-mamon. Without waiting for the Ameer to ask his aid, the Christian king marched to help Al-mamon. The Toledan and Leonese armies then entered the territory of the Ameer, desolating and burning all before them. At length Al-mamon succeeded in taking possession of Seville, and his ally Alfonso returned to Leon loaded with spoils. The aged Ameer died soon after, leaving his son and successor, or, as some say, his grandson, under the protection of Alfonso VI., who about this period (1077) took possession of Coria, a city which probably was subject to the Ameer of Badajoz.

Mohammed Al-mutamed Ibn Abbad (or, as the Christian chroniclers say, Benabeth) was the Ameer of Seville at the time when the King of Leon had fought as an ally of Al-mamon. As soon as Alfonso retired, Ibn Abbad laid Seville under siege when the Ameer of Toledo died. His death compelled the Toledans to surrender, and the capital of Andalusia, as well as Cordova, which had been conquered by Al-mamon, once more returned to their former masters.

Ibn Abbad only feared the Leonese king because, as one of the tutors of the Toledan Ameer, he might proceed against him, and hinder the continuance of his victories.

Ibn Omar, the Wazir or Minister of Ibn Abbad, was one of the most renowned diplomatists among the Arabs. It was through his intervention that the Ameer of Seville endeavoured to divert Alfonso VI. from forming an alliance with the successor of Al-mamon; but the King of Leon knew how far to correspond to the trust reposed in him by the deceased Ameer, and if not actively defending his ward, at least by not siding with his enemies.

In those days Toledo, after Cordova, was the most renowned city of Mussalman Spain. It had been the ancient capital of the empire of the Visigoths, and its central position, commanding situation, and

wonderful development since the family of Dhi-n-nun reigned there had rendered it of such importance that Alfonso VI. ardently desired to possess it in order to establish it the capital of the kingdom of Oviedo, Leon, and Castille. During the five years which elapsed from 1080 to the taking of Toledo in 1085, Alfonso VI. had directed all his efforts towards that end.

Before actually besieging Toledo, the King of Leon pursued a system of weakening the capital, by every year twice assailing the neighbourhood, and devastating the open places, and taking what strongholds might prove dangerous to his scheme if occupied by the Moors. After three years of these raids and assaults, Alfonso at length encamped outside the walls of Toledo.

Yahya, the successor of Al-mamon, had done nothing to repulse the invasion of the Christians. The youthful Ameer was more fond of amusement and pleasure than of the duties of government and the harassing cares of war. When driven to the last extremity he sent messengers to Omar Ibn Mohammed, the Ameer of Badajoz, beseeching his aid. Omar actually sent his son Alfadl, Wali of Merida, with some troops, but with no result, as Alfonso not only prevented him from entering the city, but broke up his army and forced him to flee. Within the walls of Toledo there lived a number of Jews, Musarabes or Mostarabes. To the latter, the sway of their co-religionists, the Leonese, if not desirable, was not actually objectionable or to be feared; and to the Jews, who were indifferent spectators of the strifes between the two creeds and races which differed from their own, their only grave apprehension was losing the vast treasures they possessed should the city be sacked.

Impelled by hunger, which was now beginning to be actually felt, they began to speak of making some treaty. Some of the Mussalmans, who still preserved the traditions of the prowess of their predecessors, wished Toledo to be defended to the utmost; but the greater number of Saracens, broken down in spirit from privation, and despairing of obtaining aid, took the side of the Jews and Mosarabes.

Constrained by these counsels and the general opinion, the Ameer sent envoys to Alfonso VI. to remind him of his alliance with the family of Dhi-n-nun, and the benefits received from Al-mamon; and likewise to propose that Yahya should acknowledge the supremacy of the Leonese crown by paying him an annual tribute.

Alfonso rejected every offer, his fixed object being to take possession

of the city, and he would only give an armistice to the Moors. When the reply was known the people mutinied, and there was no help but to yield. The conditions were advantageous to the inhabitants: complete tolerance to Islamism; no increase of tributes; perfect liberty to all who wished to follow Yahya; the judges to remain, and the civil laws of the Mussalmans to continue in force.

The Ameer left for Valencia with the principal Saracens, and Alfonso, after arranging all things necessary to ensure his conquest, went to reside in the Alcasar of the Mussalman princes, and established his Court there, as better suited for prosecuting the war against Islamism, and for extending the Christian dominion, than Leon. It was in the spring of 1085 when the former capital of Visigothic Spain was released from the Saracen yoke. All the castles and towns dependent on the Ameership of Toledo, which had not yet been taken by Alfonso VI., soon followed the fate of the city, and all things were tending towards the restoration of Christianity, and the Cross was now held triumphantly aloft over more than one-half the Spanish territory, due to the many conquests of Alfonso VI.

The Ameer of Seville, he who had laboured so much to obtain an alliance with the King of Leon, and to induce him to put down the power of Dhi-n-nun, was now filled with grave apprehensions of the fatal consequences to Islamism which his policy would bring, in view of the many and important conquests which Alfonso VI. was effecting.

He sent messengers to beseech him to be content with the possession of Toledo, and to cease from further conquests, reminding him of the conditions of the treaties celebrated between them. The King of Leon understood, or pretended to understand, that the Ameer was reminding him of the obligation to help him against his enemies; and, without discontinuing the war, he sent him five hundred knights, who, after staying only three days in Seville, proceeded to Medina Sidonia, where Ibn Abbad was at the time.

Never had the Christian soldiers penetrated thus far. Wrath and dismay filled the heart of the Ameer at the unexpected and unsolicited aid which Alfonso had presumed to send to the very southern limits of Arab Spain. From that moment Ibn Abbad concentrated all his efforts to placing a barrier to the aggrandisement of the Leonese king.

A general peace was now effected with the various Mussalman Ameers. In an assembly held in Seville, in which they all assisted or sent their Wazirs and Kayids to represent them, it was deliberated upon

the best means to withhold the imminent ruin of Islamism. A resolution was taken, although energetically opposed by the Wali of Malaga, to summon to Spain the Almoravides. Who they were, and their Ameer Yusuf, has been already told. Ibn Abbad had been an ally of Yusuf when the King of Leon favoured the Dhi-n-nuns of Toledo, and the fleets of the Ameer of Seville had assisted by sea the African prince to subjugate Tangiers. Ibn Abbad had often incited him to cross the strait in the conviction that, with the assistance of the African, he could take possession of all the Mohammedan States of Spain, although yielding a kind of subjection to the Almoravide prince.

Yusuf was at the time in Fez—which he had just conquered—when the messengers from the land of Andaluz arrived. He replied to them that he would not go over to Spain until they delivered up to him the Castle of Algesiras, which would enable him to enter and leave the Peninsula at will, and that, in the event of his condition being accepted, he would at once proceed to assist him against the king. Being in an extreme plight, Ibn Abbad acceded to the condition, as he was master of the solicited castle, and gave orders at once for the stronghold to be delivered up to Yusuf; and soon after a large army, led by Abu Yacub in person, passed over from Africa to Spain, and proceeded to Seville.

After curtailing the territory of the Ameer of Badajoz, Alfonso VI. marched to the east and besieged Zaragoza. He was there apprised of the coming of Yusuf. He immediately summoned to his aid Sancho, King of Aragon, raising a new army in Galicia, Asturias, Leon, and Castille, and many knights also from the South of France. With these he proceeded to Seville, where all were to be gathered together in order to form an army sufficiently powerful to oppose the multitude of Saracens, who threatened to take rough vengeance for the affronts received by the Mussalmans of Andaluz.

The scheme of Yusuf, it appears, was to march against Leon and Galicia, carrying on the war to the very centre of the Christian States, because, instead of proceeding against Toledo, he went from Seville to Badajoz.

It was near this city that Alfonso VI., marching with his whole army from the new capital, beheld the Almoravide prince coming out to meet him.

The two armies sighted each other on the river of Ballajoz (Nahar-Hagir). The Mussalmans occupied on the left shore the fields and hills called by Arab writers Zalaka, and by Christian chroniclers

Sagalias, or Sacralias. The army of Alfonso VI. encamped on the right shore. The terrible prospect of the battle which was inevitable made the two armies hesitate, for we find that for several days they did not commence, but spent it in messages and menaces. These two armies facing one another were perhaps the largest Spain had ever mustered together since the entry of the Saracens. At last Alfonso resolved to encounter the Saracens, and passed the river at daybreak of the 23rd of October, 1086. The scouts came upon a body of Almogauars of Africa, which had been sent against them, and were compelled to retire. It appears that when the war opened, some of the Christian troops had fled, probably awed by the enormous number of the enemy.

The King of Leon then divided the army into two bodies, and gave the signal to commence.

With the vanguard he fell on the Almoravides; and the second division, commanded by Sancho of Aragon, or by a general whom the Arab writers call Albar Hanax (perchance Alvaro Eanes), went against the Spanish Mussalmans, whose camp was separated from the African field by a hill.

The Spanish Saracens were commanded by the Ameer Ibn Abbad, whose prowess was well known, but he very shortly found himself alone with the warriors of Seville, because all the other Ameers had precipitately fled, owing to the furious onslaught of the Christians. On the other side, the vanguard of the Africans were commencing to retreat in view of the power of the brave Leonese king. Yusuf then felt the need of dealing a decisive blow, and at once sent the army of Berbers, and the Almoravide leaders of Zenete, Mossamedes, and Ghomera, to succour the army of the Ameer of Seville, who, forsaken by the other Ameers, was sustaining on that side the whole brunt of the battle.

Then Yusuf made a *détour* of the battle-field, and placed himself in front of the Lamtunites, the most celebrated of the Almoravide warriors, and to whose race he belonged, and they valiantly flung themselves upon the imperfectly guarded camp of the Christians. Resistance was impossible. At the moment when the defeat of the Mussalmans was imminent, Alfonso was made aware of the destruction of his camp, not only by the fugitives which were arriving, but by the flames which rose up from the conflagration. The desire of revenge proved his loss. Forsaking the battle-field, where he had nearly conquered, he marched against Yusuf, who received him with much bravery.

The Saracens, who were retreating, took heart on beholding the

Christians retiring, and attacked them. The Mussalman troops who had fled to Badajoz now returned to fight. Alfonso did not desist so long as soldiers were left able to fight; but at length he fell wounded, and was compelled to retreat, followed by scarcely five hundred men, and pursued by the Almoravides. Night fell, and the King of Leon was thus able to save himself and his few followers, who otherwise would have perished. Thus ended one of the fiercest battles ever fought in Spain.

Had the brave, skilled Yusuf Abu Yacub continued to lead the victorious Saracens of the Peninsula, the Leonese monarchy would most probably have been utterly ruined.

Happily for Christianity, on the same night of the battle a messenger arrived in the camp of the Almoravides, bringing the news of the death in Ceuta of Abi Bekr, the eldest son of Yusuf, to whom he was deeply attached.

This event compelled Yusuf to depart immediately for Algesiras, and cross over to Africa, appointing as general of the Almoravide troops the Kayid Seyr Ibn Abi Bekr.

While Ibn Abi Bekr and the Ameer of Badajoz were scouring the borders of Galicia, ravaging the open places, and taking various castles and strongholds which Alfonso had formerly conquered, Ibn Abbad was entering the territories of Toledo, and continued successively to expel the Christians from the principal cities of that province, such as Cuenca, Huete, and Consuegra. Close to Lorca, however, some Christian Alcaides came out to meet them, and broke up their army. From this success the turn of fortune once more inclined towards Alfonso VI. Not far from Lorca, where the Ameer of Seville retreated after the defeat, the Christians had taken possession of a castle which was well fortified, and called by Arab historians Alid. It is said that the Alcaide of that castle was the famous Ruy Diaz, better known as the Cid. This stronghold, erected on an almost inaccessible mountain in the centre of the States of Ibn Abbad, was perched like an eagle's nest, and from thence the terrible Ruy Diaz used to descend on the fields of Murcia and Seville, and destroyed everything. On hearing of his feats, the King of Leon hastened to send him succour.

Not a day passed but the raids of the Knights of Alid left their sad vestiges on the adjoining lands; and at times these incursions were continued as far as the territory of Valencia.

The Ameer of Seville, wearied out by so many incursions, and without sufficient forces to repel them, appealed to Yusuf, who, after he had arranged his affairs in the Moghreb, returned to Spain in the summer of 1088.

Probably Yusuf depended on the troops he had left, and on those of Andalusia, for he proceeded towards Lorca with only a small army. He then summoned the Spanish Ameers to a ghaswat (holy war), but the greater number did not respond. Hence, with his small forces, he unsuccessfully besieged Alid, and for four months the Christians resisted. Some grave dissensions meanwhile began to rise in the besieged camp. On Alfonso VI. hearing that Yusuf had returned, and besieged Alid, he marched to meet him. Yusuf did not dare to encounter the Leonese army, and, moreover, irritated with the Ameers who had forsaken him, he embarked for Mauritania. The King of Leon, meanwhile, was approaching the neighbourhood of Lorca, and compelled the defenders of Alid to quit it; then he dismantled the castle, and returned to Toledo.

The Saracens of Spain began to fear lest their powerful ally of Africa should prove a more formidable foe than Alfonso himself, and that, not satisfied with the vast empire of Moghreb, he would wish also to take possession of the Ameership on the Spanish side of the strait. Time proved their fears to be well grounded. For the third time Abu Yacub returned to the Peninsula, but on this occasion he came accompanied by a great number of Almoravides (1090). He at once proceeded towards Toledo, whose suburbs he devastated, while Alfonso, enclosed within, was unable to oppose him. As yet not one of the Ameers of Spain had come forward to join their forces to those of Abu Yacub; and even Ibn Abbad, who in the previous campaign had not followed the common example, now remained quietly in Seville, while Yusuf made war against the Nazarene. By this proceeding he baffled the dissimulating Almoravides, whose intentions were really those attributed to them.

Suddenly leaving the Christian territories, he marched to Granada, where he soon deposed the Ameer Abdullah Ibn Balkin, who, it appears, was already secretly in league with the King of Leon against the Africans. After this Yusuf returned again to Morocco, leaving as his substitute the Alcaide Seyr to further his ambitious designs.

Ibn Abbad meanwhile strengthened his forces in Seville, and beseeching forgetfulness of the past, solicited the alliance of

Alfonso, who, seeing in these strifes of the Mussalmans an occasion for his own aggrandisement, willingly acceded. On reaching Africa, Abu Yacub immediately sent to Spain a great number of soldiers, and these enabled Seyr to take possession of Jaen and Cordova, and ere scarcely a month had passed he was in possession of all the dependencies of the Ameer of Seville, and nothing remained to Ibn Abbad but his own capital. Alfonso had sent some forces against the Almoravides, but, after several encounters, they were compelled to retire, and, shortly after, Seville fell into the hands of Seyr. For twelve years did the Spanish Arabs endeavour to oppose the Almoravides, a resistance which only assumed some importance when a number of Ameers and Walis joined themselves together, under the leadership of the renowned Christian Ruy Diaz; but these years, consumed in constant warfare between the African Seyr and the Mussalmans of Andalus, only afforded to Yusuf the dominion of that portion of the Peninsula which was not Christian, with the exception of the territories of Zaragoza, whose Ameer had from the first established a powerful alliance with the Almoravides.

When, in the year 1103, the Almoslemym, Ameer or Prince of Mussalmans, a title which Yusuf had assumed, returned for the fourth time to Spain, he found himself the undisputed master of all the Mohammedan lands, from the limits of Zaragoza to the shores of the Tagus, for on the side of the Gharb it formed the barrier which divided them from the Leonese empire. It was a fact that the conquests of Alfonso VI. had reached to the very mouth of the Tagus. While the Saracens fought with each other, he was repairing his former losses by marching to the south, and taking possession of Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra, during the summer of 1093.

Satisfied with having extended his dominions to the extreme west, in spite of his reverse at Zalaka, the King of Leon retired to Toledo, having then assumed the title of Emperor, and turned his attention to the government of his states, without entering into wars with the Saracens, excepting his usual raids and skirmishes of every spring.

A severe blow filled with sadness the heart of Alfonso VI. during the declining days of his life. The Infante Sancho, his only son by Zaida, daughter of Ibn Abbad, when just entering manhood, dearly loved by his father as the light of his eyes and the comfort of his old age, was unfortunately stricken down by the Saracens, and perished at their hands. This event happened in the last year of his reign, and the aged Alfonso VI. had to leave the glorious but heavy crown of

Leon and Castille to his only legitimate daughter, by his second wife Constancia.

Abu Yacúb Yusuf Ibn Taxfin died in Morocco in the autumn of 1106, and his son Aly Ibn Yusuf, the already acknowledged successor, took the reins of government of the vast Mussalman Empire of Africa and Spain.

The new Ameer, Almoslemym, after putting down the rebellion of his nephew the Wali of Fez, resolved to continue the holy war against the Christians. With this intention he sent across the strait the new Almoravide troops from the tribe Lamtuna in the summer of 1108, under the command of his brother Abu Taher Temin, Wali of Valencia, and later on of Granada. Hostilities recommenced with the siege of Ucles, a powerful city on the Christian frontiers, and although well garrisoned, it was scaled and entered into, and its defenders compelled to take refuge in the castle. Alfonso VI. at once sent an army to help the besieged. This army was commanded by the Infante Sancho, rather in name than in effect, as he was scarcely out of his childhood. The aged King of Leon had entrusted him to the vigilance and affection of his tutor, Count Gomes de Cabra, and who in reality was at the head of the expedition.

When Temin heard of the forces which were sent against him, he wished to retire, but the Kayids of Lamtuna insisted on his meeting the Christians. The encounter proved a fearful one, and the victory was in favour of the Mussalmans.

It appears that when the Christians were retiring, Sancho felt his horse totter beneath him, and cried out to Count Gomes, "Oh, father, my horse is wounded!" The Count ran to help him, and reached just as he fell from his horse. They were surrounded by Saracens. The Count then dismounted, and placing the Infante between him and his shield, defended him like a lion from the blows which were levelled from all sides, until a thrust from a sword severed his foot, and unable any longer to stand, he covered Sancho with his body to defend him to the end, and both perished, slain by the Saracens. The Christians meanwhile had fled, pursued by the Africans, who overtook them at a short distance, when seven Counts were killed, and the few remaining of the Christian forces returned to Toledo. Temin then redoubled the assaults against the Castle of Ucles, and although meeting with a brave resistance, they had at length to surrender. The losses sustained by the Almoravides was very great both in the battle and at the siege,

and they were unable to pursue their conquests, although they derived but little from their victories.

Enfeebled by a long illness, the King of Leon, on receiving the news of the sad end of his son, fell into a state of deep melancholy, which aggravated his complaint, and at length he died in Toledo in the year 1109. He had reigned as King of Leon and Castille, after the death of his brother Sancho, thirty-six years. The death of this renowned prince produced grave perturbations, which we shall speak of only as far as they relate to the history of Portugal, since it was these very calamitous events which occurred in Christian Spain that gave rise to this history, and even served to favour its weak infancy.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIRST.

1097—1128.

The districts of Coimbra and of Portugal at the middle of the Eleventh Century —Raymund and Henry of Burgandy, relatives of Alfonso VI.—The government of Count Raymund over the whole of Galicia up to Coimbra—Alfonso founds a county or province, "Portucalense," on the south of the Minho, and appoints Henry to govern it—His acts until he leaves for Syria, and his return to Spain—Ambitious designs of the two Counts—Death of Raymund, and pretensions of Henry—Death of Alfonso VI.—Consequences of this event—Proceedings of the Count of Portugal during the discords between Alfonso I. of Aragon, Queen Urraca, and the Infante Alfonso Raymund — Attempts at aggrandisement — Mutual treacheries—Influence of the Infanta D. Theresa, wife of Henry—Death of Henry—His views and policy—He lays the foundations for the independence of Portugal—D. Theresa governs the province after the death of her husband—Her schemes, and alliance with Alfonso of Aragon—Is styled Queen by her subjects—Portugal tends visibly towards separating from the Monarchy—D. Theresa acknowledges the supremacy of her sister, D. Urraca—In league with the Nobles of Galicia, she makes war—Assaults of the Saracens on the south—D. Urraca invades Portugal—Peace between the sisters—Alfonso VII. succeeds D. Urraca—Fernando Peres de Trava and his protection—First engagements of the Infante Alfonso, son of Count Henry and D. Theresa—Alfonso VII. enters into Portugal and compels the Infanta-Queen to acknowledge the supremacy of Leon—Hatred of the Portuguese against Count Fernando Peres—Plot and risings—The Count and D. Theresa are expelled—The Infante assumes the power—D. Theresa dies in exile—Her political character and government.

The limits of the States of Ferdinand the Great had extended towards the west, when he successively conquered Lamego, Viseu, Seia, and Coimbra. The province of Galicia, whose boundaries had altered in proportion as the Christian or Saracen ruled the day, now permanently extended as far as the Mondego. Coimbra, which, from its antiquity and as the military key of the territories between the Mondego and the Douro, was an important town, became established the capital of the new county or district.

Hitherto the Galicians, in common with other provinces of the ancient Leonese monarchy, were governed by Counts who held one or more districts under their authority, and at times these Counts were in their turn subject to a superior Count or Viceroy of the province. Among these appears, about the middle of the eleventh century, the district or county *Portucalense*. Portucale was situated near the Douro, and from its antiquity, dating from the time of the Romans, and the strength of its position, stood at the head as the principal town of a territory which included, to the litoral north, part of the modern province of the Minho, and to the south extended as far as the Vouga.

Sesnando, or Sisenando, son of David, a wealthy Mosarabe of the province called Beira, Lord of Tentugal, and of other lands of the territory of Coimbra, had been admitted to the Court of Seville in the time of Ibn Abbad. His talents, and some important services rendered to the Saracen prince, had entitled him to the charge of Wasir in the Diwan, or Prime Minister or member of the Supreme Council of the Ameer. Sesnando had rendered himself feared in the wars with the enemies of Ibn Abbad, as he had always been successful. The reason is not known why he forsook the service of the Ameer to enter that of the Christian Ferdinand the Great, but his previous conduct convinces us that he received some affront from the Saracens. Admitted into the Court of the King of Leon and Castille, he soon perceived how advantageous it would be to invade the west of ancient Lusitania. The result justified his foresight, and the King of Leon remunerated this good service by appointing him to govern the district constituted by the newly acquired conquests, the Portuguese tract to the south of the Douro, and to the east the border-line of Lamego, Viseu, and Seia, and on the frontiers to the south-east, the northern declivity of the Serra da Estrella.

Thus the portion of modern Portugal to the north of Mondego and Alva was, at the date of Ferdinand's death, in the possession of the Christians (1065). The district of Coimbra, as we have said, included the tract from the Douro to the Mondego, while Oporto, dismembered from it in the land of Santa Maria (Feira), extended to the north and east, and perchance included Alto Minho, and a part of the province of Tras-os-Montes. Inclusively up to Galicia, the territory denominated in the documents and chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as *Portucale*, *Terra portucalenses*, commenced to appear as a distinct province.

When Ferdinand the Great divided his vast States among his children, Galicia, which included Portugal and the new conquests up to the Mondego, fell to Garcia; and Sesnando continued to govern the territory of Coimbra, and Count Nuno Mendes that of Oporto.

The discords between the brothers caused the crown of Galicia to pass successively from Garcia to Sancho of Castille and to Alfonso of Leon, who ultimately possessed all the States of his father.

The sons of Ferdinand had respected the man whom he had entrusted with the government and defence of the territory called *Colimbriense*. Sesnando faithfully served to the end the cause of the Christian monarchy which he had embraced; and it even appears that he accompanied Alfonso VI. in 1086 to the ill-fated battle of Zalaka. His daughter Elvira married Martin Moniz, an illustrious knight, and who succeeded him in the government of Coimbra. Alfonso, on recruiting his army after the defeat of Zalaka, resolved to attack the Saracens on the west; and therefore, in the spring of 1093, he passed on to the south of the Mondego and beleaguered Santarem. This important town, which hitherto had been considered almost impregnable, soon fell into his hands, and in a few days Lisbon and Cintra followed, and in this way, by new conquests, the territory was extended to the mouth of the Tagus, when its government was given to Sueiro Mendes, brother to Gonsalo Mendes da Maia, who later on became renowned under the name of the Battler

Galicia, including the Portugalese provinces, which naturally were incorporated to the newly acquired territory of the Mussalman Gharb, constituted a vast State remote from the centre of the Leonese monarchy. The Counts who governed the districts of this vast tract were sufficiently removed from the immediate action of the king, and in themselves powerful enough to conceive ideas of independence and rebellion common to Saracen and Christian. Alfonso avoided that risk by converting the whole of Galicia into one great seigniority, whose government he entrusted to a member of his family, and to whom he also gave Coimbra and Santarem after they were conquered, removing to the district of Arouca Martin Moniz, and subjecting him to the new governor of Santarem, Sueiro Mendes.

The prince to whom Alfonso entrusted the government of this important portion of the monarchy was a naturalised foreigner, Raymund, son of William, Count of Burgandy, who had come over to Spain some time previously—some say in 1079 or 1080—in the suite

of Queen Constancia, the second wife of Alfonso VI., or, according to the Lusitanian or Gothic Chronicles, in 1086, on the occasion when many French crossed the Pyrenees to join in the battle of Zalaka, while there are others who say he came after that battle was fought. The King of Leon gave his only legitimate daughter Urraca, by Queen Constancia, in marriage to the Count of Burgandy while still almost a child, being only about thirteen or fourteen years of age (1094). The Infanta was given to the Count, but under the tutorship and care of the youthful Presbyter Peter, master or governor of the youthful princess. The Count was entrusted with the government of the whole western part of the monarchy, and the defence of all that frontier.

A cousin of Raymund also came over from France, whose name was Henry, and grandson of Robert II., brother to Henry II., King of France. No doubt these French knights came over to seek their fortune in the Peninsula amid its many wars and conquests, fired by ambition or love of glory. Their previous history is enveloped in darkness, as also their principal motive for leaving France; but it is inferred that it was with the object of effecting an illustrious union through the intervention of their aunt, Queen Constancia. About the year 1095 we find Henry married to Theresa, the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VI. by a noble lady called Ximena Nunes, or Muniones. It also appears that Henry had begun to govern the Portuguese territory at the end of 1094 or commencement of 1095, at least the district of Braga, at first as a Count dependent under his cousin.

Subsequently a part of the dominions of Count Raymund, the tract from the margins of the Minho up to the Tagus, was definitely separated from Galicia, in order to form a separate district, which should be governed by Count Henry. Alfonso VI., no doubt, was moved to effect this division owing to the difficulty it would otherwise be to make war on the borders against the Mussalmans, since the head of the Government of the Western Province was distant more than a hundred leagues from the Moslem line, and far beyond the river Minho.

We have seen that Alfonso VI., in 1093, had extended his dominions in the south of Portugal by taking Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra, the places of greatest importance in what is now called the province of Estremadura. In 1095, however, affairs up to a certain point became altered. The renowned Seyr (or *rex Cir* of the Christian Chronicles),

the General of Yusuf, had, towards the end of 1093, invaded the States of Omar Ibn Alafttas, the Ameer of Badajoz, whose dominions comprehended the whole of the Gharb, or west of Mussalman Spain up to the Christian frontiers. Iabora (Evora), Chelb (Silves), and other principal places had thrown open their gates to the Almoravides. An Arab historian recounts that similarly did Santarem and Lisbon fall into their hands. As regards Santarem, the charter given to this town by Alfonso VI. in 1095 does not show in any way that it had been lost after the year 1093 and then regained. Lisbon, however, in view of the absence of any such deed, renders the Arab tradition probable, which subsequent events seem to confirm. In February of 1094, Badajoz surrendered to the Almoravides.

When the Gharb had submitted, Seyr directed his victorious arms against the Cid, Ruy Diaz, whom the Arabs of Andalusia had taken as their leader, and who beleaguered Valencia. Meanwhile Count Raymund descended from Galicia and came to Coimbra, accompanied by his officers and an illustrious company of knights. Soon after the dynasty of the Beni-Alafttas terminated in the Gharb, the Count resided in that city, and, it appears, summoned together a number of horsemen and foot-soldiers to effect a *presuria*, or entry into the enemy's territory, with the object of establishing themselves permanently in it. From Coimbra the Christian army proceeded, probably in the following spring, to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and there pitched their camp. The Saracens united together their forces from all quarters, and were even, perchance, assisted by some Almoravide troops sent by Seyr, and together they surrounded the camp and destroyed their forces, leaving many of them slain or captive.

This defeat of Raymund no doubt in part co-operated with the project of entirely separating from Galicia the whole territory from the left margin of the Minho to Santarem. And we find that in the year 1097 Henry was governing the territory from the Minho to the Tagus, while the States ruled by Raymund had receded to the southern frontiers of modern Galicia.

When giving his daughter Theresa in marriage to Henry, Alfonso VI. did not only assign to him the government of the Portuguese province, but likewise invested him with the regal prerogatives—that is to say, the patrimony of king and crown passed on, being held as hereditary and as personal property of the two consorts. Hence this French knight, who had come to Spain seeking a more brilliant future

than he could hope for in his own country, beheld his hopes realised far beyond his expectations.

The Arab princes of Andalusia had joined together against the Almoravides, when, after the conquest of Badajoz, they took possession of Mussalman Spain, with the exception of Zaragoza, whose Ameer, Ahmed Abu Jafar, had previously sought an alliance with Yusuf. The renowned Cid, as we said, commanded the united Andalusians. Valencia was besieged by them and surrendered, and through the intervention of Ruy Diaz, at length acknowledged the sovereignty of Alfonso VI. Meanwhile Seyr was not idle. He equipped a powerful fleet, subjecting to the Almoravides the Balearic Islands, which hitherto were dependent to the Ameers of Valencia and Denia.

When the Wali of Almeria was apprised of the fate of Valencia, the Lamtunite General at once proceeded with his fleet to that port with a great number of soldiers, and besieged it by sea.

The Cid was already dead, and the allied Christians, with the Arabs of Andalusia, after a protracted siege, abandoned Valencia to the Almoravides (1102).

With the taking of this important city ended the resistance of the Spanish Mussalmans to the dominion of Yusuf. When the latter returned to Spain, in 1103, it was only with the object of attaching his son Aly to the Government, and to take the necessary precautions for the defence and proper administration of that portion of the Peninsula under his dominion, but not with the intention of attempting any important campaigns against the Christians.

During the period above mentioned the wars on the Portuguese frontiers ceased, or were reduced to a few raids, and Henry was able to attend to the urgent needs of a province desolated by a continuance of warfare; but his residence here was of short duration. In the winter of 1097 and 1098 he undertook a journey to Galicia, to visit the celebrated temple of Santiago, and from 1100 to 1101 he was at the Court of Alfonso VI.

The Saracen chiefs, Aly Ibnu-l-haj and Ibn Sakim, had advanced with a body of troops to Castille, and it appears Count Henry was delegated to repel them. Crossing the Sierra called the Mountains of Toledo, Henry encountered the enemy on the outskirts of Ciudad Real, close to which stands the town of Malagon. A fierce fight ensued, which, in the words of an Arab historian, was "a battle of extermination," but at length the Count had to abandon the field to his adversary.

About this epoch the Crusades to Jerusalem, or Holy Wars, began to take place. Henry took part in the great idea which agitated Europe. From the year 1102 to 1106 was the height of the fervour of these pilgrimages to Palestine, and the example was set in the Church of Spain by Bernard, Primate and Archbishop of Toledo, who in 1104 joined the pilgrims. The Count of Portugal had preceded him, leaving with his own party at the commencement of 1103. Probably he was accompanied by Maurice, the Bishop of Coimbra, who afterwards became so conspicuous for his pretensions to the Papal Tiara, and who at this period had departed for Syria, and it is presumed that the Count took advantage of the Genoese fleet for his voyage, which in 1104 had assisted Baldwin to conquer Ptolemy. The acts of the Count during his sojourn in the East are wrapped in obscurity, and all conjectures are deficient of foundation; but it is certain that he returned to Portugal in 1105, and resided in the Court of Alfonso VI. in the year 1106. During subsequent years until the death of this prince, he continued to reside alternately in Coimbra and at the Court, occupied in restoring the deserted towns which had been destroyed by the invasions of Christians and Mussalmans, as the king bade him.

Count Raymund, who wedded the eldest and legitimate daughter of Alfonso VI., was in possession of a more important dominion than any other within the Leonese monarchy, many of which were subject to him; and he naturally considered that the crown would, after the death of his father-in-law, succeed to him as an inheritance, as had been promised. Such also was the opinion of the Nobles, as may be proved from the action they took after the death of Raymund. These judged that the husband of D. Urraca ought to be the King of Leon and Castille, be he what he may.

An event, however, took place which subsequently frustrated the ambitious hopes of the Count of Castille. Alfonso had a son, the Infante Sancho, by Zaida, daughter of Ibn Abbad, King of Seville. Natural affection and political considerations impelled him to appoint him the successor to the crown, but his hapless death destroyed this hope.

It appears that Raymund and Henry of Burgandy had signed between them a secret treaty, in which they arranged the division of the crown. The death of Raymund in 1107 rendered void the treaty between the cousins, and destroyed the hopes of Henry to obtain the

dominion of Toledo. He did not altogether forego the scheme of aggrandisement and independence, as subsequent events proved; but during the two years which elapsed between the death of Raymund in 1107 and that of Alfonso VI. in 1109, he resided almost constantly in Portugal under obedience to his father-in-law. Henry had conceived the daring idea of becoming the master of a large part of the States on the demise of the monarch. After the death of the Count of Galicia his ambition increased, and shortly before the death of Alfonso he went to his bedside to harass him. What his pretensions were is not known, but it is certain that he quitted Toledo in wrath against his dying father-in-law. Before expiring, Alfonso VI. declared his daughter Urraca sole heiress to the crown, and no doubt it was this declaration which had rendered Henry so wrathful, and had originated the daring project of taking possession of the whole monarchy of Leon and Castille.

As soon as it became known that the monarch who had been the terror of the Saracens had ceased to exist, the Mussalmans took fresh courage. Those of Cintra, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the Count, now broke off their allegiance. It is also inferred that the Mussalmans of Santarem did the same, who had only become tributary to him in order to live at peace. When Cintra rebelled, Henry at once marched to the castle, which in those days was held in importance second only to Lisbon, and again reduced it to obedience.

The death of Alfonso VI., in June, 1109, with the complications it gave rise to, was an event of grave importance for Christian Spain, and was felt to be the origin of protracted evils. The Leonese sceptre, which at this juncture required to be held by a powerful hand who should strengthen the conquests effected by this renowned prince, continued to be wielded by the widow of Count Raymund.

Of the vast inheritance bequeathed to his daughter, the deceased king had separated in a certain manner Galicia, declaring in his lifetime that in the event of D. Urraca entering into second nuptials, Alfonso Raymund, her own son, and his grandson, should reign in that province. The Infante was barely three years of age when Alfonso expired, and therefore Galicia, like the rest of the monarchy, was needing a successor fit to defend the integrity of the territory against the attacks of the Saracens, and to restrain the defiance of the powerful lords, whose former ambitious desires would be now re-enkindled in view of the weakness of the throne.

Alfonso I., King of Aragon, was at the time in the prime of life, and from his active, martial character was surnamed the Battler. The Nobles of Castille, considering the urgent need in the country of a prince whose name and sword should be capable of restraining the Saracens and defend the State, constrained the Queen to take him for her husband. It was thus that the Aragonese King obtained the crown of Leon and Castille. This marriage was celebrated in the autumn of 1109.

The Infante Alfonso Raymund was entrusted to the care of Count Peter Froilaz de Trava, a powerful nobleman of Galicia, and lived well-nigh forgotten in the midst of the grave affairs which disturbed the nation. But as soon as this marriage was effected, Count de Trava at once began to advance the last injunctions of Alfonso VI. concerning his grandson, and with this intention he instigated a rising in Galicia, a State which apprehended the dominion of Aragon. During the summer of 1110, the revolution had attained to such a height that the King of Aragon resolved to invade the province. The first castle he took was that of Monteroso. On entering its gate a noble, illustrious knight fell at the feet of D. Urraca, beseeching his life to be spared. This nobleman was known to D. Urraca, and she pleaded for him, but the ferocious Alfonso slew him on that very spot. This cruel deed filled with indignation the Nobles of Leon, and more so the Queen, who had been constrained to this union, and now found herself in the power of a despot. It appears this marriage had been opposed by the prelates of Spain as being within the prohibited degree of consanguinity, and even was disapproved by the Pope, who decreed a divorce.

From the moment when this cruel deed was executed in her presence, she resolved to effect a divorce, trusting to the indignation of the Nobles, the censure of the prelates against the marriage, and to the resistance of Galicia against the dominion of Aragon. Without concealing her discontent, she departed to Leon, and Alfonso I. continued the war in Galicia, which, proving unsuccessful, was compelled to retire to the district of Astorga within three months. Revolutions had likewise broken out in that city, and when on approaching it the barons of the province came out with such forces against him that he dared not resist. Receiving an intimation not to enter into any castles within the States of Leon, he was forced to submit, and accompanied by two nobles as sureties, he retired to the frontiers of his own States.

In the midst of these revolts and wars, the Count of Portugal was not quietly satisfied with conquering Cintra and reducing the Saracens to obedience. Ambitious, indignant at the succession of D. Urraca to the Leonese throne, he determined to revenge himself. His pretensions during the lifetime of Alfonso VI. were limited to inheriting a portion of the monarchy, but now they assumed the possession of the whole.

Forsaking the States which he governed, and leaving them to be invaded by the Saracens, he crossed Spain, and passing over the Pyrenées, proceeded into France to enlist soldiers, as he perceived that the county of Portugal could not afford him sufficient for his formidable undertaking. He was carrying out this design when he was arrested, on what pretext is not known, but probably through suspicion that his visit to France was induced by other motives than those he advanced. Still less is it known how he effected his escape, but it is certain that he recrossed the mountains and proceeded to Aragon. These events must have taken place from the end of August, 1110, to the end of April, 1111, because we find no existing records during these months of the residence of Count Henry in Portugal, although it appears that D. Theresa ruled the country in the absence of her husband.

On reaching the States of Alfonso I., Count Henry found that the King of Aragon was there. He feared lest this prince, who judged he had a right to the Leonese crown, should attempt to stop his progress were he to know of his intentions, and therefore besought and obtained an alliance with him. The conditions of the treaty were, to march with their united forces against D. Urraca, and together to conquer the lands of Leon and Castille, and divide them equally between them. We find that after this treaty was signed Henry returned to Portugal, where he resided during part of the year 1111.

It was about this epoch that the discords between Alfonso I. and D. Urraca reached to their height, and enmity was declared. The treaty of the Aragonese King and the Count of Portugal must have been effected about this time. But while the two princes were projecting the division of the empire of Alfonso VI., D. Urraca was seeking to form an alliance with the Nobles of Galicia, and approving their designs in respect to the Infante Alfonso Raymund. However, the Queen, through the intervention of the Barons of Castille, became reconciled to her Consort, and the position, therefore, of the most

important personages in this great drama became entirely changed. The interests of the King of Aragon were now identified to those of D. Urraca; while those of the Count, on the contrary, leant towards the cause of his nephew, the Infante, and of the Barons of Galicia. The latter, on becoming aware of the inopportune reconciliation of the Royal couple, and knowing that this was adverse to the interests of Henry, appealed to him for counsel to enable them to cope with the difficulties brought about by the fickle character of D. Urraca. The contempt and disappointment of Henry could not have been less than that felt by the Barons of Galicia.

However, he took advantage of the attempt of Count Peter Froilaz to continue the revolution in favour of the Infante, and probably offered him his aid. In effect, Peter Froilaz pursued his project, and on returning from Galicia with the Nobles he arrested close to Castro Xerez (near Burgos) some who, forgetful of the obligations incurred by the promises given to Alfonso VI., had not only enlisted in the service of the King of Aragon, but were even plotting the death of Count de Trava and his Royal pupil. This proceeding of Peter Froilaz induced a civil war to break out in Galicia. The Nobles of the party of Alfonso of Aragon sought to revenge themselves. They succeeded to imprison the Countess of Trava in Santa Maria de Castrello, where she had taken refuge with the Infante; and they likewise artfully arrested the celebrated Bishop of Compostella, who hitherto had pursued a vacillating policy, and now had declared himself for Alfonso Raymund; but the energetic prelate found means to obtain his release, and for a time pacified Galicia, inducing the principal Nobles who had been adversaries to return to the party of the Infante.

Henry returned to Portugal because the reconciliation between the Royal pair frustrated at least for a time the hopes which the treaty between him and the King of Aragon had given rise to. If he thought that the civil war in Galicia would divert the attention of the Queen and her husband while he gained strength to support his own independence, and also to realise his ambition to possess the vast dominion, his calculations were again frustrated, because a new and grave misunderstanding broke out between Alfonso and Urraca. The haughty character of the Queen, or perhaps her fickleness, brought about a decisive rupture, and a divorce was pronounced. D. Urraca summoned her old master Pedro Ansures, the Count Gomez Gonsalves, Count Pedro de Lara, and many other Castillian and Leonese knights,

and then commenced a strife which lasted for many years. The relations which she had endeavoured to establish with the partisans of her son in Galicia were now renewed with a more successful result; and while Leon and Castille were declaring themselves in favour of the Queen, Alfonso the Battler saw his forces reduced to almost his Aragonese army and a few nobles and knights who, remaining faithful, defended some of the strongholds which they governed as alcaides.

It was evident that the political state of Spain was completely altered as regarded the Count of Portugal. The harmony between D. Urraca and the defenders of Alfonso Raymund once again united the vast body of States composing the dominion of King Alfonso VI., and which had threatened to become divided. On the other hand, the civil war was now getting converted into an alien war, as we find that, by the decree of divorce, the Aragonese prince had to sustain a war, not as the legitimate master of Leon, Castille, and Galicia against rebel vassals, but as King of Aragon against an alien land; and taking into consideration the deficiency of resources, he could not possibly presume to gain the victory, notwithstanding his own prowess and energy. Hence it is more than probable that he resorted to the previous treaty made between him and the Count of Portugal, and the latter, with the object of furthering his own ambitious schemes, should accede and condone the past.

From this, we believe, arose the speedy union between Alfonso and Henry, and their making war against D. Urraca. We find that Henry, after quelling the rebellion of Coimbra, hastened to join his ally. Together they soon had a decisive encounter with the Leonese and Castillians. Counts Gomez Gonsalves and Pedro de Lara came out to meet them in Campo de Espina, a few leagues from Sepulveda, in the district of Segovia. As soon as the battle commenced Lara fled, leaving Count Gomez to fight single-handed against the forces of Alfonso I. and his ally, who conquered and slew him. After this victory (November, 1111) the King of Aragon crossed the Douro, and invaded the Leonese territory. Meanwhile the principal nobles and knights of Galicia, with Gelmires, the Bishop of Compostella, proceeded to the city of Leon to acclaim Alfonso Raymund. When this was known by the King of Aragon, he at once marched to encounter them, and suddenly assailed them between Astorga and Leon, on a spot called Fuente de los Angeles, or Viadangos. After a stubborn resistance the Galicians were destroyed, and Gelmires sent the young

prince to the fortress of Orsillon, in Castille, where D. Urraca was at the time, and with the remnants of his Galician troops retired to Astorga, where, after a stay of three days, he returned to Compostella by a long round in order to avoid an encounter with the victors. In this action it was only the King of Aragon who took part, as the Count of Portugal had already forsaken him.

Immediately after the battle of Campo de Espinas, the armies of the allies entered Sepulveda. The Castillian Nobles, wishing to divide them, resorted to secret artifices. They sought to blame Henry for joining the common enemy of the monarchy against the other Barons of Leon and Castille. They besought him to forsake the Aragonese prince and to unite his forces to theirs, promising to appoint him their chief in these wars, and induce the Queen to divide amicably a part of the States of Alfonso VI. Some of the Nobles reminded him of former ties of friendship to move him to agree to their views.

The Count at length yielded to their persuasions, and in order not to awaken suspicions in the mind of the King of Aragon, he assigned as a motive for leaving, the important duties of the States, which required his presence. Then, quitting Sepulveda, he went on to the Castle of Monzon, where the Queen was staying, and she ratified the promises made to the Count by the Barons of her party. In the hope of seeing his dearest hopes realised, Henry very soon declared himself in favour of the Queen D. Urraca. The Queen quitted the Castle of Orsillon, or Monzon, as soon as her son arrived, leaving the stronghold to the custody of some knights whom she trusted, and proceeded to Galicia, crossing the mountains of Oviedo in the depths of a most severe winter. From thence, in the spring of 1112, she proceeded to Astorga with the troops of Galicia, ordering those of Asturias, Castille, and the southern districts of Leon, who had remained faithful to her, to repair to that place. But Alfonso I., while summoning together his troops from Aragon, reinforced his army from various parts, and then marched to besiege Astorga. The knights of Aragon, who had been sent to succour the besiegers, were broken up by the Castillians, and Alfonso raising the siege, retired to the stronghold of Penafiel. Meanwhile the Count of Portugal mustered together his men, while the Queen's troops were coming from the Asturias, Castille, and Estremadura to join her. These forces, commanded by Henry and accompanied by D. Urraca, advanced on the side of the Castle of Penafiel towards the suburbs of Valladolid, and laid siege to it. It was a well-garrisoned

stronghold, and the siege became protracted. The besiegers pillaged and laid waste all the neighbouring districts extending along the shore of the Douro, whose inhabitants had shown themselves partial to the Aragonese prince. D. Theresa, who, it appears, had resided in Coimbra during the absence of her husband, now left to join him. On reaching the camp she very soon commenced to sow the seeds of discord, inducing the Count to exact, first of all, the division of the Leonese States which had been promised him, bidding him remember that it was consummate folly to risk his own life and the lives of others simply to benefit another. Henry heeded these counsels, and began to press so as to have the division effected. To these demands were added other circumstances which served to irritate D. Urraca. The Portuguese who had joined the army treated her sister as Queen. This title, which as yet was an empty one, and given to the wife of the most powerful Baron, and who, moreover, was at the head of the army, was the mark towards which the sister and brother-in-law directed their view. The weakness of her sex induced her to resort to a tortuous policy common to that age. She secretly opened relations with the King of Aragon, and endeavoured to win back his favour, and, pretending to satisfy the claims of Henry and D. Theresa, she raised the siege and proceeded with her men to Palencia. Arbitrators were then chosen, and the division of the empire of Alfonso VI. was made at last, but only nominally. The Castle of Ceia, on the river of that name, which fell to the Count, was at once delivered to him; and it was resolved that the knights of the Queen's army should march and at once take possession of Zamora, one of the most important States of those assigned to him, and which probably was in favour of Aragon. The two sisters then to retire to the city of Leon.

Such, outwardly, were the behests of D. Urraca, but very different were her secret intentions. The knights who proceeded to Zamora had secret instructions that on taking possession of the Castle of Zamora they were not to deliver it up to the Count, and at the same time she instructed the garrison of Palencia to open the gates to Alfonso I. should he pass that way. She then went on to the town of Sahagun, whose inhabitants were in favour of the Aragonese King, and easily induced them to do the same. From Sahagun, after separating herself from D. Theresa, she actually retired to Leon, leaving the Countess of Portugal in the celebrated monastery of Sahagun, whose monks were greatly disliked by the burghers on account of their partisanship with

the Aragonese party. This departure of the Queen, after forsaking her sister, was, it appears, the result of a secret treaty with the King of Aragon, for he unexpectedly entered into that town, and finding that D. Theresa had escaped, sent troops in pursuit, but they were unable to overtake her.

The news of the treachery of D. Urraca soon reached the ears of Henry, perchance through his own wife, the Infanta, who had fled from Sahagun. The wrath of the Count may be easily imagined when he thus saw himself scorned and his designs altered. The Nobles of Leon and Castille, to whom the rule of the King of Aragon was odious, were inclined to favour Henry, and they also disapproved of the conduct of the Queen. The Count profited by this irritation, and in union with the offended Barons resolved to continue the war, which hitherto had been only against the King, but now extended to the Queen also.

D. Urraca remained but a short time in Leon, where she was joined by her husband, who, finding the attempt to imprison D. Theresa had proved futile, now proceeded with the Queen to Carrion. As soon as this became known, the Count of Portugal and the Barons allied to him marched to beleaguer Carrion. The siege soon came to an end, as the Nobles felt that, independent of their respect for the daughter of Alfonso VI., the character of the Aragonese King would not warrant them to depend on the peace existing between him and the Queen, as many days would not elapse before discords might arise. This is the opinion of a contemporary writer, although it scarcely appears to us sufficient to account for abandoning the undertaking. Be what it may, it is certain that Henry retired along with the other Barons who had accompanied him. What his course of action was after the siege is not known. It is probable that he was engaged in obtaining by force of arms or otherwise the States which his sister-in-law had ceded, to induce him to join the cause against the Aragonese King, whose reconciliation with D. Urraca was only a scheme to further his covetousness, for we find that scarcely was the siege at an end than he used every endeavour to withdraw her from himself. By gratifying promises, and through the intervention of his shrewd counsellors, he induced her to assume the government of Aragon, while he remained conducting affairs in the Leonese monarchy. The Queen, in fact, departed, but she very soon heard of the violent acts performed by her husband on her States.

From that moment she resolved to return; but following the example of Alfonso, who had sought to form a party among the Castillians and the Leonese, she likewise attempted to raise a simple alliance among his subjects by enlisting the sympathies of the discontented Nobles of Aragon, and create a new party in Leon and Castille. When Alfonso knew that the Queen was returning, he tried to stay her progress, either by calming her indignation or by arresting her, as circumstances might dictate. He effected neither course of action. The party of the Queen had increased and now inspired fear, and the confidence felt in her party by D. Urraca encouraged her to forsake her policy of deceit. The discords were renewed between the consorts, and reaching their culminating point, they separated, and the war was prolonged for some length of time.

The state of the country may be easily conceived. The land which bore the melancholy vestiges of the Saracen raids was now converted into the arena for long and deplorable civil strifes. Noble and plebeian had been made the victims of dissensions incited or favoured by themselves alone. The desire for peace ought to have increased in view of so much devastation and so much blood spilt in vain. The churches robbed, many principal personages among the clergy and nobility placed in irons and murdered, the working classes perishing for want and food, or slain by the sword—such is the picture presented to us by an historian of that period, and which he lays to the charge of the King of Aragon, but which we think must be laid also to other parties.

It is certain that Alfonso I. employed in these wars men gathered from beyond the Pyrenees, violent and ferocious as his own character was, and therefore a greater blame must be attached to him for the evils effected. But whether due to one or other, this state of things had become intolerable, and some Leonese and Castillian Barons, with the chiefs of the more powerful municipalities of Leon, joined themselves together in Sahagun to constrain the King and Queen to stop their course of action, and afford the nation some rest and a respite from the calamities it had suffered. They demanded of the King that he should keep to the convention established, when, in consequence of the pretensions of the Count of Portugal, D. Urraca had been reconciled to him in Penafiel. Perchance he found himself too weakened to refuse the conditions imposed by the assembly who thus dared to lay down the law to him, for the Aragonese prince assumed the cloak of dissimulation and pretended to reconcile himself to the Queen, and

after remaining some time in Carrion, went with her to reside in Astorga.

The duplicity of Alfonso I. was soon made manifest. By specious pretexts he delayed to fulfil the promises made. One of the principal conditions was to release the castles belonging to his Queen from the hands of the Aragonese. When passing through the city of Leon on his way to Astorga, he refused to deliver up the Alcasar of this city, notwithstanding that D. Urraca demanded it. It was evident that the treaty of peace obtained forcibly by the people would not long endure. He would make use of any pretext to effect a rupture, and circumstances soon occurred which afforded him the desired plea. These events were taking place at the commencement of 1114. The individual acts of the Count of Portugal are but vaguely recorded, and probably forgotten in the midst of so many grave disturbances and party strifes; but if we credit some documents of undoubted veracity, although the dates are questioned, Henry leagued himself with the Queen when, on her return from Aragon, she once again separated from her husband. It was in the midst of these repeated discords, alternated with reconciliations, that the career of the Count, with its ambitions and hopes, was cut short by death; but the scene of it, with the details of the event, are covered by an impenetrable veil. We only know that he died on the 1st May, 1114. The Narrative of the *Annonym* of Sahagun inclines us to believe that when Alfonso and D. Urraca were residing in Astorga, Henry followed them, and that he died in that city. This is in a certain sense supported by the traditions of the Portuguese Chroniclers, who say that his death took place there, although tradition generally invests events with extraordinary fabulous circumstances, due to the vivid imagination of the masses, which usually envelopes history with romance.

Let us glance on the past, and observe the true state of the political situation of Henry at the time of his death. Impelled by ambition and the existing state of affairs to act an important character in the midst of the civil wars which were devastating the monarchy, it will be seen that during the last four years of his life he placed before every other consideration his own aggrandisement, and the obtaining the independence of the county or state over which he had been placed to govern by his father-in-law. He also aspired to a share in other provinces, with the object of converting Portugal into the nucleus of a powerful State on the west of the Peninsula.

By the treaty made with D. Urraca, we know that Zamora belonged to him, and this district extended along the eastern frontiers of our country. And if another treaty made by the Queen with D. Theresa (of which we shall speak further on) confirmed the former one effected with the Count, we shall see that these territories included the greater portion of the provinces called Campos and Estremadura, and which at the present day are styled Valladolid, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca. It is possible that in the treaties of divisions made with Alfonso I. to apportion the monarchy between them, the Count selected these provinces. Hence, if he died subsequently to the last reconciliation of Alfonso with D. Urraca, he was, nevertheless, allied with the Queen at that date; and having a right to demand from both the cession of those districts, it is untenable to suppose that he would not then effect what had been the wish and hope of his life, and towards attaining which he had laboured even during the lifetime of Alfonso VI.

It is the general opinion of historians that the Count of Burgandy was in his seventy-sixth year when he died, but this opinion involves some grave difficulties, as he must have been born in 1037. The military activity of the Count during the last years of his life, joined to other circumstances, convinces us that he was only between fifty and sixty at the time of his death. The body was transferred from Astorga to the Cathedral of Braga, where, even to the present day, the remains exist of him who, up to a certain point, may be justly called the Founder of the Portuguese Nation.

If Henry was ambitious, his wife was no less so. No sooner does she hear of his death than she repairs to the Court of Astorga. A contemporary writer says, "She went to contend with her sister and the king. What had she to contend for but the pretensions of her husband?" But the warrior Count had descended into the grave, and his sword, which had glistened in the fire of so many battles, lay at his side beneath the slab of the sepulchre. The Infanta had ambition, energy, and persistence, but she needed a manly arm to maintain the right which, justly or unjustly, she advanced belonged to her. She lacked that blade whereby the policy of nations is weighed in the balance of power against the contentions of princes and vassals. In her womanly weakness she resorted to deceit to effect what her husband had laboured to obtain by the force of skill and prowess. Through the intervention of an individual to whose arts she trusted, she found a means to convince the King of Aragon that his Queen, D. Urraca,

intended to poison him, an accusation which probably was not altogether unfounded. Alfonso, who desired nothing better than to find a pretext for punishing the Queen, without losing the vast States of which she was the legitimate sovereign, believed, or affected to believe, in the secret revelation.

In presence of the Nobles of the Court he accused her of the intended assassination, in order better to justify the line of action he had determined to follow, which was to separate her from him. Following the custom of that time, the Queen had recourse to proof of sword to vindicate her innocence, selecting for that object a knight to measure blades for her; but the King refused to accept that challenge of the judgment of God, and constituted himself the judge of his own cause.

In vain did the Counts of Castille, and even the Barons of Aragon who were present, endeavour to pacify the irritated spirit of the consorts. D. Urraca was expelled from Astorga, followed by a few knights, who would not forsake her in that unfortunate plight.

The harshness of Alfonso, who thus refused to his wife a means of justification, considered the most solemn which a culprit can resort to in order to prove innocence from a charge of crime, produced general dissatisfaction. The very Aragonese who garrisoned the towers of the ancient capital of the monarchy, the city of Leon, opened the gates of its castle to the exiled princess.

The burghers, who up to that time had shown themselves more favourable to the King of Aragon than to D. Urraca, now joined her party. The Council of Burgos, Naxera, Carrion, Leon, and Sahagun, with its many Nobles, assembled, and so resolute were they in their determination to maintain the conditions sworn to by Alfonso I., that he was compelled to declare himself openly, and unable to stem the current of public opinion against him, secretly left Sahagun, and, almost like a fugitive, retired to his own States. Then the Nobles and the burghers on all sides, in the cities and in the strongholds, declared for D. Urraca, and acknowledged the authority of the Queen.

D. Theresa continued to reside in Astorga after her sister was expelled. She effected a treaty of alliance with the King of Aragon, but the events in Sahagun placed her in a very difficult position. Her dominions were too circumscribed, and she could not find sufficient resources against a sister deeply offended with her. Her ally, who had retired to his own States, could only in an indirect manner be useful to

Portugal by withdrawing the Leonese arms to the frontiers of Castille. On the other hand, the death of the Count took place before definite possession could be taken of a part of the monarchy to constitute an independent kingdom sufficiently important to render it respected: thus the portion he left her at his death to govern was virtually united to Leon, and should D. Theresa break the bond of obedience which linked her to her sister, that act would be held in the light of a flagrant rebellion.

The Infanta of Portugal, beneath a serene mien, concealed an active, shrewd spirit, which the events that occurred during the fourteen years she ruled the province bequeathed by her husband amply proved. It was during this period that the Portuguese nationality became well defined, and to the policy pursued by D. Theresa is due, up to a certain point, the growth and progress in Portugal of its system of individuality, which established barriers far more solid and lasting than the geographical limits which divided the two neighbouring nations. How the Infanta was able to cope with the difficulties which surrounded her, and the manner in which she profited by the civil discords of Christian Spain to establish the independence of her States, we shall see as we proceed.

D. Theresa had been left a widow with three children, one only of which was a son. The Infante Alfonso Henry was then two or three years of age. The King of Aragon, who had allied himself to her, was, in truth, a powerful ally, but expelled from Leon by the Assembly of Sahagun, the Castle of Burgos (which was then the capital of Castille) lost to him, with many other strongholds that had either surrendered to the forces of D. Urraca or were closely besieged, forced Alfonso to make proposals for an armistice, which were accepted. Relieved from warfare, the Queen might now take revenge for the evils which her sister had attempted, but she did not do so. The acts of the Cortes of Oviedo, of which we shall speak further on, convinces us that the Infanta of the Portuguese resorted to submission in order to avoid the storm.

But this enforced state of peace placed the future fate of Portugal in an uncertain condition. During the lifetime of Henry, D. Theresa had rarely used the titles of Countess and Infanta, satisfied to be called by the more modest name of wife of Count Henry, or daughter of King Alfonso VI.; but she now began to employ in acts and decrees the titles of Infanta and of Queen. In course of time the

title of Queen prevailed, since her subjects had already styled her by that name during the life of the Count, and even by the Pope himself. The relative extension of her States and their importance increased in proportion as the now divided Leonese-Castillian monarchy became weakened, and this invested with some material value a title generally used by all legitimate daughters of kings, and which, for that very reason, was ill fitted to be used by a daughter of Ximena Muniones. But while the Countess of Portugal accepted that title, the province over which she governed commenced to receive from its own inhabitants the designation of kingdom.

Whether we view Portugal of those days as a county, or province, or kingdom, it is certain that the towns spread throughout the tract of land extending from the Minho to the Douro commenced towards the second and third decade of the twelfth century to unfold a certain character of nationality which it was impossible to ignore. Political events manifested this character more than any other occurrence. In the civil wars which the ill-assorted union of D. Urraca and Alfonso I. gave rise to, and which were prolonged for many years, dissensions did not arise between one or other province, but they had their origin in district to district, from castle to castle, and almost between individuals.

The Barons and principal nobility, styled generally Counts and *Ricas hombrès*, were often at enmity with one another, and the masses would enlist under either banners to satisfy personal dislikes beneath the pretext of following this or that party. Portugal, however, in the midst of these strifes and party quarrels, always preserved a firm aspect of moral union; for whatever party for the time being ruled the day, all the Portuguese Barons conformed, at least outwardly, to the system which was accepted as the policy of the country. Whether favouring Alfonso Raymund, or the King of Aragon, or D. Urraca, or engaged in war in the service of any of these, or for their own interests, the Nobles of Portugal fought unanimously beneath the same standard, notwithstanding that they themselves might have any private misunderstandings between them. Thus the idea of dismemberment and independence was visibly seen in the spirit of Henry and of his widow, and this idea became completely embodied during the reign of Alfonso Henry as an expression of the popular will. The existing documents of the first years of the reign of Alfonso Henry in Portugal carry out this idea of D. Theresa.

The domestic events which occurred during the last days of the death of Henry in the county or Portuguese province are not known, and the silence of contemporary writers at least proves that they must have been of minor importance. The armistice between Alfonso I. and D. Urraca brought a suspension of hostilities. But the character of the Aragonese prince would not allow him to lay aside his arms. Repelled from Castille, he returned to Aragon to renew the war with the Saracens.

Assisted by the Count of Perche, he subjugated Tudela and besieged Zaragoza, a siege which was prolonged until the Almoravide Wali of Granada, Abu Mohammed, compelled him to raise the siege. Meantime D. Urraca, taking advantage of the truce allowed her by the King of Aragon, retired to Galicia in 1115.

While these events were taking place, the Saracens of the Gharb did not engage in any noteworthy aggression along the frontiers of Coimbra —at least, no Arab historian or Christian annal mentions any attempt from the death of Henry to the year 1116.

The war was sustained between the Almoravides and the Counts of the frontiers bordering Toledo, and more particularly in Aragon, in the neighbourhood of Zaragoza and Lerida.

The art of navigation and the science of naval warfare differed considerably among the inhabitants of the Christian provinces on the west of the Peninsula, and of the Spanish Saracens and Africans. The first would construct small ships fit for the commerce and navigation of the coast, from which they never ventured far; while the latter possessed men-of-war ships with which they ventured farther into the ocean, and although they did not attempt long voyages, yet would engage in military expeditions. Quitting Almeria, Seville, Silves, Lisbon, and other ports, they scoured the coasts of Portugal, Galicia, and Asturias, suddenly attacking places near the sea-coasts, pillaging and setting fire to villages, churches, and even fortified royal residences. The inhabitants were either slain or taken captives, and such terror spread among the country people that dwellers of towns adjacent to the coasts in the summer-time would forsake their homes, or hide themselves in caves, where at least their lives could be safe from the sudden inroads of the Saracens. About this epoch the daring of the enemies had increased to such a pitch that it was deemed necessary to stay the ruin which it was working.

The active Bishop of Compostella sent to Genoa, where naval

science flourished, for expert workmen, and ordered two galleys to be constructed, which, commanded by Genoese pilots, and furnished with soldiers and sailors from Padron, sallied out to the coasts of the Gharb. This expedition destroyed many ships of the Saracens, and Portugal was the gainer by having a more free port for the small commerce which they then had, and Galicia became the principal object of the vengeance of the Saracens, against which, during subsequent years, they directed all their onslaughts.

While Diogo Gelmires in this way was endeavouring to win popular favour by defending Galicia from the aggression of the Moors, he likewise worked to further his own ambitious designs. Ever since his seeming reconciliation with D. Urraca, it appears, he did not cease secretly to promote civil perturbations. Peter Froilaz, Count de Trava, was apparently the head of a party which desired to wrest the government from the hands of the Queen, or at least separate from the Crown Galicia and the districts of Salamanca and Zamora (Estremadura), in order to constitute an independent government for his pupil, Alfonso Raymund.

These events took place at the commencement of the year 1116. D. Theresa, in all probability, had taken possession in that year of a part of the territory of Galicia; certainly she was mistress of Tuy and Orense in 1119, when the bishops of these two dioceses followed her Court, and confirmed in Coimbra the benefits conferred on the Portuguese. Apparently harmony existed between the sisters, and the King of Aragon considered the widow of his former ally as identified with his own enemies.

In the assembly of Oviedo the Infanta of the Portuguese had, in a certain sense, defined her political situation in relation to D. Urraca. The complete independence of Portugal and its dismemberment from the monarchy had not as yet been consummated, and the war made by D. Theresa in Galicia in 1116 proved the independence of her dominions, in the same way as the war waged by the Count of Trava and the other Nobles of Galicia which she had aided. Peace was established in that year, and affairs lapsed into their former state. The supremacy of D. Urraca acknowledged by D. Theresa on the previous year continued to subsist. The retention of a part of southern Galicia by the Infanta alone remained undefined.

The Queen of Leon and Castille visited these provinces several times during the years 1120 and 1121. The war of Aragon made but slow

progress, because Alfonso I., engaged in his glorious campaigns against the Saracens, was unable to conduct it vigorously. To this cause is attributed the return of D. Urraca from the other extreme of her States, unless it was due to the plot which was started to wrench the crown and place it on the head of the Infante Alfonso Raymund when he should attain his majority.

In order to account for the invasion of the States of D. Theresa in 1121, it is necessary to explain the plot.

It appears that Gelmires, during the tumults of Galicia in 1116, had appeared on the field as an opponent of Count Peter Froilaz and the other partisans of Alfonso Raymund. Probably these had judged the reconciliation effected by the prelate with the Queen to be sincere; and the peace she solicited from the two parties confirms it. The Pope was Calixtus II., brother to Count Raymund, and therefore intimately linked with Spain.

The Pope received, through Bernard, the Archbishop of Toledo, a letter from the Infante, in which Alfonso Raymund complains to his uncle of the conduct of Gelmires, and accuses him of doing all in his power to despoil him of the inheritance of his grandsires. Calixtus II. was deeply attached to the son of his brother Raymund, and, it is said, wept on reading this letter. From that moment he seriously endeavoured to secure the crown for Alfonso Raymund. He bade Gelmires, as a condition for obtaining the archbishopric, to favour energetically and constantly the party of his nephew the King.

The Bishop of Compostella then sent to the Pope a man of his intimate confidence, Hugh, Bishop of Oporto. It is not known what the reply was that he took to the Pope, but it is known that his wishes were gratified. In the bull for the erection of a new metropolitan See, Calixtus II. declares that the pleadings of Alfonso Raymund contributed to this resolution. The Pope did not cease to recommend to him the cause of the youthful Alfonso. At the same time the Duke of Aquitania, William IX., and the Countess of Flanders, relatives of the Infante, were writing to Gelmires in a similar strain, the Duke even declaring that he was resolved at any cost to make his nephew heir to Alfonso VI., and advised him to come to an understanding with Peter Froilaz. Then the wily prelate impetrated a bull from Calixtus II. to release him from the oath sworn to D. Urraca, while imposing the obligation of keeping those he should make to the Infante.

The youthful Alfonso Raymund meanwhile simulated he was not acting in union with the Nobles of his party that, as time proved, were labouring to arrange a revolution which, unlike other attempts, should prove decisive. D. Urraca then came with her son to Compostella. It was on that occasion that a war with Portugal was decided upon, assigning for its motive that D. Theresa had in former times invaded Tuy and its neighbourhood, and retaining those territories under her own dominion.

About this time Fernando Peres, son of Peter Froilaz, in the service of the Archbishop, was residing in the Court of D. Theresa, and had obtained the most important Government posts of the districts of Oporto and Coimbra, under the title of Consul or Count, the same as that held by Henry of Burgandy. It must needs be that his relations with the Infanta of the Portuguese should be of long standing, and his influence over her very great, to justify that he, a simple knight, albeit the second son of a noble family of Spain, and a soldier of the Archbishop of Compostella, should rise to hold such important posts. The harmony which existed between the son of Peter Froilaz and the prelate was continued even after the war. While each followed on the field one or other of the sisters, they never altered in their friendship.

D. Urraca having resolved to invade the States of her sister, marched with her son to Tuy in the spring or summer of 1121. Gelmires was constrained to follow with his forces and the rustic knights of Compostella, although by their *fueros* they were not obliged to proceed so far as the district of Tuy. When D. Theresa was apprised of the approach of the Galician army, she mustered all the forces she was able, and encamped on the left margin of the Minho, while the enemies halted on the opposite shore. Towards the side nearest to Portugal the river formed an islet which facilitated the passage of the troops, but they were prevented by the Portuguese barks which coursed along the Minho. The dexterous sailors from Padron and the Compostellians, with some knights, embarking on the opposite shore, proceeded to encounter them, and were able to take possession of the islet. This event inspired such terror in the camp of D. Theresa that they abandoned the field, and almost without any fighting, D. Urraca entered into the enemy's territory. At this epoch of barbarism these encounters among the Christians resembled the mutual raids practised by them and the Saracens. As the Galician army descended towards the

interior of the province, they burnt and robbed and desolated the towns and country they passed through on finding that the Portuguese troops had dispersed. The conquest of Portugal was rapidly progressing.

Gelmires weighed the consequences of this conquest, and, it appears began to work secretly to prevent such an event taking place. He therefore pretended to be deeply grieved at the atrocities perpetrated on Portuguese territory, and expressed an inordinate desire to return to his episcopal duties and functions, by retiring with his troops of Compostellians to Galicia.

D. Urraca suspected the motive of this sudden access of humanity, so she granted the burghers of Compostella leave to return, since their privileges entitled them to do so; but she refused her permission to the Archbishop and his immediate guards. The fortune of war continued adverse to D. Theresa. Not a small portion of Portugal was already subdued, the royal army marching from the south and west had already reached the shores of the Douro, and the Infanta-Queen of the Portuguese had retired towards the district east of Braga. Pursued by her sister, she shut herself up in the Castle of Lanhoso, where she was soon besieged. Affairs had reached to an extreme point for her and for the Barons of the province. Lanhoso was taken, and D. Theresa made a captive; and it required a firm centre to the wheel which was calculated to work the incipient Portuguese nationality. Force of circumstances came to the rescue.

We must bear in mind that Fernando Peres at that juncture was Count of Oporto and Coimbra, and, it is probable, was in Lanhoso with the Infanta-Queen. We must also remember the affection he bore to the Archbishop during the whole of his life, and that both were, one secretly and the other openly, of the party against D. Urraca. The capture and subjection of D. Theresa proved a heavy blow to the interests and designs of Gelmires and his partisans. It was necessary for the ambitious prelate to run the risk of a daring resolve, if he desired to save the cause he had taken up. We do not know what course he really pursued to effect this, but it is certain that D. Urraca decided to arrest him. This was a delicate matter. He had soldiers with him, and, moreover, many partisans in the army, and this fact could not be ignored. In the face of the enemy, such an undertaking became almost impossible to carry out, since it was a matter of certainty that the besieged would take advantage of these strifes

to disperse them. In this dilemma the Queen evidently preferred to come to terms of peace with her sister than leave unpunished the disloyal ecclesiastic. This she did, and peace was effected between them. A treaty is still in existence of this date, attributed to that event, which was celebrated by the sisters.

Either the position of D. Urraca was a very critical one, and enabled D. Theresa to arrange most advantageously the cessation of hostilities, or she desired to secure the loyalty of her sister by entrusting to her a much larger dominion than she had hitherto enjoyed. In this convention, made on oath by the Queen to the Infanta, she promises to faithfully cherish her friendship and defend her against any evils attempted. She grants, moreover, the seigniority of many towns and lands in the modern districts of Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, and Avila, with the rents and seignioral privileges of these cities, besides others in Valladolid and Toledo. In return she exacts from D. Theresa on oath to protect and defend her against their enemies, whether Moors or Christians, and a further promise not to shelter any rebel or traitor vassal to the Queen.

The newly acquired dominions of the Infanta were to be held under the same bond of tenancy as those she formerly possessed, of which probably reference was only made of Tuy and Orense, or rather these, and of Portugal.

After giving reciprocally sureties to the treaty, the two sisters lived on familiar terms; at least, the confidential counsellors of the Queen judged they could communicate to D. Theresa the resolution formed of imprisoning Gelmires, and the means to be employed. However, D. Theresa, no doubt influenced by Fernando Peres, warned the prelate, offering him at the same time one of her castles to which he might retire, or one of her ships to enable him to return to Compostella. Gelmires, trusting to the sworn reconciliation of D. Urraca, or rather to the strong forces by which he was surrounded, refused the offer. Therefore, he did not withdraw from the Queen, but proceeded with her to Galicia with some of the subjects of D. Theresa, among them the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Orense.

On arriving to the left margin of the Minho, the Queen ordered that the first division to cross the river should be the knights of the army of Gelmires, while he himself remained with the Infante and the Queen, who would follow with the remainder of the army. Scarcely had the soldiers landed and commenced to pitch their camp than the

Queen ordered the prelate to be arrested, who, unable to resist, had to content himself with simply protesting against such treatment. As soon as the arrest of the prelate became known, the Archbishop D. Paio and the Bishop of Orense fled in terror, a proceeding which seemed to imply that some complicity existed between those belonging to the suite of D. Theresa and the wily Gelmires, and even leads us to suspect, in view of the staunch friendship existing between him and Fernando Peres, that the best faith did not exist on the part of D. Theresa when signing the treaty, and even the great concessions made by the Queen could not altogether sever her from her ally.

For eight days he was imprisoned, during which there was a complete change of affairs. The Archbishop was removed to the Castle of Cira, and D. Urraca proceeded to Compostella, where she met with only signs of discontent. Within the space of a few days she found herself forsaken by her son, Alfonso Raymund, the Count de Trava, Peter Froilaz, and the Nobles of Galicia, these proceeding to the shores of the Tambre on the north of Santiago, where their forces had encamped. Rebellions broke out in the city itself. The Queen was compelled to yield to the force of public opinion, and Gelmires was released; the Queen retaining her own governors in possession of the castles belonging to the Archbishop, which she had subdued during his imprisonment.

The Archbishop was not sufficiently satisfied with obtaining his own release and to witness once more the humiliation of D. Urraca. The possession of these castles were of too great importance not to attempt to regain them. While the Queen hesitated about the conditions to be imposed, Gelmires judged the moment opportune for tearing off the mask, since it was no longer necessary to deceive. Then he joined Alfonso Raymund, inducing Peter Froilaz and the rest of the Counts and Lords of Galicia to do likewise. Alfonso Raymund was entering his eighteenth year, and the entire monarchy was weary of the calamities wrought by the administration of D. Urraca, who was unfitted to direct State affairs, notwithstanding her energetic character. Added to this, the Spanish Barons were jealous of the favouritism shown to Pedro de Lara, the secret husband or lover of the Queen, whose influence was unlimited, meanwhile that Alfonso I. of Aragon, who not only styled himself King, but Emperor of Leon and Castille, continued, either personally or through his deputies, to desolate the monarchy he called his own, and wherein in effect he held a few towns

and castles. The discontented state of the people and difficult position of affairs rendered their desires easy of fulfilment—viz., that this youth, dowered with superior intelligence, and who was already nominally King of Galicia, should possess the entire inheritance of Alfonso VI.

What had hitherto been only a conspiracy now broke out into a revolution. Since the year 1122 we see Alfonso Raymund winning an undoubted supremacy over the States of his mother, while she was reduced to submitting to the pride of Gelmires, and even seek the protection of that intriguer in the dissensions which she maintained with her son during the four years subsequent to her death.

D. Theresa had at once joined the party of the Archbishop, and probably she took advantage of the proffered peace to save her possessions after the death of Henry, the lands she retained in Galicia and the newly secured States of her sister, judging that it was inexpedient to continue in the party of the Queen, whose star was on the wane. Moreover, Fernando Peres had obtained complete dominion of her spirit, for we know that in this resolution the Infanta-Queen only took a part.

We will not follow here the series of events which took place in Galicia. We are endeavouring to trace the outline of the dark plot which was there concocted in order to understand the scene, and be enabled to draw in its true colours the natural deduction of the government of D. Theresa, and of the facts appertaining to that difficult period of our history.

Therefore, from the end of 1121 to the death of D. Urraca in March, 1126, the period of the decadence of the Queen of Leon and Castille, Portugal appears to have preserved herself completely separated from the convulsions more or less violent of the monarchy of which she still formed a part.

The intervention of the Infanta-Queen of the Portuguese in the general events of Christian Spain had resulted in nearly doubling her dominions. To the south-east of Galicia they extended to the margins of Vibey, throughout the territory called in those days Limia. On the south-west she held Tuy and its dependencies. The seigniority of the important towns to the east of the modern provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Beira conceded to D. Theresa included the dominion of their frontiers. Hence the former county, dismembered from Galicia by Alfonso VI. in 1095, without extending its frontiers on the south, was considerably augmented. The daughter of Ximenes Muniones

reaped the fruit of associating herself to the party of Galicia. It now rested with her to preserve it. So long as D. Urraca lived, she could retain what had been acquired, but the accession to the throne of Alfonso VII., to which she had contributed, proved contrary to her interests, meanwhile that her disorderly affection for Fernando Peres filled the last years of her life with greater misfortunes than befell D. Urraca.

The son of Peter Froilaz had been invested with an authority nearly equal to that held by the Infanta-Queen. Raised to the rank of Count, he was entrusted with the administration of Oporto and Coimbra, the most important of the States of D. Theresa, who, blinded by her violent passion for Fernando Peres, naturally permitted him to assume supremacy over other Counts and subordinates of the country.

The Infanta was following the sad example given by her sister, and the chief subaltern of Archbishop Gelmires was exercising the same influence as Pedro de Lara in Leon and Castille. The consequences were similar, although in a more limited manner. D. Paio, Archbishop of Braga, was a coarse man, and one of a family better known for their warlike deeds than for mildness or courtesy. His discords with the Archbishop of Santiago concerning the possession of several properties between the Douro and Minho belonging to the See had been violent and protracted.

At length the two prelates became reconciled towards the end of 1121, and in March, 1122, a synod was held in Compostella, at which the Archbishop did not attend, owing to his absence in Zamora. On his return he was arrested by D. Theresa. The motive of this arrest is unknown, but the Pope in June of the same year expedited a bull to Gelmires to compel the Queen of the Portuguese to release him by the end of the following month under pain of excommunication, and of placing the whole of her dominions under interdict. This threat had its desired effect. Subsequent events lead us to suspect that the imprisonment of the prelate was only the first dim sign of the revolution which wrested the power from the hands of D. Theresa to place it in those of her son. The unlimited influence exercised by Fernando Peres had from the first excited jealousy and discontent among the Portuguese Barons. The powerful relatives of the lover of D. Theresa in Galicia, and their relations with the all-potent Gelmires, rendered it necessary to arrange beforehand the means to shake off the yoke of the Count. The family of Mendes de Maia, to which the Archbishop

belonged, was one of the principal ones who figured in the revolution which later on deprived D. Theresa of the government.

Hitherto we have abstained from speaking of Alfonso Henry, around whose infancy there hovers curious legends. Similarly to Charlemagne and Arthur, and nearly all the founders of ancient monarchies, his life from the cradle was invested by popular tradition with marvels and miracles. Unfortunately contemporary records destroy these legends with their testimony, or by their silence dispel the golden dreams which a popular rather than an intellectual erudition had fostered and perpetuated. History is a subject far too grave to employ itself in preserving legends which sprang up in remote epochs. Up to the fourteenth year of his age the son of Count Henry scarcely figures in history. In 1125 he performed the first public act recorded of him. This was his investiture as a Knight in the Cathedral of Zamora on the Holy Day of Pentecost. He proceeded to the altar of San Salvador, and, taking down the accoutrements of knighthood, vested himself in the coat of mail, and buckled on the military belt or cincture, according to the custom of kings. The elevation of Alfonso Henry to the noblest grade of military profession at an age too tender for fulfilling the obligations it imposed, resulted in the noteworthy circumstance that on the following year Alfonso VII. performed a similar ceremony in the Cathedral of Compostella, when he took down from the altar of Saint James the sword blessed by Diogo Gelmires. Very quickly were the cousins to exercise against one another the noble profession which they had accepted, and which the Church sanctified when combating against the Infidels.

During these years the perturbations caused in Africa by the new sect of the Almohades had prevented Aly, the Ameer of Morocco, from prosecuting the war against the Christians of Spain. In this region Alfonso I. of Aragon, the "terrible scourge of the Mussalmans," had chiefly employed the Almoravide forces; and the incursions on the western borders were small, and only effected with the native Saracens of this country. D. Theresa took advantage to restore the line of castles which defended the meridional frontiers of the district of Coimbra; at least, we find the Castles of Soure and Sancta Eulalia were rebuilt. About the year 1122 Count Fernando Peres, who had possession of the Castle of Coja, on the Alva, ceded it to the Queen, receiving in return the seigniority of the two above-mentioned. The Castle of Soure, being more exposed to the raids, could with difficulty

find any to live in it, yet about the year 1125 it was not only a stronghold, but had increased to an important town.

After a reign of seventeen years spent in tumults and warfare, D. Urraca died in March, 1126. Her death placed the sceptre of Leon and Castille definitely in the hands of Alfonso VII. The greater portion of the Nobles declared themselves for him. The partisans of Count Pedro de Lara vainly attempted to oppose the pacific accession to the throne of the youthful monarch, for the Count himself was compelled to make peace with him. The places which the King of Aragon still retained in Castille began to rebel, and the inhabitants assailed and reduced the castles garrisoned by Aragonese troops in the name of Alfonso VII. War, in fact, commenced with Alfonso of Aragon. The combating King quickly entered Castille, to reinforce the garrisons of the strongholds he still held. Alfonso VII. proceeded with a powerful army to meet him. Notwithstanding the known treachery of the Count de Lara, who with his troops formed part of the Castillian vanguard, and had refused to fight with the Aragonese, Alfonso I. did not dare to encounter his son-in-law. An armistice was then proposed and accepted by the princes; war was suspended for two years, after which it broke out with redoubled force.

The doubts which probably were resuscitated in the interviews of D. Theresa and her nephew at Zamora, concerning the political relations of Portugal with Leon, seem to have remained as undecided as heretofore. But while Alfonso VII. was proceeding to Castille to encounter the Aragonese King, the Infanta-Queen was actively engaged in placing her dominions in Galicia in a state of defence. For this object she sent troops to the north of the Minho; and judging she was not sufficiently defended with such castles as she possessed, she erected new ones, in order to refuse submission to her nephew should he attempt to demand it. Meanwhile the Galician Nobles, ever turbulent, began anew to incite civil wars. Gelmires, who evidently was wearied out with past turmoils, or because he was sincerely resolved to follow for the time being the party of the new King, employed gentle means to bring them to obedience, and Arias Peres, who had so strongly urged the attempted rebellion, now beheld destroyed or captured the Castles of Lobeira, Taberiolo, Penacornaria, and others in which he had trusted, by the forces of the Archbishop and Count Gomes.

The submission of Portugal, however, was an affair of graver im-

portance. D. Theresa had on her side not only the Barons of Portugal, but likewise her lover Fernando Peres, and the Knights of Galicia, who beneath his wing had come to reside in Portugal. Besides these, she had no lack of soldiers and wealth to sustain the war. As we have seen, D. Theresa, during the government of D. Urraca, had avoided declaring herself altogether independent, but now, proud of her power, and perchance constrained by the more definite pretensions of Alfonso VII., refused formally to fulfil the obligations of her tenancy in conformity with the treaty of 1121, and which, in view of the primary origin of the dominions she ruled over, the Leonese King expected her to observe.

Such were the motives for inciting in Portugal an invasion similar to the one wrought ten years previously, and which left it so desolated. In the spring of 1127, the armistice being ended, Alfonso VII. came to Galicia, collected together the troops of this province, and marched with a numerous army along Entre Douro and Minho. The details of this war are not recorded, with the exception of the evils wrought common to all such engagements and the barbarity of the times, such as devastations of fields and villages, assaults of castles, and the ruin of its greatest towns.

The fortune of war was once again adverse to D. Theresa, because her forces, however great, were inferior to those of her nephew. The reverses experienced in this campaign, which scarcely lasted six weeks, compelled the Queen to acknowledge the supremacy of the monarch. Peace was then effected, and Alfonso immediately retired to Compostella, whose prelate had accompanied him to the war with all the forces he could collect.

The attempts to secure the Portuguese independence carried on for so many years were as yet ineffectual, and now seemed farther than ever. Yet the consequences of the victory obtained by the King of Leon, although serious, were not much to be dreaded. The blind affection the Queen manifested towards a man so greatly disliked by the people, yet who was closely allied and related to many of the Barons of Castille, Leon, and Galicia, and the importance he acquired in Portugal, together with his brother Bermudo Peres, who governed in Viseu, tended to render the future of Portugal very obscure, since she was ruled by the will of a minion whose political plans might be contrary to the desired independence of the country he indirectly governed.

In view of the confidence which later on Alfonso VII. reposed in Count Fernando Peres, and the war made against Portugal by him in union with the other Counts of Galicia, as farther on we shall have occasion to mention, it will not be too harsh to infer that in the invasion of 1127 he greatly contributed towards the submission of D. Theresa tendered to the King of Leon, the principal agent in the peacemaking being Gelmires, the former favourite.

Such was the political state of the country at the time when the youthful Knight Alfonso Henriques attained his eighteenth year. He was skilled in military genius, intelligent, cautious, and eloquent, according to the testimony of a contemporary—moreover, was possessed of a noble bearing and figure. Ambitious for power, and impelled by the temper of the masses, who were dissatisfied at the influence exercised by Fernando Peres, joined to the instigations of the Nobles, who were ignominiously excluded from a part in public affairs—all conduced to placing himself at the head of a revolution, the outcome of which it was not easy to foresee at this early stage. He possessed personal friends; while the principal Nobles preferred to see him take the helm of the government than allow strangers, with their partisans, to govern through the intervention of D. Theresa. Hence, at the commencement of 1128 the civil war which smouldered during the previous year now broke out.

The principal personages linked with Alfonso Henriques were the Archbishop D. Paio, his brother Sueiro Mendes, surnamed the Fat, Ermigio Moniz, Sancho Nunes, husband of D. Sancha, sister of the Infante, and Garcia Soares. Then in Braga, in presence of these above-mentioned Nobles and other Knights of Portugal, he declared his intention of taking possession of the government, and offered advantages beforehand to the Metropolitan, whose aid in this undertaking he reckoned upon.

From what appears in existing documents, the Infante forsook his mother, who probably at the time was in the court of Alfonso VII., and proceeded in the month of April to the province of Entre Douro and Minho.

The revolution appears to have broken out in that province, spreading to the district of Guimarães, along the county of Refoios de Lima, the territory of Braga, and the lands held in possession by the Nobles of the Infante's party. Nearly three months elapsed before both parties came to war. The Queen marched towards Guimarães with the

Galician troops and her Portuguese partisans, and encountered the army of the Infante on the field of Saint Mamede, near the town. D. Theresa was defeated, and fled, pursued by her son; and with others was taken prisoner. Traditions tell us that Alfonso Henry loaded her with chains, and cast her into the Castle of Lanhoso. This tradition is not proved by any existing document. It is a fact, however, that in one single day the supreme power, so longed for by the youthful prince, fell into his hands.

Alfonso Henry did not take advantage of this power to revenge himself on his mother and the Count, but only banished them from Portugal. In a similar manner as with D. Urraca, the unfortunate passion evinced by D. Theresa had afforded the pretext or motive for inciting a civil war, and served to sever the natural bonds between mother and son—those natural family bonds which the history of Europe of that epoch show us were constantly broken by ambitious desires.

The records of the daughter of Alfonso I. during the two years she passed in exile previous to her death are very scanty. A fugitive, and despoiled of her prestige of power, who would remember her? It is probable, however, that she was followed to Galicia by Fernando Peres. At least, we find that he did not forget all that D. Theresa had sacrificed for his sake, and even after her death he employed expressions of tenderness which revealed a sincere love and attachment. On bequeathing some lands to the see of Coimbra, with the object of defraying Masses for the repose of her soul, he makes use of these words: "If any should attempt to annul the endowment which I now make, let him pay double for his defiance to royal authority; and should any individual be so heartless and powerful as to permit this, let his fate be one similar to Dathan and Abiram."

This singular document ends by informing us that there were many who still shed tears over the remains of D. Theresa. Contemporary history barely tells us that she died on the 1st of November, 1130. On an ancient tomb in the Cathedral of Braga is found an inscription to the effect that her remains were transferred to where lay those of her husband.

Modern writers, desiring to save the moral reputation of D. Theresa as a wife, forget to do her justice as Queen or Regent of Portugal. Much is said about her connection with Count Fernando Peres for which we have no authority, while the historic value of her government

is ignored. The acts of the widow of Count Henry for the space of fourteen years, during which she governed, showed great perseverance and skill in her endeavours to further the idea of independence which he had initiated. Yielding to force of circumstances, she did not shrink from acknowledging the supremacy of the Court of Leon to obtain a desired peace, nor to refuse obedience when she judged proper to resist. Associating herself skilfully to the civil bands which were breaking up the Leonese monarchy, she was able to form in their midst a country for herself and her people. And in spite of invasions from Christians and Saracens, of devastations and the evils consequent upon these devastations, she was able to increase her population, wealth, and military strength. By her policy and force of arms she extended her dominions to the east and to the north, preserving on the south the border-line established by her husband. The punishment visited upon her error appears to us over-severe if we take into account the customs of her time; while the conduct of the Portuguese Barons merits from unbiassed minds the imputation of ingratitude. D. Theresa was the victim of a blind and excessive sentiment, notwithstanding that it was a noble one, for it afforded a pretext for rebellion, and fostered the ambition of Alfonso Henry, or rather of those who made use of his inexperience to further theirs. The sentiment which actuated D. Theresa was that of nationality. The Chronicle of the Goths, which assumes the tone of a political censor when narrating the events of 1128, was no doubt only an echo of the populace. In its pages the Galicians are styled foreigners and unworthy strangers. This opprobrious name, applied twenty years previously to the inhabitants of other provinces founded by Pelagio, was inapplicable to Portugal, since a serious revolution certainly could not completely efface the successful progress of seven centuries.

END OF FIRST BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1128—1185.

Government of Alfonso Henry—War in Galicia—Attempted revolution—Continuation of the war—The Castle of Celmes is founded and lost—Alfonso forms an alliance with the King of Navarre and some Nobles of Galicia—Victory of Cerneja—Leiria is lost, and destruction of Thomar—Tuy at peace with the Emperor Alfonso VII.—The Almoravides and Almohades—Expedition of Ourique—Renewal of discords with the Emperor—The encounter of Valdevez—Peace—Algara of the Saracens—Leiria and Trancoso aré destroyed—Defeat of the Invaders—Alfonso assumes the title of King—Fief to the Pope—Details of the event—Position of the Saracens—Alliance of Alfonso with Ibn Kasi, and raids of the Christians in the Gharb—Marriage of the King of Portugal—The taking of Santarem, Lisbon, and other places—Civil wars among the Mussalmans—Repeated attempts against Alcacer—Conquests in modern Alemtejo—Leon and Castille at the time of the death of Alfonso VII.—Family alliances between Alfonso I., the Count of Barcelona, and Ferdinand II. of Leon—The King of Portugal is defeated by the Almohades—Beja and Evora are taken—Invasion of the Portuguese beyond the Guadiana—Moura, Serpa, and Alconchel are subjugated—Discords arise between Alfonso I. and the King of Leon—Defeat of the Portuguese in Arganal—Conquest of the south of Galicia—The King of Portugal taken prisoner in Badajoz by the Leonese—He is set at liberty—Precautions taken for the defence of the country—First siege of Santarem by the Almohades—Truce and Marriage of the Infante Sancho, the Prince heir—Invasion of the Portuguese in Andalusia—Reprisals—The Pope confirms the title of King to Alfonso Henry—Continuation of the war with the Saracens—The Infanta D. Theresa is affianced to the Count of Flanders—The Ameer Al-Mumenin—Yusuf Abu Yacub invades Portugal—Second siege of Santarem, and death of the Ameer—Last days of Alfonso I.—Epilogue.

When the Queen and Count Fernando Peres were expelled from Portugal, the whole province followed the Conqueror, although it appears from a contemporary document that some resistance was offered from the end of 1128 to the first months of 1129.

Alfonso VII. could not view this grave event with indifference. A year had scarcely passed since the youthful King had compelled his

royal aunt to acknowledge herself his vassal, when peace was made between them, after despoiling her of her dominions. The pretext of nationality, as we deduce from the Chronicles of the Goths, was equivalent to a formal declaration of independence. In order to remedy the evil, the Prince might resort to two expedients—he could either reinstate the fugitive Queen by force of arms in the dominions which her son had deprived her of, or, by acquiescing in the actual state of affairs, exact from Alfonso Henry vassalage, or that he should be subordinate to the Crown, as his mother had been during the last years.

The internecine discords of the monarchy, and the almost continual wars sustained against the bellicose King of Aragon, seemed to counsel him to follow the second expedient, or, rather, it constrained Alfonso VII. to do so.

The Infante resisted the pretensions of his cousin. This was not altogether from a motive of ambition; it was also from the obligations due to his subjects to which he had bound himself by oath. With the victory of Guimarães the thought of national independence acquired new vigour, and the masses repelled with horror the idea of subjection to the son of Count Raymund, who was held by them as a foreigner. Therefore Alfonso Henry, it appears, resolved to avoid the evil of war within his own dominions, by entering with armed forces into Galicia. Probably the pretext employed to effect this was the convention made with his father, and also the possession of Tuy, which D. Theresa held, and of the territory of Limia, which he would endeavour to gain as well as Portugal. This idea explains his persistence in assailing the border provinces of the north of Portugal. These attempts by Alfonso Henry were causes of anxiety to the King of Leon, for about this time he had great difficulties to contend with. Christian Spain was burning in the flames of war. Alfonso I. of Aragon persisted in devastating Castille, and the turbulence of the Nobles, partisans of Lara or of the Aragonese Prince, did not permit Alfonso VII. a moment of peace, and compelled him by force of arms to take the castles in Estremadura, Castille, Asturias, and Leon, which had rebelled. The entry of Alfonso Henry increased his difficulties. To avoid the latter evil, he enjoined the Archbishop Gelmires and the Counts and magistrates of Galicia to come forth to encounter him and repulse him in every possible manner. While the latter were collecting their forces, and preparing to march against the Portuguese, the Prelate of Compostella

fell ill or feigned illness, and the municipal troops of Santiago refused to follow the army. The treachery of several individuals gave the last blow to this hapless undertaking, and Alfonso Henry returned to Portugal without meeting any resistance.

What were the consequences? No record of this has been handed down to us. It is certain, however, that Alfonso VII. did not at the moment endeavour to take revenge for the affront and injury received. He needed a respite from the general disorder, and he convoked the Cortes in Leon when peace was discussed and restored, while the burghers of Compostella were fined for refusing to defend the provinces against the invasion of the Portuguese. The latter, satisfied with the advantages obtained, tacitly or expressedly accepted the pacific arrangements of the Cortes of Leon; at least, we must assume that harmony existed between the two provinces during 1130 and 1131, to account for the persistence of Fernando Peres in Portugal at this period. He had been expelled two years previously, yet he continued to make fierce war against Alfonso Henry during all that time, and this assailing of the States of his rival, whose authority he seemed to have acknowledged, leads us to explain his actions in the way we have done.

We said before that Bermudo Peres, brother to Count Fernando, had obtained the government of Viseu. He either kept aloof from the events of 1128, or he became reconciled to his brother-in-law, since it is a fact that he resided in Portugal in 1131, and the Castle of Seia was under his dominion.

Seia was a stronghold erected amid the ruggedness of the Serra da Estrella, and served as a refuge to the dwellers along the border-lines against the raids of the Saracens from the Gharb, while their warlike inhabitants renewed their entries into Mussalman territories, and existed on those inhospitable mountains chiefly from the attacks and robberies they effected in the fields and habitations of their adversaries. The influence exercised by these lords of the lands and the Alcaides of the castles over those hardened, ferocious men may be easily conceived, since they were well accustomed to obey them in their charges and onslaughts against the Moors, these raids being renewed every spring. The position of the Castle of Seia, its strength, and the ruggedness of its surrounding district favoured the attempted rebellion of Bermudo. The obvious explanation for his rebellious attempt may be sought for in the expulsion of his brother, Fernando Peres, and the ill-will

existing between the Barons of Portugal and Galicia. The arrival of Fernando at Coimbra about this time is a singular coincidence, and induces the suspicion that he was not altogether ignorant of the proceeding of his brother. The energetic character of Alfonso Henry prevented this tiny flame from assuming the proportions of a conflagration. Apprised of the plot, he marched against Seia, and the conspiracy was put an end to. Bermudo was expelled from the castle and out of the province of Portugal, and later on he served Alfonso VII. against his brother-in-law, who was taken prisoner in the war of Valdevez, and after some years became a monk in the monastery of Sobrado. Those who had joined Bermudo Peres were despoiled of their effects, which were distributed among the servitors of the Infante.

At the age of twenty-one Alfonso Henry possessed a warlike character, and, skilled in the science of arms, was well fitted to develop the scheme of Portuguese nationality and independence which was ripening and taking firm root in the hearts of the people.

The Portugal of those days scarcely formed one-half of our modern territory. The new monarchy had no native ally in the rest of Spain, save Aragon and Navarre. The powerful Empire of Leon and Castille, to the north and east, threatened to engulph it; while to the south its limits were bordered by the Saracens, who were irreconcilable enemies both in race and creed, and it required energy and skill to withstand such dangerous neighbours. Alfonso proved, through the course of a long reign, that he possessed these needful qualities.

Deficient of literary education, it is true—a fact not uncommon in those days to all princes and knights—deprived of a mother's love, which so often softens the hardest characters, yet the lessons of adversity had supplied the schooling of men, and had redoubled his ambition and daring, while the oppression he had suffered rendered him cautious, suspicious of men, and, as a consequence, fickle. "The youth," says a writer of those times, "was versed in the art of governing, but, possessed by an ardent love of glory, he was swayed like a reed at the mercy of the breezes." Coveting to render his name illustrious, valiant, yet with no deep and lasting affection, he would not be the prince to succeed in peaceful times; but his enthusiasm, ambition, and bravery were needed in those troubled times to build up the edifice of independence in the country.

War was again renewed between the years 1132 and 1135. D. Theresa constantly strove to extend her States towards Galicia, and

her system was persistently followed by her son. We know not upon what pretext he started another invasion to that province, but certainly the Infante penetrated into the lands of Limia. The Counts Fernando Peres and Rodrigo Vela, with other border Counts of the King of Leon, sallied out to encounter him, and he was defeated, and compelled to retire into Portugal. He was not, however, discouraged. He gathered together the noblest and most valiant knights, and returned to the districts of Limia. The Leonese captains did not attempt to dispute the field with him, or else they were defeated by the Portuguese. Master of that territory, Alfonso Henry erected a castle known by the name of Celmes. He then strongly garrisoned and provisioned it, and retired to Portugal. Meanwhile Alfonso VII., on being apprised of this, mustered a large force composed of Leonese and Galicians, and advanced without loss of time to besiege Celmes. A fortification of such recent construction could not offer a lengthened resistance; the Castle was strongly and persistently assaulted, and in a few days fell into the power of the King of Leon. Its defenders were taken prisoners, among whom were some from the noblest families of Portugal.

After the surrender of Celmes, Alfonso VII. increased its means of defence, and expelled the invaders out of all the district, returning victorious to his capital.

The death or imprisonment of so many valiant knights and soldiers produced in the Court of Alfonso Henry a feeling of profound sorrow. On all sides fortune was favouring the son of D. Urraca. Seyfu-al-daulah, the Ameer of Rottat-al-Yahud (Roda), had voluntarily submitted to him. Garcia, the King of Navarre, acknowledged in him a species of supremacy, as likewise the Count of Barcelona. Even the Count of Tolosa, and other no less powerful Barons beyond the Pyrenees, judged it an honour to be his vassals. The renowned King of Aragon, Alfonso I., the most illustrious Spanish captain of those times, and the most terrible adversary of the youthful monarch, had ended his long and glorious career, after being vanquished by the Saracens in the sanguinary battle of Fraga. In a corner of the vast States of the Leonese prince stood the master of a small province bound on the south by the Mussalman; and not only did he dare to refuse obedience to him, but even invaded the territory of the monarchy; and in spite of the last reverses, he continued to hoist the flag of independence, determined to defend it, sword in hand, against one before whom other

more powerful princes bent the knee. Without a suspicion of national pride, it behoves us to say, however, in truth, that the courage and constancy of the Portuguese and their Prince, at this juncture of affairs, are some of the finest examples of the moral energy which so highly distinguished the middle ages.

We have seen that, with the exception of the small province of Portugal, the whole of Christian Spain, and even a portion of France on this side of the Rhine, directly or indirectly acknowledged the dominion of Alfonso VII. The title of Emperor began to be generally used, and even he himself employs it in the decrees, since he was in reality the lord of so vast a dominion.

In the month of June, 1135, the Cortes were convoked in Leon, and the youthful Prince was solemnly acclaimed Emperor.

The disaster of Celmes checked the audacity of the Portuguese, and the comparatively pacific state of the Peninsula enabled her to revise the laws, which had fallen into disuse owing to the turmoils of the civil war which, from the time of D. Urraca, had been almost constantly taking place.

He began to restore the churches and monasteries, to re-establish order and proper administration, punishing all malefactors, without distinction of classes. With the object of persevering in his conquests along the Mussalman territories, he endeavoured to invigorate the internal strength of the monarchy by means of peace and general prosperity; hence he allowed his cousin to enjoy peace after the advantages obtained for the rest of that year and the following one of 1136, since we find no records of any aggression taking place during that period from either side.

The restless spirit of Alfonso Henry, and the facilities afforded him by the Emperor to repair the affront and defeat in Gälicia, did not permit peace to be of long duration in the Christian States of Spain. War broke out anew in 1137. Circumstances attending it compel us to speak of events which, although they do not belong immediately to our history, nevertheless explain the daring attempts of the Infante against such a powerful monarch as his cousin.

The death of the renowned King of Aragon, soon after the affair of Fraga, brought about the dismemberment of the monarchy. In Navarre, Garcia Ramires, a descendant of the ancient princes of that State, was elected King; and in Aragon, Ramiro, "the monk of Thomières," brother to Alfonso I. The King of Leon, on the pretext

that he was the heir of his stepfather, or because part of the Aragonese provinces had formerly belonged to Castille, or, again, by reason of his superior strength, immediately marched towards Rioja, and took possession of it without meeting any opposition.

The new King of Navarre, far from offering any resistance, came out to meet him, and following the French style, acknowledged him his suzerain, in this way avoiding an impending war. Then Alfonso VII. proceeded to Aragon, and entered the new capital, Zaragoza, which opened its doors to him. Some say that Ramiro retired to Sobrarbe, others that he followed the example of the King of Navarre, and accepted him as his sovereign. It is a fact that from that epoch Alfonso VII. entitled himself not only Emperor of Leon and Castille, but likewise of Zaragoza and Navarre. Garcia, however, only yielded from pressure of circumstances. It was but natural that when the storm would pass over, the desire of independence should spring up anew in his heart. To this cause we must needs ascribe his subsequent proceedings.

The warlike character of Alfonso Henry, and the noble courage of the inhabitants of Portugal to keep independent of the general submission of Christian Spain, excited admiration, and induced alliances to be formed with the master of this small province and its indomitable barons and knights by all who impatiently endured the yoke of the Emperor. Among the latter was Garcia, the young King of Navarre, who, before he attempted any resistance against the suzerainship of Alfonso VII., entered into an alliance with Alfonso Henry.

Galicia, as we have seen, was by far the most turbulent province of the monarchy. The lords of the lands and counts of the districts were ever entering into rebellions simply to satisfy their ambition or avenge some slight injury received. The causes which led to the conspiracy of the two Counts Gomes Nunes and Rodrigo Velloso is unknown. Gomes Nunes governed the lands of Toronho—that is to say, the territory of Tuy which extended along the northern shores of the Minho. Rodrigo Peres held the tenancy of a great number of castles in the district of Limia, besides other seigniorities received from Alfonso VII. Impelled by these powerful Nobles, the Infante took possession of Tuy, and successively of the castles and lands contingent to them. Moreover, they united their troops to those of Portugal, and, together with their new ally, prepared to make war, while Garcia of Navarre broke the treaty of fealty, and commenced hostilities towards the east.

The Castle of Allariz was situated on the left margin of Arnoya, which flows into the Minho below the confluence of this river with the Avia. At this time it was governed by a brave knight called Fernando Annes, whose loyalty to the Emperor was deep-seated and sincere, and he held other castles also. Fernando Annes, with his sons, brothers, and friends, valiantly opposed the invasion, and although he was vanquished, he resolutely fought until he lost all the places given him to defend and guard. When Alfonso Henry proceeded with his forces to the heart of Galicia, and had garrisoned all the castles which treachery had placed in his hands, he returned to Portugal, possibly to recruit his army, necessarily weakened by the distribution of troops in the strongholds he had taken. This was evidently his motive, because he soon returned to Galicia to continue the war.

The captains of the Emperor had meanwhile collected together their troops, and were preparing to follow the noble example of Fernando Annes. Among these were Rodrigo Vela and Fernando Peres, who more greatly distinguished themselves. The Infante found in these two knights most stubborn adversaries, since in his former undertaking in Galicia it was they who repulsed him. The border troops being collected together, the Galician army encountered the Portuguese at a place called Cernesa, or Cerneja. A battle took place, but the fortune of war was against the Counts of Leon, and the Galician troops retreated in disorder. Rodrigo Vela and other knights fell into the hands of the enemy, but two of the soldiers desperately threw themselves on the captors, and rescued their captain, who was able to escape and join the fugitive army.

The future appeared to promise well for Alfonso Henry and his allies, the rebel Counts of Toronho and Limia. The southern districts conquered, and the most illustrious captains of Alfonso VII. defeated, there remained the north of Galicia as the theatre for future conquests. But an event took place at this very moment which stayed the progress of the Infante, and summoned him to defend his own States.

The order of Knight Templars had received from D. Theresa, during the last months of her government, the seigniority of the Castle of Soure. We shall have occasion further on to speak of this and other military orders, in pursuing the plan of our work. These monk-knights, whose enthusiasm and courage are above dispute, and whose institution was with the object of unceasingly warring against the sectaries of Islamism, had, within a few years, altered the aspect of

the neighbourhood. In those days the tract of land now called Estremadura Alta was covered by extensive forests and woods, These deserts, which formed natural barriers between the two inimical races, might justly be ceded to that military order, composed of solely brave warriors. With the sword in one hand and the sickle in the other, they proceeded gradually to restrain or punish the Saracen raids, while cultivating and populating the neighbourhood west of Soure. There still remained a space open to the invasions of the Saracens, who came, without meeting any resistance, to desolate the neighbourhood of Coimbra.

During the term of peace, which lasted a year and a half, the Infante had during the winter of 1135 laid the foundation for the construction of the Castle of Leirena (Leiria), on a mountain situated in the centre of this vast desert south of Soure, and north-west of Nabão, a spot well calculated to defend his States, and convenient for making war against the Mussalmans. The site overlooked the road to Coimbra, and also was advantageous for effecting, when necessary, a sudden attack upon the most important places west of the Gharb—Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra.

When the erection was concluded he garrisoned it with chosen knights and troops, appointing as Alcaide, or Governor, a valiant knight called Paio Gutterres.

The Saracens were very dissatisfied with the appointment of this warrior, whom the Christian prince had placed on the very borders of his dominion. Paio Gutterres was, as an ancient writer expresses it, "like Scipio the African;" he harassed them with his raids and onslaughts. At length, irritated beyond measure by their troublesome neighbour of Leiria, the Saracens collected sufficient forces, and marched to besiege the castle. It was this affair which summoned Alfonso Henry from Galicia after the victory of Cerneja. The Mussalman army, composed of Almoravides, or Moors, and Spanish Saracens, took the Castle of Leiria by scaling its walls.

The defence was a desperate one. It is said that two hundred and forty knights and soldiers of the garrison troops were slain defending its walls, among whom were many individuals of high rank. The valiant Paio Gutterres was, however, saved, to fall subsequently into their hands, and made captive.

The loss of Leiria was in a certain measure analogous to the fall of Celmes, and perhaps even more disastrous, for in this it was the blood

of martyrs, according to the ideas of the times, that dyed the ramparts, spilt by the hands of infidels. This event and the destruction of Thomar eclipsed the triumph obtained in Cerneja. The moral influence of the country became lessened by these reverses, and rendered necessary the return of the Infante to Portugal, to prevent the entrance of the Saracens by more strongly garrisoning the southern frontiers.

We have said that the King of Navarre was impatient under the yoke which fear had impelled him to accept soon after his accession to the throne. On the occasion when the Portuguese Infante entered Galicia, he broke faith with Alfonso VII. The Emperor at once proceeded to repulse the Navarrese as being more powerful, and it was no doubt due to this circumstance that Alfonso Henry owed the success of his attempts. The Emperor was obtaining considerable advantages over Garcia, when the war in Galicia assumed a greater importance on account of the defeat of Cerneja, and drew his whole attention. He had left Palencia and gone to Zamora, when he met a knight who came to announce to him what had taken place on the eastern frontiers. He immediately marched to them with what forces he could hurriedly collect in Zamora, and suddenly appeared at Tuy, entering in without meeting resistance. From Tuy he sent messengers to the Nobles, Counts, and Alcaides, and to the Archbishop of Compostella, to proceed to Tuy and join him in invading Portugal, taking advantage of the coming harvest to destroy the crops and reduce this turbulent province to its last extremity.

The Infante was then returning to succour the southern frontiers, but the losses sustained of many valiant knights naturally discouraged the Portuguese. This fact the Emperor judged would facilitate his conquest. But this was not to be. The lords and knights summoned by Alfonso VII. had delayed coming, and while the aged Gelmires prepared to depart to meet the Emperor at Tuy, he received orders not to proceed, for peace had been concluded between the Emperor and Alfonso Henry.

The motive of this peacemaking is not exactly known, but subsequent events induce the belief that it was the relative adverse positions in which the Emperor and the Infante found themselves which brought it about.

In order to effect this peacemaking, Alfonso Henry had proceeded to Tuy. He was accompanied by the Archbishop of Braga, D. Paio, and D. João, Bishop of Oporto.

On the Emperor's side were the Bishops of Segovia, Tuy, and Orense. It is believed that these prelates influenced the reconciliation of the princes. The Archbishop had always shown great affection for the Infante, and it was but natural that the Archbishop should endeavour to deliver him from the dire alternative of abandoning his southern frontier to the irruptions of the Mussalmans, or the districts of the north to the vengeance of the Emperor. The convention celebrated was, however, unfavourable to Alfonso Henry, since by it he alone was called upon to fulfil certain obligations, and King Alfonso VII. none. The Infante bound himself by oath to preserve loyally his friendship to the Emperor, never to seek personally or otherwise his death, and should any one attempt it, he would take vengeance as due from a loved son. He also promised in his name, and in that of his Barons, to respect the territories of the Emperor, and should any attempt an aggression he would loyally assist to avenge, or restore the same; also that in the event of an invasion taking place, whether from Mussalmans or Christians, he would proceed to aid him (Alfonso VII.), should he require it. And, moreover, should the son or sons of the Emperor desire to continue peaceful relations, the Infante bound himself to preserve the imposed conditions, and in the event of this treaty being broken by any of the Portuguese Barons, he would repair the evil as far as possible, subject to arbitration, &c. This treaty was sworn to by the Infante and one hundred and fifty of his party, and sealed at Tuy on the 4th of July, 1137, in presence of the Archbishop of Braga, and the Bishops of Segovia, Oporto, Tuy, and Orense.

A treaty which contained stipulations relative to the successors of Alfonso VII. naturally suggested the idea that peace was intended to be of long duration; but the Emperor and the Infante could not really view it in any light but as a truce of greater or lesser duration, as future events might counsel or exact. It was sufficiently disadvantageous for Alfonso Henry, who was not gifted with the virtue of resignation, and it could easily be foreseen that when once the disasters of Leiria were repaired, or any important advantage obtained from the Saracens on the frontiers, he would soon seek a pretext or motive to cast off the yoke. From that moment the war against his cousin became almost a necessity. Had the independence of Portugal been of long standing and firmly established, this state of vassalage in respect to other lands in the Emperor's dominions would not influence his personal authority as Prince of the Portuguese. But the independence

of Portugal was scarcely an accomplished fact, and the subjection of Alfonso Henry to the Emperor, under any pretext whatsoever, would influence in many ways the future fate of the country. In spite of the solemnity with which it was invested, this treaty of Tuy could not subsist, and its severance sooner or later was inevitable. During the two following years the frontiers of Galicia and Portugal breathed freely after the continued turmoils and desolating raids which had steeped so many Christian swords in blood.

By common consent, the two princes now took up arms for a nobler undertaking—to combat the enemies of the Cross, and pursue that long wrestling commenced more than four centuries before, and which since the conquest of Toledo had given hopes of terminating in the decisive victory of Christianity. The disasters endured in Estremadura, and the triumph obtained in Galicia, had weakened the forces of Portugal. It was necessary to recruit the army before attempting any factions against the Saracens of the Gharb. It would require a tremendous blow to be levelled at the infidels in order to crush down the pride of their past victories, which they persistently obtained ever since the time of Count Henry, when they easily repelled the weak attempts of the Christians, enfeebled by their own civil wars.

On peace being concluded between Alfonso VII. and the Infante of Portugal, the former prepared to invade the Mussalman territories. While the King of Navarre continued the war against the Leonese monarch in the person of his captains, he himself advanced in 1138 as far as the Guadalquiver, since the Portuguese on the side of Galicia were no longer a source of anxiety. From this spot he divided the army into flying corps, bidding them devastate and sack the districts of Jaen, Baeza, Ubeda, and Andujar, setting fire to all open places, and destroying the fields and forests.

Alfonso Henry meanwhile was apparently enjoying complete inaction since the peace of Tuy, as though his restless martial spirit had become weary of a life of continual perils and combats. This seeming inaction was only simulated. He was in reality silently but assiduously preparing for a new and more glorious undertaking than he had ever entered into in the dominions of the Emperor, which had left no definite results, particularly in the Peninsula, where two antagonistic creeds and races were ever in contention, and almost partook of the character of a civil war. He had to avenge the excesses practised on the southern frontiers, and prepare for an extensive raid directed to

the very centre of the Gharb. It was this scheme which engaged him during that period of seeming repose. The present moment was opportune for carrying out his scheme. During the previous year his cousin had penetrated to within a short distance of the capital of the Mussalman States in Spain, and had devastated places never before reached by the Christians. The weak resistance encountered by Alfonso VII. was an evident sign of the fall of the Lamtunite Empire. Aurelia, a most important military station, was now beleaguered, and the Saracens could not suffer with impunity that the siege should be prolonged were it possible to save Aurelia. In truth, Ibn Ghaniyyah, the Wali of Valencia, in union with other officers of the Almoravide forces of Andaluz, had effected a demonstration against Toledo, with the object of withdrawing the attention of the Emperor from their capital; but this did not prevent him from carrying out his project, and the Almoravide generals had retired without obtaining any success.

It was therefore time to take advantage of these circumstances. In May, 1139, preparations were actually commenced for a military expedition. The different bodies were gathering together under their banners, and in July the Portuguese started for the south. Instead, however, of proceeding to the Gharb by the shores of the Tagus along the territory extending between Santarem and Lisbon, which had been the scene of so many battles, the Infante crossed the river, thus manifesting the intention of proceeding against Silves, the most important town of the province. This daring exploit, and inevitable ruin—its principal object being to break up the enemy's camp—inspired great terror; moreover, this invasion appeared to be in combination with the attack of Aurelia by the Emperor.

In view of the rapid march of Ibn Errik (the name given by the Saracens to the son of Count Henry), the Almoravide generals could not possibly expect succour from the more eastern provinces of Andaluz, yet the advance of the Infante was such that it admitted of no delay to seek foreign aid were there any possibility of obtaining it. Therefore, it became necessary to seek at home for succour to enable them to cut off the inroad of the Christians, meanwhile employing such force as Taxfin might leave behind on his way to Africa.

The vast tract of land divided at the present day into Alemtejo and Algarve formed, at the time when the Almoravides subjugated Spain at the end of the eleventh century, jointly with a part of Spanish Estremadura, and perhaps the province of Seville, the States of

the Beni-Alafftas, the Ameers of Badajoz, who also lorded over the portion of Portuguese Estremadura not yet conquered by the Christians, and therefore they styled themselves Ameers of the Gharb. This ameership, similarly with others of Andaluz, became extinct when the Lamtunites entered, and the government posts of Walis of the districts, the Wasirs of second-rate cities, and the Al-kayids of the castles were naturally distributed among the conquerors. Whether these adhered to the former territorial divisions, or instituted new ones under subordinate governments, is not easy to say. Yet before the Christians commenced to take possession of the territories beyond the Tagus south of Leiria, the Gharb comprehended three provinces.

The first province was Alfaghah, or Chenchir, wherein were situated the cities and castles of Sancta Maria (Faro), Mirtolah (Mertola), Chelb (Silves), Oksonoba (Estoi), Tabira (Tavira), and others; the second, Alkassr Ibn Abu Danès, contained the important cities of Batalios (Badajoz), Xerixa (Xeres de los Caballeros), Iaborah (Evora), Marida (Merida), Cantarat Al-Seyf (Alcantara), Curia (Coria), Belch or Ielch (Elvas?), Bajah (Beja), Al-Kassar (Alcacer of Sal), and various castles and towns, such as Jelmanyah (Juromenha?), and Sheberina (Serpa?); while the third, that of Belatha, whose principal places were the two cities of Chantarin, or Chantireyn (Santarem), and Lixbona or Achbuna (Lisbon), and the rocky stronghold of Chintra, or Zintiras (Cintra). Below Achbuna, on the margin opposite the bay of the Tagus, was seen the fort of Al-Maaden (Almada)—that is, *mine*, from the flakes of gold which the waves of the sea flung on its shores, and to collect which occupied the inhabitants during the winter months.

This important portion of Mussalman Spain was the first to forsake the dynasty of the Lamtunas. During the many turmoils which then harassed Andaluz, an individual called Ahmed Ibn Kasi took possession of Mertola and its adjacent districts, while Seddaray, or Sid Ray, made himself Lord of Badajoz and the rest of the Gharb. From the narrative of Arab historians we cannot gather whether the division was effected before or after the year 1139. But whether previous or subsequent to that date, it is certain that about this epoch Seddaray and Ahmed had divided the ancient monarchy of the Beni-Alafftas into independent States; Seddaray ruling the north and east, and Ahmed the south and western.

But whether these were actually in power, or the country was still subject to the Governors appointed by the Emperor of Morocco, it is

known that the Mussalman Chiefs of Alemtejo at least joined themselves together to arrest the invasion of their terrible adversary Ibn Errík. The latter was already on the fields extending to the south of Beja, when the Walis and Kayids of the strongholds on the Gharb marched to encounter him. On an eminence rising from the plains of Beja, where the land commences to be rugged and uneven to the Serras of Monchique, stood the Plaza or Castle called by the Arabs, Orik. It was in its neighbourhood that the Saracens and Christians met. Notwithstanding that the former energy and warlike character of the Lamtunites had become weakened by wealth and luxury, due to their past conquests, they fought bravely, and owing to their deficiency of forces, the Almoravide women came to fight side by side with their husbands and brothers in defence of the land considered by the tribe of Lamtuna as a new country, after the conquest of Andaluz.

With this exception, the details of the battle of Ourique are unknown. The Christian Chroniclers of about that time who mention this battle do so in as few words as possible, while the various Arab writers who transmit to us the history of Spain of this period do not afford us any information on this subject, due no doubt to the prominence of greater events which were passing in the Peninsula and in Africa. We only know that the Infante Alfonso Henry broke up the Saracen army, whose chief—styled by the Portuguese Chroniclers *King* Ismar, Smare, or Examare (no doubt a corruption of Omar or Ismael)—was scarcely able to save his life by flight. The battle-fields were strewn with the dead, among which were found many Almoravide women, who perished combating like the Amazons of old. This battle, which in the course of time became so memorable, was fought on the 25th of July, 1139. What the outcome of this battle was is not definitely known. The daring exploit of the Prince of the Portuguese was, as he himself tells us, a *fossado*, or *dead fire*—that is to say, one of the raids practised every succeeding year along the frontiers of the Saracen country.

The peculiar circumstances of this, the first attempt of the Portuguese to penetrate beyond the Tagus, and, conducted personally by the Infante, entering the very centre of the Gharb, where rarely, if ever, the Christian arms had reached, no doubt contributed to render this event in process of time a very important one, until tradition invested it with marvellous and even absurd lights, by handing down to us the result that 400,000 Saracens were conquered, and that the exploit was effected through the intervention of God Himself. If we

credit ancient chroniclers, and even modern historians, the battle of Ourique was the corner-stone in the erection of the Portuguese monarchy.

It was in the midst of the rejoicing and enthusiasm of this wondrous victory, wherein five Moorish kings had fallen victims, along with the African and Spanish Saracen armies, that the youthful prince who had led and triumphed was proclaimed King.

Alfonso Henry then returned to his dominions. The spoils obtained in that expedition were, however, of far lesser value than the more grave results in the moral order. The Portuguese prince had given the Saracens a rough lesson that their *algaras* along the frontiers of Santarem would be responded to by devastating the central districts of the Gharb. He likewise manifested to the Emperor the daring courage of the Portuguese knights and soldiers, at the same time restoring and exciting the courage of his own people, which necessarily had become weakened by the disasters effected for years on the frontiers of Belatha, which compelled him to accept the humiliating conditions imposed by Alfonso VII. after, the reverses experienced in Leiria and Thomar.

War broke out between Portugal and Leon about the end of 1139 or beginning of the following year. The Chronicles of that period do not inform us who first broke the sworn treaty of peace. We only know that the wrestling, which was interrupted by two years' peace, now recommenced. It is presumed that the aggressor was Alfonso Henry, since it was to his interest to annul the treaty made in 1137; and we know that the conqueror of Ourique penetrated into Galicia towards Tuy. While invading that province the Infante met his formidable adversary, the brave Alcaide of Allariz, Fernando Annes, who was no longer the simple defender of a castle, but the general, or prince, of the district of Limia. In that campaign, if we credit the Chronicles of Alfonso VII., the Portuguese were not successful, although they took possession of some castles; and the silence of our own Chroniclers with respect to these events appears to confirm it. The Leonese obtained various advantages; they took some of the principal knights prisoners, who had, in order to obtain their liberty, to pay heavy ransoms, no doubt from the spoils they had acquired in their former raids beyond the Tagus. The Infante was wounded by a lance hurled at him by a trooper of Limia in one of the encounters, and for some time was unable personally to conduct the war.

Although it appears that generally the campaign on the northern frontiers had not been favourable to Alfonso Henry, yet his valour, and that of the Portuguese Barons and Knights, rendered him an adversary to be respected, and of some importance. Besides the entries into the Saracen territories up to the Guadalquiver, and the siege and conquest of Aurelia, effected within the two previous years, the Emperor sustained continual war with Garcia, the King of Navarre; but when he knew that the Infante was about to enter with armed forces into his territories, he marched against him with the forces of the province of Leon, meanwhile enjoining the Counts of Castille to continue strenuously to combat the Navarrese king. During the first attack some of the castles fell into the hands of the Leonese, and the lands through which Alfonso VII. passed were sacked and destroyed.

Following the current of the Lima, on its right margin, the mountain range of Penagache in Galicia extends into the province of Portugal, forming to the east of Arcos de Valdevez the rugged declivities of Soajo on the lofty plains of Peneda, whose rude dwellers, even to this day, still preserve the traditions and usages of ancient times. This tract of land bristles with mountain ranges fissured by rivers and torrents. Near the city of Arcos these lofty cordilleras become forked and level, leaving towards the west the meadow-lands of Valdevez. Advancing from the northern side after crossing the Minho, or perchance marching towards the east across the province of Tras-os-Montes, the Emperor descended from the heights along the wild ravines to take the route of the shores of the Lima. Passing the Portella de Vez, which derives its name from the same stream and meadow-land, he encamped opposite the Castle of Penna da Rainha, or what perchance was formerly called Torre de Pennaguda. Count Radimiro was advancing with some forces to despoil the enemy's territory, when he met the Infante, who was coming hastily to encounter the invaders. A combat ensued, and the Count, who imprudently attempted to withdraw from the body of the army, was defeated and taken captive. The Portuguese, elated by this success, did not hesitate to advance towards Valdevez, and Alfonso VII. beheld the whole range of those rugged mountain heights crowned with an array of lances.

In the same way as in epochs of advanced civilisation there is often a tendency to generalise the customs of diverse peoples, so also during

the infancy of society we find that customs barbarously poetic are often repeated among nations widely divided by distance or time. The heroes of the Iliad were preludes of battle engagements by single combats, with which they excited the energy and enthusiasm common to warriors. The Middle Ages often witnessed a renewal of the scenes enacted during the infancy of Greek civilisation; and on the base of the sullen Soajo were likewise repeated the Homeric duels. The meadow-lands of Vez offered itself as a vast enclosure between the two armies, within which the Barons and Knights of Leon and Portugal could meet hand to hand, without the disorder and confusion of battle, to test which of the two provinces of Spain could wield the stronger arm or evince a more fierce spirit. It was an extensive tournament, and the victory was gained by the valiant warriors of the Infante.

Fernando Furtado, the brother of the Emperor; Bermudo Peres, brother-in-law to Alfonso Henry; and Count Ponce de Cabrera, with many of the most renowned Nobles of the Emperor's Court, were hurled down by the lances of the Portuguese, and, following the laws of knighthood, remained their prisoners.

The event remains recorded under the name of *Jogo do Bufurdio*, or Boforda, an appellation given to this place from the tournament, and, later on, popular tradition, enlarging on this success, called it *Veiga da Matança* (Meadow of the Slaughter), although history does not tell us that any of the noble contenders were slain.

In that superstitious age the defeat of Count Radimiro, and the defeat of so many principal knights and lords, must have been to the Leonese evil presages for the forthcoming battle which was impending. And, in truth, the defeat of these illustrious men afforded a just subject for discouragement, and necessarily this discouragement must have increased in view that the Portuguese had taken a superior position. At this juncture Alfonso VII. sent messengers into the enemy's camp to solicit the Archbishop of Braga, in his name, to mediate for peace.

Although the Infante had obtained some advantages, yet the future outcome of the war was uncertain, and the Portuguese prelate easily acceded to the wishes of the monarch. The apprehension of war being now dispelled, the two cousins had a friendly interview, and peace was discussed. A suspension of hostilities for some years was agreed upon, and some of the highest officers of both armies were appointed as

sureties of the treaty until such time as a more definite treaty of peace, and one more lasting, should be effected, a fact which was realised some years subsequently. Meanwhile the prisoners taken on both sides were at once released, and the conquered castles reciprocally restored.

These events took place towards the end of 1139 up to the spring of 1140. The Saracen chief in Ourique was apprised of the entry of Alfonso Henry into Galicia, and the reverses he had experienced. It was natural that the news of the wounds received in that affair should be exaggerated. Thirsting for vengeance, Omar collected together the forces of the Gharb, and crossing the frontiers, unexpectedly assaulted and captured the Castle of Leiria, which had been newly repaired and garrisoned. Some of the garrison troops were slain, and the remainder, with its Alcaide, Paio Gutterres, were taken captives, and this important stronghold reduced to a heap of ruins. From thence it appears the Saracens pursued their devastating march, interning themselves into the centre of Portugal, and proceeding towards the north, advanced to the immediate neighbourhood of Trancoso. The fate of this town was similar to that of Leiria, and the Saracens would have drawn greater vengeance for the devastations effected during the previous years by the Christians in the province of Al-Kassr, had not the reconciliation effected between the Emperor and the Infante enabled Alfonso Henry to fly in aid of the castles to the south. Followed by his cohorts, he descended along the margins of the Lima, passed over the Douro close to Lamego, and marched towards Trancoso. In two successive encounters the Mussalmans were defeated, thus paying heavily for the reparation sought for the affronts received in Ourique.

The concord effected in Valdevez as a preliminary to the treaty of peace between Leon and Portugal, the conditions of which were to be drawn up more leisurely, sufficiently testified to the military reputation of the Infante of Portugal, and that the Emperor no longer deemed it easy, or even perhaps possible, to bring to submission the warrior-son of Count Henry. The generous youth had comprehended the lofty thought of the brave men whom fate had placed at the head of affairs, that of founding an independent kingdom on the west of the Peninsula. This scheme, conceived by his father, eagerly approved by the Portuguese Barons, largely developed by D. Theresa, perchance would have been completely realised had not the amorous passion of the Queen and its consequences given rise to so many

intestine wars. This grand idea, in the opinion of the masses, had become an accomplished fact. And the people were right. Notwithstanding that in the wording of the treaties of 1121 and 1137, there exists undisputable expressions which reveal a certain inferiority or subjection of the Portuguese princes to the Leonese crown, and that likewise after the invasion of 1127 Portugal appears at times to resign herself to the same fate as the other provinces of Christian Spain—facts positive and palpable contradict this species of political fiction. The Portuguese flag no longer waved in the lands of the Infidel side by side with the standards of Leon and Asturias, of Galicia and Castille, and of Toledo. The Infante of Portugal when uttering his war-cry and flinging himself upon the range of Saracen lances, proceeds like the king of wild beasts seeking alone his prey, meets face to face Islamism, without asking aid from other princes, whom he already considers as strangers. Never was he seen in the Court of the Emperor; in the political assemblies of the monarchy his seat is always empty, and its coffers are never opened to receive the municipal tributes of Portuguese provinces, although these provinces are beginning to be covered with habitations, and towns which were either restored or newly founded. In one word, the arrogant Alfonso VII., who could not consent to the independence of Aragon, and in a certain sense to that of Navarre, assuming the title of Lord of Naxera, and who includes these two provinces in the number of his dominions, does not attempt to assume that of *Dominator of Portugal*, contenting himself perchance by imagining that this new State is virtually included under the name of Galicia, of which he is master, and that a few years previously the two districts of Oporto and Coimbra adjoined.

What are we to deduce from this opposition between material facts and the political character of our national relations with the Leonese monarchy of that epoch? The most obvious is, that a certain number of circumstances, which viewed at the present day are impossible to be appreciated, had rendered the Portuguese nationality sufficiently distinct, and that although its existence was of recent date, yet even in those rude days it would be a difficult matter to destroy it. And we go further than this. The reader must bear in mind and remember what were the pretensions of Count Henry after the death of Alfonso VI. These pretensions afford us the clue to the process of the dismemberment of Portugal. He wanted for himself a large portion of the inheritance left by his father-in-law. The King of

Aragon and D. Urraca, who were the contending parties, judged it expedient to yield up to him the west of the Peninsula, with the object of attracting him and his partisans over to them. The division and demarcation of the new State had been done with all possible solemnity, and with the concurrence of the Barons of Leon and Castille. From that moment the ambition of the Count assumes a legitimate foundation. From thence arose the pretensions of D. Theresa after the death of her husband, and subsequently the insistence of the Queen and her son in attempting to take possession of the lands of Galicia, and even the districts of Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, and Valladolid, which in 1121 were so easily ceded by D. Urraca to her sister.

The invasions beyond the northern and eastern frontiers of Portugal about this period always strike us in perusing the pages of its history to be so sudden, so devoid of any plausible motive, that we are led to believe that there existed some permanent cause which rendered all other pretexts subservient to it. Perchance the barbarity of the epoch might possibly explain somewhat, but it would be overmuch exaggeration to ascribe this constantly to the ferocity of the time, their unbridled passions, and the severing of their most solemn treaties.

Accepting this hypothesis, the relative position of Portugal and Leon was reciprocally false. If the question of independence could, even in 1140, be considered a problem, that of the limits of the State which should belong to the heir and representative of Henry of Burgandy was no less disputable.

The difficulty of resolving this complicated question appears to us, from the records and documents of that period, to hinge on the exact value of the relation which had arisen between the new State which had sprung up and that from whence it had originated.

In the eleventh century, the title of Infante was already used by the sons of kings. D. Theresa, as we have seen, had received from her subjects the title of Queen even during the lifetime of Count Henry, and after the death of her husband had employed it in her diplomas and decrees. Her son, when he wrested the power from her hands, retained for some years the title of Infante, by which he had been previously styled. The Portuguese were not long before they invested him with the title of King, which the youth hesitated to assume. By degrees he began to adopt that of Prince together with Infante, the former predominating from the year 1136. The word Prince was a

generic vocabulary to indicate chief, or principal personage, of a province or district, and even of a body of troops, becoming in process of time a more ambiguous term than in our modern tongue, and therefore more suitable to the indefinite position in which Alfonso Henry was placed. We notice, however, that when circumstances constrained him to withdraw his scheme of a complete independence, he relinquished the title of Prince and only employed that of Infante. The people addressed him by either at times, but more generally used that of King. After the truce of Valdevez, Alfonso Henry altogether adopted the title of King.

On the battle-field of Penna da Rainha, the convention of peace, as we have seen, was not definitely concluded, but reserved for a more favourable occasion. From thence Alfonso VII., after a short delay in Santiago, Leon, and Castille, marched to the side of Pamplona, to revive the war of Navarre, and, after desolating that territory, returned to Naxera, from whence he proceeded to Castille. The news of the extraordinary preparations of the Emperor, and the preliminaries of peace effected with the Prince of Portugal, filled the spirit of Garcia with grave apprehensions. Fortunately the Count of Tolosa, Alfonso Jordão, cousin to the Emperor, was at the moment in Spain on a pilgrimage to Santiago.

Through his intervention the King of Navarre was enabled to ward off the storm. A treaty was discussed and concluded, says the Chronicler of Toledo, and he of Navarre acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor, the latter giving in marriage his illegitimate daughter, D. Urraca, who was still a child, the marriage actually taking place four years later, in 1144.

Meanwhile the Saracens, defeated in their undertaking of Trancoso, retreated to the south. Alfonso I. was then informed that a French fleet of seventy sails was anchoring near the Port of Gaia, where, harassed by storms, or from some other cause, it had grounded within the river. They were sailing to the Holy Land, perchance because the Christian princes of Syria were soliciting aid from their co-religionists of Europe, apprehensive of events which brought about the loss of Odessa, and afforded a motive for a second Crusade. The Portuguese prince decided to attack the Saracens along the district of Santarem. The project was arranged with the commandants of the fleet, who weighed anchor, and following the coasts, entered into the Bay of the Tagus, meanwhile that an army by land was marching towards Lisbon.

It was a well-defended stronghold, as time proved, and the forces of the King, jointly with those of the Crusaders, were insufficient to conquer it. After devastating the neighbourhood, the fleet set sail for the Strait, while the army retired with the spoils collected, which was one of the chief objects of these continual raids.

After these successes, the first care of Alfonso Henry was to fortify the southern frontiers of his States. The Castle of Leiria, which was destroyed during the last *algara* of the Saracens, being considered as the key of the country on that side, was very quickly repaired and garrisoned. Its importance was such, that in a document drawn up by the Municipal Council of Coimbra, it was declared that the soldiers of the Council who should decide to proceed to Palestine to fight for the faith were to defend Estremadura, and especially Leiria, where, in the event of meeting their death, they would obtain the same privileges of remission of sins as if they had died in Jerusalem. The Fortress of Germanello was likewise constructed about that time, in order to prevent the insults of the enemy, when, advancing from the province of Al-Kassr along the rugged mountainous territories to the north-east of the Tagus, they ventured to follow the course of the Doessa, and ravage the fields of Ateanha and Alvorge between Pombal and Penella.

The year 1143 arose in the midst of these preparations. Taking advantage of the difficulties which harassed the Almoravides, the Emperor besieged Coria, which surrendered, after vainly imploring aid from Africa, while the renowned Alcalde of Toledo, Munio Alfonso, defeated the Walis of Seville and Cordova. During the spring Alfonso VII. devastated the districts of Carmona, Cordova, and Seville, returning to Toledo laden with spoils, which he divided among his army. The death of Munio Alfonso, who perished in a combat with the Saracen leader of Calatrava, however, produced a vivid impression on the spirit of the Leonese prince, who dismissed his troops, resolving to discontinue the war until the following year.

It was during this period of peace, or respite from the war against the Mussalmans, that the treaty of Valdevez for a more lasting peace was now entertained. Cardinal Guido de Vico about that time was sent over by Pope Innocent II. to Spain as his delegate, and summoned a Provincial Council in Valladolid, where the resolutions of the Second General Council of Lateran were promulgated, and some other provisions were made in relation especially to the Church of Spain.

The Emperor and the King of Portugal proceeded at that juncture to Zamora to hold a conference to arrange the conditions for a more permanent peace. Guido, probably as a representant of the Pontiff, was called upon to assist at the conference of the two princes, who, it appears, amicably resolved upon the controversies which had delayed the conclusion of the treaty of peace. What were these conditions? No especial record has reached down to our days, but it may be affirmed that the Emperor acknowledged the title of King which his cousin had assumed, and the latter received from him the seigniority of Astorga, by that tenancy holding himself as his vassal. It is not improbable that even as King of Portugal he should be held as a sort of political dependant of Alfonso VII., the *Emperor of all Spain*, as he entitled himself in his decrees. In this manner, peace being established within the two States, Alfonso I. retired to his own dominions, leaving as Governor of Astorga his subaltern in command, Fernando Captivo.

The separation of Portugal, therefore, was an accomplished fact, whatever might be the nominal dependence under which the Prince remained to the Emperor, and no force of arms or treaties had been able to prevent this result. Yet the treaty of Zamora left an open door to future disputes about the legitimacy of the fact, while the concession of Astorga, as a seigniority altogether subject to the Crown, was a heavy thraldom to the ambition of Alfonso Henry. On this account the characteristics of the King of Portugal, under vassalage to Leon, began to be more evident. Should this subjection be a source of hope to the Emperor and of his counsellors, the Portuguese Prince well knew how to evade it. The intervention of Guido in that affair, and the very insinuations of the Legate, were perchance the path by which he might sever the frail thread which bound him to the master of all Spain. It is true that the institutions of the monarchy of which up to then Portugal had formed a part, disproved its absolute and complete separation; it was therefore necessary to annul them by a jurisprudence superior to them. The people, whose chief was Alfonso I., had not, nor could claim, a public right different from that of the Leonese, which was the same as of the Visigoths, with whom its political state strictly depended upon national elections; and, in truth, the youthful Prince had for years received from his subjects the title of King, although we know of no actual election. But this alone would be insufficient to destroy the Gothic laws, which were in oppo-

sition to the dismemberment of the monarchy in spite of some former abuses. Hence, with political rights which might well be disputed, in an epoch when force decided more than ever the fate of cities and their rulers, it became possible, or rather probable, that in the wrestling for its independence, Portugal, still in its infancy, should fear to succumb sooner or later, as in the case of Navarre, unless by placing itself beneath the shadow of the Pontifical throne, Alfonso Henry could render his own throne firm and permanent.

The supremacy generally exercised by the Sovereign Pontiff above all other Christian monarchies associated itself to the idea that the Roman See held an especial and immediate dominion in Spain, and that, as a consequence, once the Supreme Pontiff should declare himself the protector of the new State, its individual existence would depend on a political jurisprudence superior to the Visigothic institutions.

Ever since the tenth century, and even from the time of Pope Gregory VII., the maxim that, in a certain sense, the legitimacy and power of temporal princes were derived from the Pope, became extended and established as a principle of public right, and this maxim reached its height during the Pontificate of Innocent III. The Papacy, in the words of an eloquent writer, was a kind of tribunal of dictatorship, since its action, falling immediately over the ferocious and brutal rulers of Europe, exercised its power to protect the weak and helpless. The religious influence of the Pontificate at an epoch principally characterised by the association of a lively faith and laxity of customs, became a powerful balance to render vacillating the firmest thrones, but at the same time it was a firm column, against which the weakest might lean. The sovereigns of those days whose systems of government were not established sought the moral force of the Pope to settle their questions of ambition, obtaining this assistance at the price of concessions which helped to consolidate the invariable policy of Rome to render practicable the idea of a universal dictatorship. At times they repelled the idea that the Pope should be the dispenser of crowns, but the very ones who in some juncture refused the supreme jurisdiction of the Church, were the most forward to acknowledge and invoke its aid when urged by necessity or ambitious motives.

Towards the twelfth century the dictatorship of the Pope daily acquired strength, and the newly formed States, or the dynasties which by means of revolution had substituted ancient ones, endeavoured to

legitimise their political existence by seeking the confirmation of the successor of Saint Peter.

Independent of the theocratic idea which then predominated over Christendom, Alfonso Henry had scarcely signed the peace treaty of Zamora than he tried to evade its consequences, which later on might prove unfavourable, by appealing to the doctrine of Pope Gregory VII., and acknowledged that the supreme dominion of the Christian States of the Peninsula belonged to the Pontiff.

This acknowledgment was made at the hands of Guido, either previous to the departure of the Legatè in November, 1143, to preside at the Synod of Gerona, or when he passed through Portugal previous to his return to Rome.

In a letter addressed to the Pope, the new monarch declares the relative position he is placed in with regard to the Apostolic See, and the homage due by offering his kingdom to the Roman Church, and paying an annual tribute of four ounces of gold. The conditions of this homage were that his successors should contribute an equal quantity, as king, and that as vassal (*miles*) of Saint Peter and of the Pontiff, he should ever find aid and protection, not only personally, but in all affairs respecting his country and its honour and dignity in the Holy See, not acknowledging other dominion, however eminent, ecclesiastical or otherwise, save that of Rome in the person of its Legate.

This declaration, issued in December, 1143, was addressed to Pope Innocent II., but he had died meanwhile, and was succeeded by Celestine II. The government of Celestine was of very short duration, and the letter of the King of Portugal either did not come to hand, or the affairs of France and Sicily, which especially required the attention of the Pope, prevented his replying within the four or five months which his Pontificate lasted.

The successor of Celestine II. was Lucius II., and elevated to the Pontifical Chair in March, 1144. In May he replied to the Portuguese prince, lauding his design of paying homage to the Apostolic See by submitting the lands which God had entrusted to him. Through the Archbishop of Braga, who was at the time in Rome, or perchance through fresh letters, Alfonso Henry had confirmed the promise of perpetual tribute, and begged to be excused from proceeding to the capital of the Christian globe, and in person paying his homage, an act which, according to the usages of the time, should be done in person.

Lucius II. absolved him from this latter duty in his reply, in consideration of the grave state of affairs, and the exigencies of the war sustained against the Infidels, which prevented the absence of the prince. Hence in view of the proffered tribute, and in proof of his obedience and submission, Lucius, in quality of Supreme Pastor, promised him and his successors as heirs of the Prince of the Apostles, blessings and material and moral protection by which, strengthened against visible and invisible enemies, they might be enabled to resist their adversaries, and in death obtain the reward of eternal life.

Notwithstanding the affectionate wording of the Pontiff's reply, there was a clause in it which, in a certain measure, rendered the promises given so liberally of lesser value. Alfonso I. was King by the will and wish of his subjects, and through the concession of the Emperor, who styled himself Monarch of all Spain. Portugal was, nevertheless, a kingdom, although they might consider it dependent on the Leonese Crown. Lucius II., however, in addressing the letter, styles the young monarch by the title *dux Portugallensis*, which strictly means in the Latin tongue, principal head, or chief of Portugal, a vague designation which admitted of diverse interpretations; yet avoiding at the same time to call the country kingdom by employing the word *land* in relation to the dominions of Alfonso I., notwithstanding that in his letter of submission he styled himself *King*, and qualified the dominions made tributary to the Pope a *Kingdom*.

One such circumstance sufficed to alter the aspect of affairs. The homage of the Portuguese Crown having been accepted by the Apostolic See, the last vestiges of its dependence in relation to Leon altogether disappeared, but the title of king in regard to Alfonso Henry became doubtful. The separation of Portugal was concluded and legitimised, but not so the question of the monarchy. As vassal to the Prince of the Church, it was due to the Pope to confirm the royal dignity. It was upon this matter that the negotiations with Rome militated from that time up to the pontificate of Alexander III., who finally and in an explicit manner recognised this dignity in the dynasty of Henry of Burgandy.

It appears that the news of the especial relations which were being established between Portugal and the Pope did not transpire for some time, as this affair was conducted secretly, but at length Alfonso VII. became acquainted with what passed. Probably he summoned the Portuguese king to follow up the conquest of Almeria, to which all the

Christian princes and lords of the Peninsula assisted, with the exception of Alfonso I., who refused to serve him, thus bringing into force the homage he had tributed to the Pontiff, and the privileges obtained from Rome. Contemporary documents prove this. Lucius II. died within a year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by Eugenio III. in February, 1145. The Emperor then addressed a letter to the Pontiff, which has not reached our time, but from the reply which it elicited from Eugenio may be deduced its contents. Two questions were mooted in that letter, the one ecclesiastical and the other secular, and both related to the independence of Portugal. In order to understand why Alfonso VII. treated these two questions, apparently diverse, in the same letter, and the reason that the ecclesiastical question, which to all appearance was strange to the political one, was really linked to it, we shall state a few facts concerning the state of the Metropolitan See of Toledo and that of Braga, and the wrestling between them.

From the seventh century, when the Goths were in possession, the Bishop of Toledo, the chief capital of the monarchy, had attained the supremacy over the other Metropolitan Sees, on account of its relations with the civil powers, due to the discipline of the National Church. So long as the Arabs ruled over the greater part of Spain, the Prelate of Cordova, the seat of the Saracen government, acquiesced in this kind of supremacy, which, similarly to all other primacies of diverse regions, had sprung from causes purely political. When Toledo was restored and converted into the new Gothic monarchy, Bernard, its first Archbishop, obtained the title and dignity of Primate of All Spain from Pope Urban II. in virtue of the pre-eminence which this See had formerly enjoyed.

For some length of time Braga accepted without dispute the validity of this primacy. The first Archbishop of Braga, appointed after the restoration of this Metropolis, was Giraldo, who was a client of Bernard, and as such did not rebel against the order of hierarchy already established. Three individuals of violent character successively obtained the Archbishopric of Braga—Maurice Burdino, Paio Mendes, and João Peculiar. The resistance which these prelates exercised against the authority placed above them by the Archbishop of Toledo, as primate or delegate of the Pope, daily grew more fierce, meanwhile that the Toledan became more exacting in enforcing obedience. The phases of that great contest furthered the independence of Portugal. And in proportion as the dismemberment of the country became more

evident, the pretensions of the primacy of Toledo increased. To this was joined the confusion which in that epoch reigned between the Ecclesiastical or Provincial Councils and the Parliament or Cortes, wherein the Councils promulgated laws which were purely civil, and were authorised and enforced within the diocese of each bishop who intervened, while the supremacy of the Toledan prelate invested him with the right of convoking to these assemblies all who belonged to the Peninsula, and legislated for States which were politically divided.

These and many other reasons too numerous to mention explain the context of the letter addressed by Alfonso VII. to Eugenio III. about the years 1147 and 1148, and the Pope's reply, which has been handed down to our days. The Emperor complains that the Pontiff is endeavouring to diminish the seigniority or dignity of the monarchy, and break the laws; that he had accepted certain things from Alfonso Henry, and given others in such a way that the rights of the Leonese Crown had been curtailed, or rather destroyed, with abiding injustice. Also that the Archbishop of Braga would not acknowledge the primacy of Toledo, which had been established by Urban II., and confirmed by all his successors, even by Eugenio himself.

In the reply, Eugenio III. briefly alludes to the complaints concerning the acceptance of tribute and promises of protection against those who might attempt to rule Portugal, and in an ambiguous manner denies the fact, and covers his denial in a torrent of vague words and expressions of affection. He attempts to offer satisfaction to the Emperor at the expense of the Archbishop of Braga. His predecessors enjoined the Metropolitan of Braga to obey the Primate of Toledo; he commands him to do so, and his precepts must be obeyed. João Peculiar is offered as an expiatory victim to the homage rendered by the Portuguese prince, and he is accepted by the Court of Rome. The Pope was inexorable in the matter, and the Prelate of Braga, suspended from his pastoral duties, in vain pleaded his cause before Eugenio III., who, to please the Emperor, not only constrained him, but likewise all the archbishops and bishops of the Peninsula, to acknowledge the primacy of Toledo.

This affair put an end to the long contention of the separation of Portugal from the Leonese monarchy—at least, there are no existing records to show that the Emperor made any attempt to recover the smallest degree of authority in that part of Spain, and at the same time Alfonso I. seems to abandon altogether the scheme of extending his

States to the north and east of the Portuguese frontiers, and there are no vestiges to show that he retained the dominion of Astorga, which leads us to suppose that naturally Alfonso VII. deprived him of it as soon as he was aware of the negotiations he had entered into with Rome. From this time the whole strength of the conquering spirit of the Portuguese prince was directed to the south against the Saracen territories in dispute with his cousin. Each on his side, the cousins contend, and hurl their clashing weapons against the root and worm-eaten trunks of Spanish Islamism, and the tree groans as it breaks to pieces beneath their strong arms. A great change is then worked on the character of our political history. The wrestling for dismemberment is succeeded by that of assimilation, and Portugal becomes constituted. The blood spilt in many combats, the ravages effected by successive invasions, and the energy, persistence, and skill manifested and brought into action during a period of nearly thirty years were the price paid by our grandsires for its independence.

Historians have sought to assign an exact date, one only point in the course of time, when it had its birth and the thought sprang into a reality; but this could not be done. But preoccupied by this idea when examining partial successes, they place the greater part of them in a false light. Thus does the history of Portugal in its infancy become filled with strange, false fables, and transfigured by the wrong appreciation given to its true events. Fables generally have their origin in some actual event, and after a time quit the memory of the reader, leaving behind on the mind solely the lineaments of the principal facts in history.

Before commencing the narrative of the warlike projects of Alfonso I. against the Saracens, it is needful to glance over the events which were taking place in the Mussalman States, since they were to be the arena for the exploits of the King of Portugal—events so important that they tended to consummate and secure the separation of Portugal from Christian Spain, and also facilitated in an extraordinary manner the new attempts which the King of Portugal was about to make, impelled by political needs and ambition. Superficially viewed, it is not easy to explain the repeated triumphs and speedy conquests effected by Alfonso I., since we see him master of a small province, poor and sparsely populated, and with no resources at hand but what it could offer, nevertheless subjecting to his dominions the greater portion of the Gharb, a territory densely populated,

enriched by industry, agriculture, and commerce, covered with cities and flourishing towns, and defended not only by the native population, but by the Saracens of Africa. This phenomenon is explained to us by our good and simple Chroniclers in the light of miracles of personal valour, by miracles of Heaven—solutions easy to advance, but difficult to prove. The marvellous disappears on contemplating the sad spectacle of the political and moral cancer which was devouring the Mussalman society of Spain. Without in any way denying to the warriors of the Cross the prowess and enthusiasm of those vigorous ages, their exploits become reduced to ordinary proportions when confronted with the actual situation of those whom they conquered and subjugated. Far from denying the intervention of Providence in the destinies of the human race, we shall find in this idea alone ample scope for admiring the laws of moral order which rule the universe, and which are no less immutable than the physical ones which preside over its material existence. The Mohammedans of the Peninsula about the middle of the twelfth century offer us more than one example, at once terrible and salutary, of which history abounds. In whatever country, however great it may have reached in civilisation and power, wherein love of hearth and home has died out, where the most loathsome vices exist in broad daylight, where ambition renders all things lawful, where the laws are dragged in the mire of the streets by the contemptuous foot of the powerful, and only serve as a toy to the unbridled multitudes, and where the liberty of manhood, the majesty of princes, and the virtues of the family are transformed into three falsehoods, there may be seen a nation in its last throes of death. Providence, Who foresaw its fall, inspires another people to come and wrap its lifeless body in the grave-clothes of the dead. Poor, rude, and small in numbers, what matters? A small force suffices to nail down the slab of the coffin.

The scene presented to us by Arab writers, contemporary or near that time, of the existing state of public affairs is truly pitiable. The ruin of the country appears inevitable in the eyes of the prudent ones, because its moral decadence was extreme. Men of probity and of science lived despised and forgotten, and those who were appointed to the magistrature united to pride and covetousness complete incapacity. In the midst of civil wars, which were undertaken without spirit or glory, and merely for some abject motive, agriculture and the arts were withering away; the masses left to the ambitious to wield their arms,

and the warriors fell to using the weapons of intrigue in preference to those of steel. The name alone of their enemy, the Christian, sufficed to terrify the Mussalman. Tranquillity completely disappeared, and there was no security for any one. The dissolution of society was following its course by means of domestic strifes, and in the State of Andaluz it might be well said there were as many rulers as towns existed.

Ibn Zakaria Ibn Ghaniyyah was at the time the superior chief of the Almoravide troops which garrisoned Andaluz. The Spanish Mussalmans were desirous of casting off the yoke of the Lamtunites, since those who had come as friends and saviours had made themselves tyrannical masters, and as a consequence were hated; while the ministers of public affairs, not having the necessary means at hand to repress them, began to show their weakness. The first spark of a revolution would quickly rise to a conflagration.

Seddaray, who was made Wazir of Ebora by the Almoravides, took possession of a portion of the Gharb, meanwhile that Ibn Kasi made himself master of the rest. This was the commencement of the revolution, which was so greatly desired. The two chiefs, leagued together, invaded the district of Seville, took possession of various strongholds, and even invaded the suburbs of the city. The native volunteers, impelled by the popular ill-will against the Almoravides, hastened to enlist beneath the banner of Ibn Kasi. When Ibn Kasi, who resided in Cordova, became acquainted with the progress of the revolution, he at once saw the necessity of risking all in order to stay the progress of the evil, and he marched to those parts with what forces he could collect together, and the enemy, not venturing to encounter him, retreated to the Gharb; but Ibn Ghaniyyah overtook and defeated them, proceeding to besiege them in Niebla, where they had taken refuge. The siege did not last long, and Cordova, delivered of the garrison which oppressed her, rose up in rebellion, and its example was soon followed by Valencia, which also rose up. The revolution quickly spread itself along Murcia, Almeria, Malaga, and other cities in such a way that Ibn Ghaniyyah abandoned the idea of subduing the Gharb, to attend to what was of more essential importance.

We shall not follow the war which commenced in 1144, and was continued for some years, except in as far as it has reference to the western districts, since it was in consequence of these discords that they

fell into the hands of Alfonso Henry. These districts were irretrievably lost to the Lamtunites. Ibn Kasi constituted the stronghold of Mertola as the centre of his States, while Seddaray did the same with Badajoz. Omar Ibn Al-Mundhir, who was one of the foremost partisans of Ibn Kasi, received from him the government of Silves, under a species of independence. Ibn Ghaniyyah, who endeavoured by every possible means to befriend the tottering dominion of the Almoravides, found a means of instigating jealousy among the three chiefs who were the principal movers of the civil war. An occasion soon presented itself to further his aim, and afforded a result he had not foreseen. The revolution had originated from two solid foundations, the one political and the other religious. The first was due to the dislike conceived against the Lamtunites by the natives, the second on account of Ibn Kasi, who had commenced his ambitious career by following the footsteps of Al-Mahdi, he who in Africa had founded the sect of the Almohades. Like him, Ibn Kasi had studied the doctrines of Al-ghazaly, and, like him, he had come to propagate these doctrines among his own people, where he found many of the same opinion.

By this means he attained the necessary influence to guide the political reaction. On hearing of the death of Taxfin in Africa, an event which served further to spread the revolution throughout the Peninsula, Ibn Kasi sent messengers to Abdu-l-mumen offering him his submission. The African prince appointed him Wali of the Gharb, thus enabling him to oppress in future those who had helped to ennoble him. This affair was arranged secretly, it appears, but Ibn Ghaniyyah, who had notice given him of it, took advantage of this attempt to sow discords among the three heads of the revolution, by inducing Seddaray and Omar to believe that Ibn Kasi had only taken this step to further his own ambition at their cost, and introduce the Almoravide yoke into the Peninsula, which was a harsher one than that of the Lamtunites. His words had the desired effect. Seddaray and Omar found some pretext to declare war against him, who had been their chief, and the troops of Badajoz and Silves marched against Ibn Kasi.

These events were taking place in 1145, at the time when the sanguinary contentions of the King of Portugal and the Emperor were exchanged for what, although not actual peace, was at least not conducted by force of arms, but by intrigues with Rome, complaints, and the

concessions obtained from the Pontiff, which have been already mentioned.

The frontiers being well fortified, Alfonso I., at the head of an army of soldiers hardened by past wrestlings, could not possibly continue quiet so long as the clash of weapons resounded throughout the Peninsula, more particularly as the almost exclusive thought of his life was that of war and conquests, and whose bravery and persistence had already won for him from Christians and Saracens the reputation of being one of the most enterprising, pertinacious princes of his time. The turbulence of the Gharb soon afforded him a reason for yielding to his bellicose propensities. The Wali of Mertola, on being simultaneously attacked by Seddaray and Omar, threw himself into the arms of the tyrant Ibn Errik, Lord of Coimbra, as the Prince of the Portuguese was called by the Saracens. Independently of the martial bent of his mind, the Prince had a more recent motive for vengeance, which impelled him to intervene in these discords, wherein the blood of the Mussalmans flowed in torrents by the hands of their co-religionists. As the *algaras*, or raids, of these two inimical races were regularly repeated every spring, the Wali or Kayid of Santarem, Abu Zakaria, one of the most valiant chiefs of the Saracens, had, in the previous year (1144), invaded the Christian frontiers, and had approached Soure. The Knight Templars came out to meet him, but were defeated, the greater number being made captives, and Abu Zakaria, well satisfied with the result of the *algara*, retired to his stronghold of Santarem.

Alfonso I. accepted the proposals of Ibn Kasi, passed over the Tagus with his troops, and penetrated into the district of Al-Kassr. It was a grave error, that which the Saracens were doing, blinded by their political passions, to ally themselves with the Christians in order to benefit themselves against their adversaries in these civil discords. They were excellent allies in active warfare, but for the defensive they were remiss, and often absolutely useless. The King of Portugal joined the Lord of Mertola, and both entered into the districts of Beja and Merida. The passage of the Christians was marked, along that land already steeped in blood, by numberless ravages. Seddaray and Al-Mundhir, however, came out to meet them, and between them they had a number of skirmishes; the final advantage being gained, as it appears, by the rulers of Badajoz and Silves. Meanwhile Ibn Kasi, who had attained to power through his own daring and prowess, found

in Alfonso Henry a spirit yet more hardy and venturesome than his own. The Saracens tolerated this subservience of their chief to the infidel prince with dislike; and whether it was in consequence of this general dissatisfaction, or Ibn Kasi judged it expedient to dismiss his auxiliary, or, again, the King of Portugal wished to retire, one thing is certain, that the Christian troops abandoned the Lord of Mertola when the fortune of war turned against him.

Having retreated to the centre of his States, and taken refuge within the ramparts of Mertola, Ibn Kasi dismissed the Christians with rich presents. It was too late single-handed, and without the aid of Alfonso, to restrain the general indignation and the impetus of the enemy. The inhabitants of that town rebelled, and the Saracen chief, vainly attempting to defend the Alcasar, fell a prisoner into the hands of Seddaray, to whom the rebels had opened the gates. He was conducted to Beja and cast into a dungeon, but was released by Ibn Samail, one of his former partisans, who had continued faithful, and succeeded in taking possession of that city. Ibn Kasi then proceeded to the Moghreb to invoke the aid of the Almohades, and incite them to invade Spain, and restore to him the charge of Wali of the Gharb, which he besought Abdu-l-mumen to confirm by offering him homage.

Such was the policy of Ibn Ghaniyyah, and he attained his end, but the consequences went further. The representations of the fugitive Wali were not frustrated. He reached Africa at the very juncture when Abdu-l-mumen had taken possession of Morocco. The Almohade prince at once sent an expedition to Spain, commanded by Berraz Ibn Mohammed Al-masufi, which was immediately followed by two others, under the command of Abu-Imram Musa Ibn Said, and of Omar Ibn Saleh As-senhaji; the troops numbering, it is said, thirty thousand, of which ten thousand were horsemen. Berraz, the general of that force, quickly proceeded to the Gharb, and Xeres, Ronda, and Niebla fell into the power of the Almohades, but Mertola was not attacked, because Ibn Kasi had already regained possession. The army of Berraz crossed the Serras and attacked Silves, which was won by scaling its walls, and then was delivered over to the Wali of Mertola. From Silves he returned to the province of Al-Kassr, with the design of subjugating the States of Seddaray; but, fearing to meet the same fate as Al-Mundhir, he hastened to tender his obedience to the Almohade general, and acknowledge the supremacy of Abdu-l-mumen. Berraz

continued in Mertola until the commencement of 1146, when he marched against Seville. On his way, Him Al-Kassr and Tablada flung open the gates, while the Spanish Mussalmans from all parts were hastening to join the Almohades to spite the Almoravides. Seville was attacked and taken by brute force, and from thence Berraz continued his conquests.

In the midst of these contentions and wars, the province to the extreme west of the Gharb, called by the Arabs Belatha, and, as we have said, occupied the territory between the Tagus, the ocean, and the southern frontier of Portugal, ceases to play any part, at least actively, in the history of the Saracens. Abu Zakaria, the governor of Santarem, appears before us in the Christian Chronicles as the last illustrious captain of the Mussalmans of Belatha. Was he a chief who had remained faithful to the Almoravides? Did he acknowledge the authority of Seddaray or of Omar? The complete silence of the Arab writers affords us no solution. The state of complete anarchy to which the affairs of Andaluz had reached, the position of this small district, separated from the province of Al-Kassr by the Tagus, through which alone they could be succoured, and beyond this, the character of the King of Portugal, sufficed to convince the Saracens of those parts that the hour when the Christians would finally subdue them was not far distant. The inhabitants of Santarem, of Lisbon, and other places of lesser importance were under the melancholy conviction that the termination of a war with Ibn Errik, the Iron Lord of Coimbra, would prove a fatal blow to them. The devastation effected by Alfonso I. in the dominions of Seddaray was truly a terrible example, and in order to delay, for some time at least, their utter ruin, the dwellers of the towns of Belatha, not excepting Santarem and Lisbon, offered themselves as tributaries to the Christian prince, hoping by this exchange to save their lives and liberty.

The King of Portugal seemed desirous to effect a truce of peace after so much wrestling, by yielding to the peace of domestic affection. In 1146 he married Mathilde or Mafalda (Mahaut), daughter of Amadeus III., Count of Maurianna and Savoy. The reasons for this union are not known, unless it were on account of the relations between the house of Maurianna and Burgandy, to whom on the father's side Alfonso Henry belonged. But his spirit was still influenced by the ambition for conquest; and the love for Mafalda could not divert him from the cares of politics and warfare. At this very time he was

engaged in the pretensions of Rome in the person of Eugenio III., and preparing to subdue completely to his dominion the portion of Mussalman territory to the right of the Tagus, a conquest made easy to him on account of the terror inspired by his name, and the civil wars which were kept up in Andaluz.

Santarem was at the time one of the principal towns of Belatha, and the most dangerous on the Christian frontiers. It was from Santarem that the greater number of the *algaras* issued, those *algaras* which we have seen caused such ravages and carried death to the districts in the very centre of Portugal. Although its defence was not due to art, it was favoured by nature, and though not encircled by ramparts as Lisbon was, with its inhabitants dwelling around and in the very neighbourhood of the sea-shores, yet the castle which crowned Santarem was built on the pinnacle of a mountain-top, and overlooking all around, was like an eagle's nest suspended over the Tagus. The meadows and orchards seen on all sides, and the fertility of the fields extending to the south along the luxuriant shores of the river, were such that it was said that on the Gharb forty days sufficed for cereals to grow, vegetate, and ripen. Hence it was but natural that under these circumstances the Christians should make repeated attempts to take possession since the time of the Leonese kings. It was, however, reserved to Alfonso I. to hoist the victorious standard of the Cross once and for ever from the turrets of this almost impregnable castle.

The solidity and impregnability of the Castle of Santarem, surrounded by a vast number of defenders in the inhabitants dwelling along the river-shore, convinced Alfonso I. that his military resources were inadequate to capture the stronghold by scaling its walls in an open combat. He therefore contemplated taking possession by means of stratagem. Brought up in the midst of the perils of war, experience joined to his natural genius and irresistible propensities for conquering induced him to attempt to conquer this renowned castle by cunning.

A narrative exists of the taking of Santarem, written as a kind of prose poem, in which the King is supposed to relate the details of this undertaking. This composition is ascribed to a monk of Alcobaça, and although it is not absolutely certain that he was a contemporary, yet it is almost of that date. The substance of the narrative of this Cistercian monk is as follows :—

Alfonso I. had effected a truce with the Saracens. A certain

Menendo, or Mem Ramires, a shrewd, cautious, but daring individual, was sent to Santarem to examine the place, and report which site would be most accessible, and what path most secure to take in order to conquer it.

After carefully examining the whole place, Mem Ramires returned, and reported that it was not only possible, but even easy, to take the castle; and, moreover, he boasted to proceed at the head of the expedition, and hoist the royal standard upon the walls of the castle, and then break the bolts of its doors to enable the others to enter. The King appointed the day for them to leave Coimbra, in order to attempt this perilous undertaking. This was on a Monday, and the King, with the soldiers of Coimbra, besides some of his own knights, commanded by Fernando Peres, quitted Coimbra. On the second day of marching, a certain Martin Mohab, probably a Saracen renegade or Mosarabe, departed, with two others, to intimate to the dwellers of Santarem that the truce would be for three days. The small detachment had proceeded to the south-east in order not to awaken suspicions, since, in view of the terms of peace being severed, the Saracen outposts would naturally watch more assiduously the road to Coimbra. On reaching the Serra of Albardos, the expedition turned to the east, following the range of the Serras which extend in that direction, and on arriving at Pernes at the break of day of Friday they pitched their camp. The marches had taken place usually during the night-time, and the men who followed the King were unaware of the object of this expedition, since the King, Alfonso I., had only revealed it to Mem Ramires and to Theotonio, the Prior of Santa Cruz. However, on encamping in Pernes he openly revealed his project, encouraging his knights by saying that he had suborned some of the watch-guards of the castle, a statement which, however, was not true. This project alarmed the knights, not on their account, but for the prince who would thus expose himself to a terrible risk. They endeavoured to dissuade him from accompanying them, but finding him obstinate, they prepared to work out that arduous undertaking.

At nightfall they raised the camp and joined the foot-soldiers a short distance from the town, and proceeded along a valley between Mount Iraz, or Motiraz, and the spring of Tamarmá, so called from the sweetness of its waters. At their head went Mem Ramires, as more expert, and unperceived by the sleeping population, they succeeded to reach the ramparts of the castle. The design for assaulting that inexpugnable fortress had

been traced beforehand by the King from notes taken by Ramires. Ten ladders had been made, and each one entrusted to twelve picked men, thus amounting to 120 soldiers. Twelve detachments, of ten soldiers each, then successively ascended the ramparts on the side indicated by the spy, which was a quadrangle whereupon the Saracens did not usually place sentinels or night-watchers. When all had ascended they were to hoist the sign, or royal flag, above the ramparts in such a manner as to be seen in the dim light of night, and then descending the ramparts on the inner side along the passage, break the bolts of the doors to enable those on the outside to enter. It was particularly enjoined on the men who were to climb the ladders that in their first onslaught, while the enemy was asleep or drowsy, not to spare men, women, or children, judging that the sudden uproar, the flow of blood, and the noise of the blows levelled would cause such confusion and terror that they would find its defence impossible, and thus the castle might be easily subjugated.

Such was the plan; but the scheme of Alfonso to take possession of the castle when its defenders in Santarem would be asleep proved unfeasible, as is deduced from the narrative we quote from. It was on Tuesday that the King sent messengers to declare that the truce was suspended for three days; therefore, as the term expired on the Friday, it was natural that the Saracens should, during those three days, redouble their vigilance, and watch assiduously the road to Coimbra; but when this term was ended they would then lapse into their former way, and only take ordinary precautions. Therefore, as the night of Saturday was fixed for the assault to take place, it was probable that the sentinels and watch-guards might be off their guard. If this was his project, the hopes of the Christians in part failed, for in the spot where usually no guards were placed the Christians found two sentinels, who challenged each other. The small force, with the prince in its rear-guard, awaited for the watches to slumber again in the deep sleep before the dawn, or third watch of the night. It must have appeared to them long hours; but at length the two Mussalmans fell asleep. Along the roof of an outbuilding contiguous to the rampart walls, Mem Ramires crept, and attained with the point of his lance to secure a ladder to a watch-tower; but he had scarcely done so when it slipped, and the ladder fell with some noise. He did not hesitate between life and death, but bending down, he lifted a soldier on to his shoulders, who, grasping the edge or parapet of the wall, drew himself up, and quickly fastened

the ladder. In the twinkling of an eye the subaltern ascended with the royal flag, and hoisted it up, and almost simultaneously Mem Ramires stood at its foot. All this occurred in the space of a moment, but the noise had awakened the slumbering guards. They looked up, and beheld the fear-inspiring standard of the tyrant Ibn Errik waving before their astonished gaze like a spectre of death. Stupefied, they rose up, and in a hoarse voice challenged three times, "*Who goes there?*" It was no longer possible to conceal themselves, and three times did the Christians on the parapet wall respond, "*Nazarenes!*" Mem Ramires then uttered the war-cry, "*Saint James and King Alfonso!*"

Then above that uproar was heard the thundering voice of the King rising amid the troops which surrounded him. He was shouting, "Saint James and the Virgin!" and then addressing those on the parapet, said, "Let me in! let me in! Put all to the sword; let no one escape."

While this was going on another ladder had been affixed, and twenty-five men were on the ramparts. The uproar within and without the castle walls became fearful, and all was confusion. Alfonso divided his small force into two bodies, one to scale the walls on the right, and the other to proceed to the road on the outskirts leading to the river shore, to prevent the inhabitants from approaching to defend their entrance.

Meanwhile the twenty-five braves who had climbed up descended the walls on the inside, and were hurling stones against the doors, until from the outside an iron mallet was thrown over, and they at length with it broke the bolts, when the forces awaiting outside entered in like a torrent, and precipitately captured the castle.

Alfonso, deeply moved by religious enthusiasm, knelt down on the threshold of the door in thanksgiving, as he little expected it would so easily be opened to receive him as its conqueror. A vain resistance followed, in which much blood was spilt. When the sun arose on that eventful morning (15th March) it no longer shed its gleams on the standard of Islam upon that cliff-bound castle, for it had been hurled down on the previous night, never more to be raised above the towers of opulent Santarem.

This extraordinary event, the happy result of an attempt which perchance may almost appear foolhardy, must in a great measure have increased the persistence and courage of the Christians, and at the same time caused grave discouragement to the Mussalmans of Belatha, now left to their own resources in the midst of the civil wars. Thus,

having subjugated the town, nothing more remained to the Saracens within their territories west of the Tagus but two important places,—Lisbon, on account of its grandeur, the solidity of its rampart walls, and its advantageous position over the extensive bay of the Tagus; and the Castle of Cintra, built on the summit of a rock, which rendered it almost inaccessible, and seemed placed to guard the rough and untractable Serra, and to which the inhabitants dwelling in its neighbourhood could run to take shelter and defend themselves.

From the moment that Santarem was taken, Alfonso I. centred all his desires upon conquering Lisbon; but the Mussalmans were forewarned, and probably the consciousness of the small forces at command for carrying out such a great undertaking compelled him to admit that it might prove a hazardous attempt.

But the events which at that juncture were taking place in Europe rendered his design more easily realised, and sooner than he had anticipated. We shall give a brief account of these events, in order to enable the reader more fully to understand the reason why the King of Portugal obtained the unexpected aid he did at the time, and which aid obtained for him the possession of Lisbon, and assisted him to further his conquests to the south of the Tagus.

The condition of the Christian States in Syria had been from the first Crusade one of almost continual warfare between the conquerors and the Mussalmans, but which had led to no permanent result or advantage on either side. The loss of Odessa in 1144, one of the most important States, produced, however, a deep impression over Europe. For upwards of half a century there had been a continual influx of knights and pilgrims, nevertheless these continued aids barely sufficed to reinforce the lines of defenders of the Cross as they fell daily by the hands of the Saracens. Hence the project of starting a new Crusade, to save the Holy Places from the hands of the Infidels, began to assume some importance and to extend. This scheme found an ardent champion in Bernard, the Abbot of Claraval, a man of some eminence, due to his many mental gifts. His eloquence, the austerity of his life, activity, and independence of spirit, in weighing alike the actions of the powerful and the humble in the same balance when reprehending or praising, had gained for him a great popularity and influence in public affairs, particularly in those which bore any reference to religion.

It was Bernard, therefore, who principally advocated the Crusade. In the spring of 1146 Louis VII., King of France, received the red

cross from the hands of the Abbot of Claraval, and with him most of the lords and principal knights of France, besides many others. Bernard then proceeded to Germany, and induced Conrad III., in the Diet of Spira, to join this great movement.

The Crusaders of Germany and France, commanded by their respective sovereigns, proceeded to Hungary, and passed on to Asia, crossing the Bosphorus. The German forces were chiefly composed of Suabians, Bavarians, Franconians, Lotharingians, and also of the people on the south-east of Germany. A certain number, however, of the inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and of Frisonia, who were moved to proceed to the Holy Wars by the clergy, being more accustomed to a seafaring life than the people of the inland parts, preferred to embark, and join the other pilgrims in England. The Teutonic forces, in which were many Lotharingians, met in Cologne, then passed over to Dartmouth, a port of Great Britain, where a fleet of nearly two hundred vessels had gathered together, in order to transport the Crusaders from the various maritime ports of Flanders, England, and even of Aquitania.

The principal personages of the fleet anchored off Dartmouth were Count Arnulfo of Areschot, the leader of the Germans, and Christian of Gistell, the commander of the Dutch, the English being commanded by four constables. The troops gathered together numbered about thirteen thousand, mostly of the lower classes, because the nobility of Germany and France had joined the army of Conrad III. and of Louis VII. The fleet set sail towards the coasts of Spain, not so much with the object of making war against the Saracens of the Peninsula as that it was the route to the Mediterranean and Syria. A furious storm overtook the fleet, and they successively were forced to take shelter in several ports on the coasts of Asturias and Galicia, until at length they met in the mouth of the Tambre (ria de Noya). The Crusaders then proceeded to the renowned sanctuary of Compostella, so greatly frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Europe, to celebrate the festival of Pentecost in the Temple of the Apostle. After this pilgrimage they re-embarked, and following the coast to the south, entered into the Douro.

On the 16th of June, 1147, the fleet sailed to Oporto, and there awaited for eleven days the arrival of Count Areschot and Count de Gistell, who, driven by the force of the tempest, had become separated from the rest of the fleet, and did not arrive in port until the eleventh day. The Bishop of Oporto, who had had notice of the coming of the

fleet, received a letter from the King of Portugal, bidding him to receive the fleet in the best manner possible, and enjoined him to engage their services, and endeavour to conclude a treaty with them, giving all possible securities, and embark with the fleet, and proceed to the mouth of the Tagus. And, in truth, the King for the last ten days, since he heard of the coming fleet, had been preparing his forces to march against Lisbon, and had resolved to concede to the Crusaders all they should demand within his own possibilities, to aid him in effecting the conquest of this important city.

As the Crusaders belonged to various nations, and had different commanders, the Bishop assembled them all in the cemetery attached to the cathedral, as the building itself was not sufficiently large to hold them all, and he then addressed the crowd in Latin, the discourse being translated by interpreters into their various tongues. After urging them from a religious motive to bestow their blood and lives for the faith in combating against the Saracens of Spain, he manifested to them the project of the King and the advantages offered. After some deliberation, the proposal was accepted of departing for Lisbon as soon as the Counts of Areschot and Christian of Gistell should arrive, as also the Archbishop of Braga, to assist his suffragan and accompany the expedition. When the whole fleet had come together they set sail, and proceeding on their route, went up the Tagus, meanwhile that Alfonso I. marched by land with his forces, which were considerable, and, if we credit a contemporary historian, formed a powerful army.

Lisbon had become, even at that early date, an important city. Its position, so splendidly calculated in our days to become one of the principal emporiums of commerce with the whole globe—did the errors of men and its evil fate permit it—was in those days no less proper as a centre for navigating the coasts of the ocean and the Mediterranean, principally with regard to the commerce of Mauritania and Europe. The calmness of the harbour, the balmy climate, the rich products of the soil around its neighbourhood, should have enriched Lisbon in many ways. Situated on the shores of the river, and protected by the castle, or kassba (Alcaçova), which rises to the extreme north, this beautiful city, as Edrisi styles it, was encircled by walls of admirable construction, as were the high towers of the lofty castle, which appeared invincible to human forces. There were also thermas, or baths, which were always tepid during winter and summer, and these notable baths were in those days in the centre of the city. The

city was very opulent, by reason of its commerce with the ports of Europe and Africa, and abounded in gold and silver, and, even in those days, wine, salt, and fruits constituted the chief products of the district. The population, exclusive of women and children, was officially calculated at 154,000, after Santarem was taken, and its inhabitants driven to take refuge in Lisbon; but although this appears an exaggeration, it nevertheless shows that it must have been at that epoch one of the most populous cities of Spain.

The principal families of Almada, Palmella, and Cintra resided in Lisbon, and in it were found merchants from all parts of Africa and the Peninsula. The extent of the city was the actual castle, protected by a turreted circular wall, from which extended two lateral walls round to the east and the west; and meeting on the margin of the Tagus, the intermediate area enclosed the actual districts or wards of Alfama and Ribeira Velha, a space which we can barely credit could have held such a vast population, did not an eye-witness of the taking of Lisbon afford us an explanation of the fact.

The buildings were so closely knit together that, excepting the bazaars and market-places, the streets were so narrow that there was scarcely found one to measure eight feet across. Besides which, along the whole circuit of the wall and close up to it there existed a kind of suburb, the access to which was so narrow and difficult to enter that each house might consider itself a castle or fort.

On the day that the Crusaders entered the port and anchored before the city, they effected a landing in great numbers, and a skirmish took place with the Saracens, which terminated in the inhabitants retiring, and the Crusaders returned to their ships, leaving about thirty or forty of their men encamped on an eminence. Scarcely had the next day dawned, which was the festival of St. Peter, than the whole fleet leaped on land. The King of Portugal had meanwhile arrived, and the Prelates of Braga and Oporto went immediately to seek him. The presence of Alfonso Henry produced a great sensation among the Crusaders, and all strove to speak to him.

The prince addressed the chiefs of the expedition, praising the martial aspect of the camp, and the religious zeal which had brought together so many brave men; and declared that, although he was impoverished by the incessant strifes against the infidels, he would remunerate the new-comers as far as his private resources permitted, and that it would be expedient to appoint some persons to debate the

promises he would make, in order that later on they should be submitted to the general opinion and approval. This proposal, made to people collected from all parts, and mostly of low condition, nearly effected the ruin of the expedition. The debate lasted all the morning, was resumed at night with greater violence, and the Dutch, moved by secret motives, were already manifesting their desire to agree to everything, with the object of remaining in the service of the King of Portugal. Others were against the acceptance of the proposal, among the malcontents being the two brothers Wilhelm and Rudolph, who were, it appears, chiefs of Norman pirates, and some of the English Crusaders, who had taken part, some four or five years previously, in the unfortunate attempt against Lisbon.

These two pirates and their followers opposed the plan on the plea of the great advantages which should accrue from the depredations on the coast of Spain, and on the great celerity in reaching the Holy Land, and also on the want of faith, so they said, of Alfonso Henry in his procedure on the former occasion, when they aided him. Wilhelm declared that, with eight or ten ships at command to follow him and his fate, he would depart at once. The greater number, however —that is to say, the Germans, the Dutch, and the larger portion of English and Scotch—were resolved to join the proposed undertaking, the only dissentient ones being the Normans and those of Bristol and Hampshire. The Germans and the Dutch at once proceeded to encamp on the eastern side of the city, their ships anchoring in front of the camp, while the English Crusaders endeavoured to persuade the dissenters, by force of reasoning, to come to terms. This at length was effected by the pleadings and even tears of Harvey of Granville, the Constable of the forces of Suffolk and Norfolk, who attained to reduce the fierce spirit of Wilhelm, and pacify his partisans, on condition that victuals be provided and salaries paid them by the King of Portugal or by the other Crusaders, as otherwise they would not remain a single day longer. Thus pacified, the people of each nationality nominated a commission, and together resolved, with their delegates, upon the final conditions of the treaty.

These conditions were, that when Lisbon be taken, the properties of the enemy should belong exclusively to the Crusaders; that the ransoms taken for any lives of prisoners should likewise be theirs, these prisoners remaining captives of the King; that the Crusaders retain in their power the *Almedina*, should it be they who took it, until it be

completely sacked, when it would be delivered up to Alfonso Henry; that under the inspection of the latter all the lands of the city and rural properties should be divided among such as remained in Portugal and continued to reside there, enjoying all the liberty, rents *(foros)*, usages, and customs of their respective countries, acknowledging the supreme dominion of the Crown only; and, lastly, that all who took part in this perilous undertaking, as well as their heirs and successors, should be exempt from tolls, and dues, and customs for their ships and merchandise in all ports of Portugal.

On both sides were assigned twenty persons as sureties to the convention. On confirming this convention, Alfonso I. under oath promised not to break up the camp excepting by reason of mortal sickness, or from his States being invaded by the enemy; and in no case would he invent any such pretext to swerve from his sworn treaty. This solemn promise, which was certainly not done without deliberation, evidently betrays that the failure of the last attempt against Lisbon was due to the troops of Alfonso and Henry having retired.

Before pitching the camp and commencing the operations of the siege, the leaders of the expedition judged it would be convenient to propose terms of capitulation advantageous to the besieged, an offer which probably would not be accepted, but would, in some measure, render their aggression legitimate, and justify the horrors which necessarily should follow from openly assaulting the city. The two Prelates of Braga and Oporto, with some of the foreign captains, were sent as an embassage. On being recognised as such, they approached the ramparts, and the Kayid of the city, a Mostarabe bishop, and the civil magistrates quickly made their appearance on the wall.

The Archbishop of Braga, in a lengthened discourse, proposed to the Saracens to deliver up the Alcasar and other fortifications to the besiegers, and that, when this be effected, the property, honour, and lives of the inhabitants would be respected and upheld. The treaty which had just been concluded by Alfonso Henry with his allies will enable the reader to appraise at its true value the proposal and the promises made by the Archbishop. The reply was frank but haughty. They did not in any way recognise the rights advanced by the Metropolitan, nor would they abandon Lisbon or accept the yoke of the foreigner before they had proved it by the force and destiny of arms. They would conform beforehand to the decrees of fate. They already knew by experience that their attempts were not always crowned with

success. "Do what you like," they concluded, "but we shall do whatever be the Divine will."

The Bishop of Oporto, it appears, was irritated by the language of the Saracen chiefs, and replied to them sharply and shortly, "You say that our attempts against Lisbon have failed; we shall see whether this one will prove unsuccessful. On retiring from your walls I do not salute you, nor do you salute me either." Such were the parting words of the bellicose prelate.

The return of the deputation dispelled all idea of obtaining the city of Lisbon by capitulation, if any such hopes had been entertained. Alfonso I., with his troops, selected the eminence to the north of the city, called Graça at the present day, for his headquarters; to the left were the camps of the English and Norman Crusaders, within five hundred paces of the right wing of the Portuguese, while the left wing extended on the east to the encampment of the Germans and Dutch.

On the following morning, while the exchange of sureties was taking place in accordance with the treaty of the previous evening, the English slingers commenced hostilities by shooting stones into the suburb lying before them, with the object of provoking the Saracens and compelling them to come forth, which they did; and while the Crusaders were preparing to repel them the Moors began to assemble below, and the enemies to charge them from behind. The inhabitants were not in a position to risk their fate in a pitched battle. It is said that notwithstanding the dense population of the city, there were not more than 15,000 armed men who took their turn to defend the towers and ramparts. The forces of the besiegers were between 25,000 to 30,000 strong—the first sufficed to defend and resist behind walls—but the Saracens were not capable of resisting, without advantages of position, a force which was not only more numerous, but likewise better practised in warfare.

As far as it is possible to infer, from the insufficient topographical descriptions afforded by contemporary memoirs relating to the conquest of Lisbon, this vast suburb, wherein the first act of this memorable drama took place, was on a declivity along the western walls of the Alcasar and the Almedina, following the incline which terminates in the valley commonly called *Cidade Baixa*, the lower city. This district, in course of time and increase of population, began to encroach into the plains, and many buildings were erected. These buildings were united by terraces, which joined one another, and formed a strong

circle, and at a short distance from these buildings, on the slope of the declivity, rose a wall, or embankment. Between this and the walls which properly were called Almedina, or city, stood the most elevated portion of the suburb. From the terraces of the buildings outside this intermediate wall, the shots of the invaded rained upon the Anglo-Normans, while these advanced with increasing numbers. The attack was becoming violent, and the Crusaders charged on both sides, searching meanwhile along that wall of buildings for some alley or passage through which they might break in; but the difficulty lay in being able to approach the houses, from whence issued showers of stones. These stones were falling on all sides, and many were wounded or slain by their arrows and crossbows. The greater part of that day was spent in this useless attack, which produced no advantages until towards nightfall, when the Anglo-Normans, by making a sudden onslaught, were able to break into the outskirts through a passage, and took possession of part of the incline. This irruption was effected on the extreme end towards the right, which was not fortified; hence the Saracen troops, descending the open part of the town entrenched on the side of the Tagus, then took refuge within the fortified suburb, fearing to remain at any considerable distance from the kassba, or principal fortification. At this juncture, Saherio d'Arcells, one of the English constables, arrived, to order, by command of the King and other chiefs, to retire until the following morning, when it had been agreed a general attack on the city should be made, and thus avoid the useless spilling of blood.

When this order was given, nearly all those in the encampment, as well as in the Anglo-Norman ships, had become involved in the fight, and the revolt had assumed great proportions within the outside suburb; all were fighting hand to hand, and had become so mingled that the Christians and Saracens could scarcely be distinguished by their armoury. Night was fast approaching, and Saherio d'Arcells, perceiving the impossibility of retiring in obedience to orders, without grave loss of ground to the besiegers, decided to act contrary to orders.

Placing himself at the head of the troops which still remained encamped, and after receiving the blessing of the Bishop of Oporto, he advanced to the suburb, where, amid a terrible street fight, he penetrated through a maze of houses, and reached the cemetery, where a body of Anglo-Normans had mustered, notwithstanding that they were without commanding officers. With these and the men who had

followed him, the English constable very quickly repulsed the enemy. The slaughter was very great, ending in a complete defeat. Flinging to the ground the precious things they brought, with the object of diverting the attention of some of the conquerors, the vanquished ones were enabled to take refuge within the walls which surrounded the higher suburb. But the knights, with their archers and infantry, took no heed of their enticements, and assailed the path through which they had retreated; thus the Crusaders were saved from being newly repulsed. Darkness had now closed in, and put an end to the fight, leaving three thousand Anglo-Normans masters of a district said to contain fifteen thousand families, and moreover so difficult of access.

Salierio d'Arcells, with his officers and some of the soldiers, watched all night, and placed sentinels in advanced posts above the incline, believing that were he to forsake the advantageous position he had gained at such a cost, access to the walls would prove of greater difficulty on the following day. A fearful conflagration was meanwhile devastating the environs, and its sinister gleams were reflecting on the armoury of the Anglo-Normans clustered together in the cemetery. Scarcely had the morning dawned than the Saracens rushed out to expel d'Arcells; but a reinforcement of Portuguese troops soon arrived, with the remaining English, and forced the Saracens to retreat. In this manner the siege was becoming circumscribed when hardly commenced, the besiegers' camp being pitched to the west, on the smoking ruins of the suburbs, while the Moors, losing all hope of defending the districts situated outside of the fortifications, likewise abandoned the eastern suburb to the German and Dutch without any resistance.

The ruin of that portion of the city, the number of lives which were sacrificed in that useless resistance, and the wealth destroyed by the fire, were grave losses to the inhabitants of Lisbon, but, nevertheless, they were not so serious as what followed. On the east of the city the heights were very rocky, and unsuitable for the construction of *matmoras*, or subterranean vaults, which, African fashion, served as underground barns. In the valley itself, at the base of the incline, the erection of granaries was also rendered impossible, from the dampness of the soil, due to the streams that abounded there, and flowed into the Tagus. For this reason these *matmoras* had been opened on the declivity of the suburb outside the walls. As this spot was occupied by the Anglo-Norman forces, Lisbon had lost its principal store, as the

besiegers found one hundred thousand loads of cereals and pulse, and famine promised to prove a powerful ally. For several days they repeated their attacks, but these engagements only resulted in many being slain or wounded on both sides, but with no definite victory. The siege was continued, the Mussalmans venting their discomfiture in pouring out from their towers torrents of curses against the Christians and their creed. Several times did Alfonso I., in conjunction with his allies, propose capitulation on advantageous terms, but every offer was refused.

In this way a fortnight passed, and the Crusaders began to construct military engines to effect a decisive assault, at the same time erecting two chapels within the cemetery whereon the foreign forces had encamped, one for each nationality; and these, later on, were enlarged, and became one—the Monastery of St. Vincent, and the other the Parish Church of the Martyrs. While the Germans constructed a revolving tower for using a battering-ram, the Anglo-Normans erected a movable tower, ninety feet high, from whence they could attack the *adarve* and housetops. The Dutch and Germans had likewise placed five catapults, for throwing stones, against the walls and towers. All this was set fire to by the besieged, and, with their arrows and shots, made sad havoc among the Christians, who were scarcely able to save the tower. On the other side, the Anglo-Normans, having advanced with theirs to the base of the ramparts, became embedded in the sand, and, after assailing it for four days with their weapons or engines, the Saracens set it on fire.

These failures began to discourage the invaders, until it became known that want of provisions was beginning to be felt within the walls, while there was still plenty on the outside of all kinds of victuals. The Crusaders then grew more hopeful, and gave signs of wishing to continue the undertaking, by bringing their ships to land, furling the sails, and other evident proofs that they intended to winter here.

One day, towards dusk, a report was circulated that ten men had left the city, and were seen to creep stealthily along the ramparts, enter a ship, and sail towards Palmella.

They were quickly pursued, and the Moors, on being overtaken, cast themselves into the water, leaving everything on board. On searching the ship, a packet of letters was found, written in Arabic. One of these was addressed to Abu Mohammed, who was at the time Wali, or Kayid, of Evora, and the other letters were for various persons in that

city. In these letters the inhabitants of Lisbon besought immediate aid, and, moreover, specified the amount of provisions to which they were reduced. They detailed the evils they had suffered, and the heroic resistance they had made, and the grave consequences which would result to Islamism were Lisbon to be lost. When the contents of these letters became known, all discontent disappeared, and skirmishes were renewed daily, thus proving to the besieged that the enemy was fully informed of their sad situation.

Some days later, the body of a drowned man drifted close to the Anglo-Norman ships. To his arm was fastened a letter from Abu Mohammed to the inhabitants of Lisbon, in which he advised them to endeavour to effect a ransom by money, and to sacrifice their wealth in lieu of their lives, since he, on his side, could not help them. It also stated that he had entered into a truce with Alfonso Henry, and it would not be lawful for him to break his pledged word by attacking him or his allies. In view of this letter, the submission of the city was only a question of time. The invaders were safe against any external aggression. Was this letter authentic?

But whether authentic or not, one thing is certain, that its contents served to encourage the besiegers, and infused new spirit into them. A raid was started to Cintra, and its neighbourhood was devasted, the position of the castle being such that it was impossible to attack or besiege it. Meanwhile, certain Crusaders who had gone fishing on the beach near the territory of the Almada were killed or made prisoners at this juncture. A portion of the Anglo-Normans, led by d'Arcells, attacked and depredated the territory with great loss to the Moors, many captives being taken, notwithstanding that the Dutch and Germans, who at first joined the expedition, had already forsaken it. To increase the terror of the inhabitants of Lisbon, the Anglo-Normans brought eighty heads, which they affixed to posts within view of the ramparts. The population spread about Almada naturally had relatives and friends in the hapless city. These were not long in sallying forth to implore permission to bury these fearful trophies. Leave was granted them, and during the whole of that night nought else was heard within those walls but cries, lamentations, and wailings.

A detailed memoir exists of this remarkable siege, written by an eye-witness, which tells us that Alfonso I. had at this juncture withdrawn his troops, he alone, with his barons and knights, remaining on the field. Subsequent facts related in this narrative contradict the

statement made about the retreat of the Portuguese troops. It is possible that some might have abandoned the field, if we take into account the imperfect military organisation of those times, when rural knights and soldiers, particularly those belonging to the Councils, were not obliged to follow the King to battle, excepting for a stated period, which, as a rule, did not exceed three months. It is even possible that Alfonso I., whose cunning was proverbial, and not always within the limits of strict probity, should desire to damp the exalted hopes of the Crusaders by withdrawing a portion of his forces, and inducing them to believe that this portion was greater than it really was, in view of the convention made with his allies.

When the conquest of Lisbon should be finally effected, what would remain to him? Simply walls and buildings well-nigh destroyed, and the remnants of a population reduced to the deepest misery, weakened by famine and the sword. The often-repeated attempts to induce the Saracens to capitulate prove how grave were the apprehensions of the King of Portugal.

Taking fresh courage, the foreign forces began energetic preparations for renewing the assault. From the west, the Anglo-Normans and some other Crusaders, probably Aquitanos, tried to open a mine between one of the doors and a tower which was close to it; but being discovered by the besieged, and easily accessible to them, its defence proved more daring than profitable, as much blood was spilt in this attempt, with no result.

Meanwhile an Italian engineer, a native of Pisa, constructed a movable tower, eighty feet in height, as a substitute for the one destroyed belonging to the Anglo-Normans. This erection, or military engine, was truly admirable for its solidity and height, and the English, as well as the Portuguese, laboured in its erection, the King using all his efforts to further its completion.

The city was acutely feeling the horrors of famine, rendered more terrible by the intolerable stench from the unburied dead, as there was no space within to inter them. At times some of the inhabitants would escape, and come to the camp, to relate the privations they suffered, and the sad situation of Lisbon. Within the walls the soldiers and the powerful ones would keep for themselves what provisions they had, leaving the poor and the weak to die; and to such an extreme degree did their privations reach that cats and dogs were eagerly devoured. At length these poor, wretched ones came

to deliver themselves up to the Christians, who would then baptise them, and oftentimes, after cutting off their hands, fling them back against the walls, to be pelted with stones until they were dead.

And while this movable engine was being constructed, the Germans and the Dutch were undermining the ground on the eastern side, in order to reach the wall itself of the kassba. This mine, which was like a vast cavern, had five entrances, and took one month to excavate. The Saracens perceived their danger, and on the twenty-ninth day of September they stealthily quitted the city, and, coming to the mouth of the mine, attacked the Germans and the Dutch. The combat lasted nearly the whole day; but at length, when the Saracens wished to withdraw, their retreat was almost completely cut off by a division of archers, who assailed them on both sides. The losses were very great, and few were able to escape within the walls.

When the sap was concluded, this subterranean passage was filled in with wood. This cave extended beyond the base of the rampart, and on the night of the 16 and 17 of October the inflammable materials of this vast pit were ignited, and the fire spread fiercely. An external wall, which stood over the piles of wood, fell and crumbled down as soon as the fire reached it. On hearing the uproar, and seeing the blaze, the German-Belgian troops advanced to the breach, while the corps of soldiers stationed on the turret walls were summoning all to come to the combat with frenzied cries of despair. Then, erecting a kind of palisade with willow and wooden stacks, they clustered behind. This palisade was of no great moment to the Crusaders; but from behind the ruins they could perceive, by the red glare of the fire, that the Saracen squadrons were ranged in battle array along the declivity. The attack lasted for ten hours, until the Germans and Dutch, who occupied disadvantageous positions, were finally repulsed. Meanwhile the Anglo-Normans, skirting round the city walls, had advanced to that side; but the Count de Areschot, and the other leaders of the repulsed troops, brimming over with indignation, hurled a torrent of abuse at them, and compelled them to retire, bidding them to effect a path for themselves with their own engine, since this, which was open, had been done for them, and not for the Anglo-Normans. After this rebuff they withdrew to their own side.

For several days all the attacks made on the breach proved useless, and the defence was truly heroic. The tower erected by the Anglo-Normans at length was completed, and in order that it should not be

destroyed by the guns or crossbows, or by being set fire to, it had been lined with cow-hides, and covered with strong palisades, or network of willows. On board ship active preparations were made, and all was arranged for the attack.

On Sunday, 19 of October, the Anglo-Normans and Portuguese troops were invested with their arms, and received the blessing of the Archbishop of Braga, followed by an exhortation to fight, and die a glorious death for the faith. They then prostrated themselves on the ground. The clergy, bidding them rise up, distributed to each combatant the badge of the Cross, the distinctive mark of those who pledged themselves to die for the glory of Christianity. Then rose up a mighty shout of mingled voices, imploring the Divine assistance, and which announced that the movable tower was about to be drawn against those walls, which in effect was done, with scarcely a single death resulting from the shots of the enemy. On the following day that lofty machine was again moved facing the tower nearest the Tagus. It was in this very tower that the besieged had concentrated their principal means of defence; but the invaders, on becoming acquainted with this fact, avoided to attack that point, by wheeling the engine forward towards the wall, meanwhile that the archers and crossbowmen from among the ruins kept up an active attack. These preludes of attack continued during the day, ceasing only with the coming night. A guard of two hundred Portuguese and Anglo-Normans, besides archers, surrounded the machine to defend it.

Towards nightfall the tide began to rise, surrounding the machine with water, all communication with the different camps being thus cut off. The Saracens were only waiting for this to take place, and, opening an iron door which stood in the wall near the structure, they advanced on foot towards it, while other soldiers, from the heights of the castle turrets, commenced to throw down on the wooden erection quantities of tow steeped in oil and pitch, burning faggots of wood and other combustibles, amid a perfect volley of stones. This fearful attack lasted all the night, with but small losses to the Christians, but great ones to the Saracens, since from the top of this movable erection they were able to fire vigorously upon the Saracens who were beneath.

On the following day the attack was renewed, the commander of the Portuguese fleet perishing in the affray; but the Saracens, with no possible hopes of obtaining aid, continued still to resist. The Italian engineer fell wounded, and this mishap greatly discouraged the in-

vaders, principally the Portuguese, who, becoming dispirited on beholding so many perishing around them, many wounded, and the tower surrounded by water, a great number forsook the castle and attempted to cross the water; but shortly after, on the tide receding, they were able to save the engine, while the Saracens, perceiving that this tower was about to be saved, gave up the attempt to resist, worn out and harassed by fatigue. The receding tide thus prevented those who had so bravely defended the moving tower from surrendering. They then shifted this engine to within four feet of the *adarve*. It was now the occasion to show for what object this engine had been erected. From the top storey began to issue a strong drawbridge, like a giant arm, which was seen to approach the turret wall, and, just as it was about to touch the wall, this bridge became covered with men ready to leap on the parapet. On beholding these giant and ferocious Northerners ready to pounce on their walls, against whom they would but enter into an unequal combat—moreover, the Germans and Dutch, on the eastern side, were furiously attacking the breach—in view of all these disadvantages, the Saracens, whose spirit was broken down from hunger and sickness, bent down before this imminent risk, and laid down their arms; then, lifting up their hands, they implored a truce to be made until the following day, in order to arrange the terms for the capitulation of the city.

The attack then ceased, and Fernando Captivo and Harvey of Glanville were chosen to receive the proposals from the defenders of Lisbon. A suspension of hostilities was arranged, on condition that the night be not employed in any work of defence, or any attack made against the military engines of the besiegers, and hostages were sent from the Saracens. During that night they were to decide whether they should surrender or not, and in the latter case they were to expect no mercy, and nought else remained to them but the fate of arms.

The two chiefs then received the hostages, and delivered them to Alfonso Henry. This act, indifferent in itself, irritated the Crusaders, and nearly wrecked the whole affair. The discontent manifested upon the arrival of the Portuguese by those who mistrusted his faith (on account of his alleged behaviour during their former attack against Lisbon) now rose up anew, these malcontents alleging that the hostages should be delivered to the Crusaders, and not to the King. They feared treachery from the King, and loudly clamoured against Fernando Captivo and Harvey of Glanville. The tumult increased during the

night, and the Dutch and Germans, joining the Anglo-Normans, led by their chiefs, proceeded to the King's camp, demanding to know what the traitors had decided upon.

They were told the conditions, which were as follows: That the city be delivered up to Alfonso I., the Crusaders to have all the gold, silver, and other valuables of the inhabitants. They then retired to deliberate, and it was during that night that the danger of anarchy rose up. The sailors, with some of the soldiers, incited by a Bristol priest of low condition, met together on the beach, and mutinied. They clamoured, and complained it was an unworthy act, when so many illustrious persons were joined together in this expedition, to be subjected to the will and command of a few men, and that there was no debating necessary, but only to resort to their arms; that, without any deference to other chiefs, they had subdued and taken possession of the territory of Almada; and had they themselves taken no notice of the temporising of the chiefs, they could, ere this, have effected a more advantageous compromise with the inhabitants.

Harvey of Glanville was the principal object of the wrath of these ferocious hordes, and he not only was accused of delivering up the hostages to the King, but likewise of excluding many from the division of the spoils. Over four hundred Anglo-Normans rushed out of their camp seeking Glanville, with frenzied cries of "Death to the wretch!" "Death to the traitor!"

From the Portuguese camp some came forward to quell the tumult, and succeeded in pacifying them, and then they at once conferred on the reply to be sent. Meanwhile the hostages of the Moors, knowing what had taken place, withdrew their original proposals, declaring their readiness to arrange affairs with the King of Portugal and his people, and grant all possible concessions; but that they would prefer death to having to continue relations with the Crusaders, whom they considered an immoral people, deficient of loyalty, and ferocious to the degree of not defending even their own leaders and chieftains.

However, after the first burst of indignation had subsided, they were more disposed to come to terms, until at length the King, in conjunction with the captains of the Crusaders, definitely arranged the conditions of capitulation. The terms were simply these: the city to surrender to the King, leaving to the Kayid and his son-in-law all their belongings, and the rest of the inhabitants only to retain what victuals they possessed. It is said the Anglo-Normans approved these

conditions—which is almost incredible—and that the Germans and Dutch opposed them. However, whether true or false, it is certain that the multitude did not agree about the provisions, excepting as regarded the Kayid's, and that the Moors continued firm in their resolves. Thus the day ended, the Crusaders retiring to their camps fully determined to attack the city on the following day. The deprivation of victuals to the famished population was repugnant and inhuman to the last degree.

The disturbances, which lasted all the day, ceased when the mutineers withdrew to their respective camps, in the hopes of entering the city sword in hand, and free of any conditions. Scarcely had they retired than the Germans and Dutch tumultuously rushed out of their tents, accusing the King of Portugal of partiality in favour of the Saracen hostages. These wished to drag the hostages out of the Portuguese camp, in order to avenge themselves. A great uproar ensued, and on all sides was heard the clashing of arms. A portion of the Anglo-Normans at once flew to acquaint the King of what had passed, and the object of this revolt, meanwhile that Christian de Gistell and the Count of Areschot sallied out to put down the mutiny, and the Portuguese, taking up arms, prepared to defend them vigorously.

The two leaders succeeded in quelling the tumult, and then proceeded to the King to protest their innocence of the charge of participation in this revolt. The wrath of the King had reached its height, and it became necessary for Areschot and Gistell to give him positive assurances that order would be maintained before they could pacify him, and induce him to withdraw his troops. Alfonso declared to these two captains that, should the affair continue in this disordered state, he would give up the siege, as he preferred his own honour to the possession of Lisbon, since without honour the whole world was as nothing to him; and that, in any case, after being subjected to so many indignities, he refused to associate any longer with that faithless, insolent crowd, capable of such flagrant acts. At length, after many protestations of loyalty and appeals, he calmed down, and promised to withhold his definite decision until the following day.

By day-dawn, it appears, all those turbulent spirits had become pacified. Perchance this was due to the energetic measures and strong words used by Alfonso Henry. The Crusaders then resolved unanimously to offer a plenary satisfaction to the King, and their chiefs proceeded to Alfonso I., to promise on oath, on their part and of those

under their command, loyalty and homage during the whole time they should continue in Portugal.

After this solemn act, the Crusaders decided to accept the terms of the convention proposed by the Saracens concerning the capitulation made on the previous day.

It was then arranged for three hundred men to enter into the city, one hundred and sixty to be German-Belgians, and one hundred and forty Anglo-Normans, this advanced guard to occupy the kassba, or castle. The inhabitants were then to deliver up all moneys and other goods they possessed, assuring on oath that nothing else remained concealed. The Crusaders were then to search the whole city, and should any money or valuables be found besides what had been delivered up in the kassba, the holder of such to be put to death. After this search had been effected, the inhabitants would be permitted to leave the city without being further molested.

Such was the convention agreed to on Thursday, the 23rd of October.

Either on that same day or the following one the doors were opened to admit the men who were to take possession of the kassba. The Germans and Dutch were the first to enter, these being accompanied by more than two hundred, who, taking advantage of the disorder which reigned within the city, penetrated into it through the breach effected on the eastern side, and which had now been abandoned by its hapless, though heroic defenders.

The Anglo-Normans came next, followed by the Archbishop with uplifted cross, surrounded by the bishops. Then came the King of Portugal, with the Portuguese and foreign chiefs and a numerous retinue.

This procession wended its way to the highest tower of the castle, and amid religious strains the cross was hoisted up, and placed within view of every one, as a sign that Lisbon had submitted to the Christian domination. After this act the King traversed the whole round of the walls of the kassba, probably to examine the state of the fortifications.

And while the canticles of the Christian Church were resounding within the castle, fearful scenes were taking place in the Almedina and fortified outskirts. It was vainly attempted to establish order when distributing the spoils. It was useless to restrain the ferocious passions of that covetous, cruel, lawless multitude of men.

Sworn promises, conventions, and treaties, declarations of obedience

and loyalty—all were forgotten in that moment. It is said that the instigators and actors in this scene of horror were the Germans and the Dutch; but the former behaviour of the Anglo-Normans induces us to believe that they were not simply spectators of the scenes which were enacted, or that they had suddenly become converted into models of moderation and disinterestedness, and we believe, likewise, that the Portuguese soldiers at this juncture joined the foreigners. We know for certain that a great number of the conquering troops dispersed about the city, practising all kinds of lawless acts; and along its maze of winding streets, and so narrow that even the present district of Alfama barely affords us a slight idea, amid the famished crowds, the unburied dead, the victims of war, of sickness, and of famine, this unbridled horde of soldiers proceeded, thirsting for prey. Doors were broken down, and houses entered, despoiled, and searched, the men flying in terror, the women violated; household effects were piled up in heaps in the streets, to be dispersed later on, and carried away secretly. In this state of confusion the slightest resistance was punished by the sword, and blood was shed even when no resistance could be offered, as in the case of the Mosarabe bishop, a venerable old man, who was beheaded, no doubt because he attempted to save the sacred vessels. Notwithstanding the especial article of the convention respecting the property of the Kayid, he was not only despoiled by them of everything, but was actually made a prisoner. After this first outbreak of the soldiers, the spoliation of the city began to be made in a more regular manner, and investigation of concealed articles was made, in order to distribute the spoil with greater equity. On Friday ended the sack of the city.

The population, now being completely despoiled, began to quit the city through the three doors appointed for their egress. This sad exodus of Saracens lasted, without interruption, until the following Thursday. Notwithstanding the want of provisions in the despoiled city, 8000 loads of wheat and barley were found in the underground granaries, and 12,000 measures of oil. But what met the sight in every place were the dead and the dying. Within the vast edifice of the mosque alone they found, heaped up, two hundred dead, and more than eight hundred invalids in the deepest squalor. The spectacle of deepest misery offered by the conquered, whether of the lower classes in those that had been left, or the better and more wealthy classes in those who sought shelter in the province of Andalusia, where Islamism

still held its sway, was sufficient to awaken pity in the lowest and most perverted souls. Sickness was making sad inroads: in the streets and in the alleys, in the ruined houses and amid the surrounding vineyards, in the fields and on the sandy plains, the dead were found, the booty of beasts and birds of prey. Among these were found many still living, who could hardly be distinguished from the dead, in whose hands were clasped the cross, and whose dying breath pronounced the name of the Mother of God, and implored her aid.

In the eyes of the Franks these manifestations of deep Christianity appeared to them little short of a miracle of sudden conversion, but not so with the Portuguese, who well knew that the ancient race of the Goths had been subjected by the Saracens, numbers of whom had continued to reside in the city, adopting the dress, language, customs—all things excepting their creed; and this demonstrates the fact that a great number of Mosarabes existed in the mixed population of Lisbon.

The moral result of this important conquest may be easily imagined. The whole district of Lisbon, forming a kind of peninsula, with the territories on both sides of the Tagus, close to the mouth of the river, at once submitted. Although the Castle of Cintra was almost inaccessible, from its position, it at once surrendered to Alfonso Henry on terms of capitulation, before he had even assaulted it; and the troops which garrisoned the Castle of Palmella abandoned it, while a small body of troops, sent by the King of Portugal peacefully took possession.

After all these conquests the Saracen population must have sensibly diminished. Those whose circumstances permitted took refuge within the province of Al-Kassr; but the rest were exposed, as we have seen, to all the calamities of war, and of a war sustained with ferocious men, possessed of religious zeal against the vanquished, and experienced all the consequences of such a position.

Whole villages were desolated, and fields were left uncultivated which hitherto were productive, and yielded abundant harvest, due to the advanced civilisation of the Arabs. These evil results of the conquest were in a great measure quickly remedied. Such of the Franks as did not return to their native countries received grants of land to till and to people, subject to the authority of their respective chiefs. In this manner William Lacorni, or Descornes, with his soldiers, populated Atouguia; while Jourdain, another captain of the Crusaders, established himself in Lourinhan, and Allardo (perchance Adhelard) in Villa Verde.

Within a short time these people, collected together from all parts, this indomitable crowd of fierce warriors, gradually became accustomed to a calmer style of existence, and in time completely abandoned the profession of arms.

But while we thus see Santarem and Lisbon falling into the hands of Alfonso I., the civil war was devouring the States of Mussalman Spain, and the two provinces of Al-Kassr and Al-Faghar were the chief scenes of the new revolution. The tyranny and violence exercised by the two brothers of Al-Mahdi, who resided in Seville after its subjugation by the Almohade General Berraz, had begun to irritate the spirit of the Andalusian Saracens against their new masters. The former Governor of Niebla, who, in consequence of the last events, had been deprived of his office, also resided in Seville. Annoyed by these haughty Almohades, he resolved to revenge himself, and proceeded to the district he formerly governed, where he quickly incited Niebla to rebellion. From thence, marching against Tablada, he took possession of this town and the castle called Hisn Al-Kassr. The success of this undertaking soon produced imitators. Ibn Kasi, the former ally of Alfonso Henry, who had but lately declared himself an ardent partisan of the Almohades, now rebelled in Silves, while Ibn Aly Ibn Al-hajan was doing likewise in Badajoz, and Aly Ibn Isa in Cadiz. In a word, the revolution spread itself with such force and rapidity through the south and west of Andalus that scarcely Ronda and Xerez remained faithful. The difficulty, however, was to maintain the independence of these small states, which sprang up and fell with equal rapidity, against the forces of the ever-victorious Abdu-l-mumen. Scarcely had the latter become acquainted with the rebellion than he sent across the strait an army of Almohades, led by Yusuf Ibn Suleyman, who quickly reduced to obedience Niebla and Tablada. From thence, Yusuf marched against Silves, which he took, as well as Faro, governed by one Isa Ibn Maimun. On beholding how quickly everything yielded to the general of the Ameer of Morocco, Mohammed Ibn Aly, the Governor of Badajoz, sent messengers to Yusuf, bearing rich presents to implore pardon, which was granted, and the conquering army retired to Seville.

We have seen how Palmella fell into the power of Alfonso I. without any resistance. The position of this castle was, in a military point of view, of great importance, not alone as a stronghold, but also for its advantageous situation when continuing war in the province of Al-Kassr, as it was the key to the territory between the Bay of Sado and

the Tagus, and served as a watch-tower, or advanced post, to the territories of Almada and Lisbon. Hence the tract of land between the two bays, which, flowing on towards the Atlantic, ends in Cape Espichel, was well guarded, and Lisbon protected against any sudden attack from the Mussalmans, should their troops approach along the left margin of the Tagus, in barques leaving Chetawir (Sado) at night, with the object of entering the port of the newly subjugated city.

From Alcacer do Sal to Palmella there was a distance of six leagues; this distance was too short to prevent the soldiers of the latter castle from making a raid into the ancient Salacia, since it would take but one day or night to march on to the neighbourhood, and desolate it. Salacia was, during the dominion of the Beni Umeyyahs of Cordova, celebrated as an arsenal, from whence powerful fleets issued against the Christians, one of its most notable being that of Almansor, when part of his army was taken to the Douro for the expedition to Compostella. In the twelfth century, Alcacer had already fallen from its former grandeur, but it was still noted for its picturesque site and delightful scenery. Situated on the margins of Chetawir, it supplied a great number of merchant ships, which were constantly passing to and fro on the river, while its commerce was considerable, owing to its proximity to the populous and opulent Iaborah (Evora). It was on all sides surrounded by extensive pine-woods, and the timber they yielded constituted one of the principal objects of exportation. The country around was very fertile, and abounded with cattle for dairy produce and for the market, while the honey collected constituted a large item of its wealth.

Such is the description given by the Arab writers of the twelfth century, in spite of its political decadence. Its military importance, and the strength of its castle, are proved by the amount of blood it cost the Christians to conquer it, and again when reconquering it after it was lost to them a second time. In our days all that subsists are large blocks of ruined wall and broken towers, or tunnels cleft, which seem ready to fall, and crush the town at its feet. The pine-woods have almost disappeared, and the meadows, which pastured the herds and flocks, are now converted into marshes and fens, where corruption breeds and festers. The deadly fevers which emanate during the summer months impart to the inhabitants a cadaverous hue, sadly in harmony with those colourless fallen stones, the vestiges of two great civilisations which have swept over that land during many

centuries. A turret of the lofty Saracen tower lies at the base of the Roman column, while a Latin inscription faces the wall of what probably was a Mussalman mosque, and is now a mean Christian temple. Ruins upon ruins, cemented by the blood of many combats, and mingling with these ruins are a sickly, fever-stricken population—behold all that remains of the once beautiful Al-Kassr Ibn Abu Danés!

It is believed that from Palmella Alfonso I. proceeded to infest the territory of Alcacer. One of the means employed by Christians, when they desired to subjugate populous places, was to devastate their environs beforehand. There are many examples of this system, one of the most notable being that which Alfonso VI. pursued before besieging Toledo. In this way the population became impoverished, particularly of victuals, and hunger very soon was added to the other evils of a strict siege, and powerfully aided the conquerors. Perchance, moved by this idea, Alfonso I. endeavoured to follow in the taking of Alcacer the same plan as he pursued in the conquest of Santarem; but he incurred a great risk, from which he barely escaped.

Followed by some sixty men who were insufficiently armed, the Portuguese prince attempted to approach that castle. On being discovered by the Saracens, they fiercely attacked the Christians. The Saracen knights outnumbered the Christians, besides which, they were accompanied by many foot-soldiers; but Alfonso I., although surrounded by so small a number, did not decline to enter the lists. Ages have dimmed the memory of the deeds of bravery performed in those attacks; but we know that the enemy was at length constrained to retreat to Alcacer, although Alfonso I. was wounded in that perilous combat.

We said that perchance the King of Portugal had approached Salacer, with the intention of making a sudden and unexpected attack on the castle. It is only in this way that his presence there with such a small number of warriors, insufficiently armed for a pitched battle, can be explained. Otherwise the success obtained in Santarem would incite him to repeat the attempt.

A celebrated Arab historian of that time says that the greater number of conquests obtained by the Lord of Coimbra were effected in this manner. This testimony, coming from a Mussalman writer, sheds a greater lustre upon Alfonso I. than the rapid, dim narratives afforded by Christian chroniclers. From the same writer we gather

that this valiant prince was always foremost in exposing his life in these nocturnal assaults. "The way that this enemy of God," says Ibn Sahibi-s-salat, "took the greater number of castles (in the provinces of Belatha and Al-Kassr) was as follows: Having selected the point of attack, he would sally forth on some dark, tempestuous night from one of the fortresses he resided in, taking with him a few brave knights. On reaching the castle he desired to assail, it was he who would place the ladder against the wall, and he also be the first to ascend. Hardly had he reached the parapet of the wall than he listened to find out whether the sentinels were on the watch. On perceiving that they were asleep, he used to approach the nearest one, and, with uplifted dagger, constrain him to pass the word as usual to the other sentinels that all was well. After this, he awaited for a sufficient number to ascend, when, lifting up his voice, he would shout the war-cry, 'Santiago!' (St. James), when they would precipitately cast themselves amid the people, cutting down with the sword all who attempted to oppose his progress."

It was one of these attacks by night that Alfonso I. attempted against Alcacer, but it proved a futile one. It was necessary to take possession of that important town by sheer force, and we know that at this time he had not sufficient forces at command. The capital and blood which the conquest of Lisbon had entailed, the numbers of Crusaders who must have left the country to conduct a fleet of two hundred sails to the east, the troops needed to garrison the castles and defend the cities he so rapidly conquered, the great number of Franks who remained to perform rural works and for the establishment of colonies in Estremadura—all this diminished the number of men, fit and experienced, to enter into campaigns on the plains of Alemtejo, as a commencement to besieging Alcacer. Hence the obvious silence of contemporary memoirs concerning the events which took place during the years immediate to the conquest of the territories between the Tagus and the Atlantic. At that epoch history was almost exclusively composed of wars, and the men brought before us also were usually warriors; and, in truth, warfare not only constituted generally the state of society, but likewise warfare became an actual necessity and the first needs of a poor and circumscribed country, as it could not otherwise exist, unless, by extending itself at the expense of the Saracens, it grew and acquired greater strength. Hence, when princes became wearied of continual warfare, and laid down their arms to

restore their exhausted energies, history no longer follows their steps, unless they appear again on the arena of the battle-fields. It was for this reason that the meagre contemporary memoirs tell us nothing, or very little, concerning the events of the ten years which elapsed from the taking of Lisbon until the Christians attained to take possession of Alcacer. The active spirit of the King of Portugal must, however, have been directed towards the administration of the country and its internal affairs, more especially to the restoration of the provinces newly incorporated to his dominions, and which necessarily were desolated by the combats and raids practised.

As we said before, many foreigners came in the fleet of Count de Areschot, and continued in Lisbon after it was taken. Many of these, later on, established themselves in the interior of the province. The orders of knighthood and the ecclesiastical and monastic corporations were liberally dowered in the newly acquired lands. Below Leiria, towards the west, was founded about this epoch (1153) the Monastery of Alcobaça, which became one of the most renowned in Portugal, and to these monks was due the cultivation of an extensive part of Estremadura Alta, which hitherto had been a vast solitude, and for a great length of time served as a neutral ground to both Christians and Saracens.

And while under these powerful corporations, towns and villages were springing up, attracting to them new colonists from other lands and from other districts on the north, the King continued to apportion among his soldiers the estates, situated in the principal places, belonging to the Saracens who had died during the wrestling, or who had forsaken a country under servitude to the enemy. At the same time, such of the Mussalmans as accepted the yoke of the Christian continued to enjoy their properties, under the denomination of *Mouros forros* (exempted Moors), and, after a few years, obtained especial concessions, which entitled them to protection from any violence on the part of the conquerors.

Scarcely had four years elapsed from the taking of Lisbon when the King of Portugal prepared to continue the war. As his forces had become lessened, from the causes already mentioned, he endeavoured to increase his army with foreigners by effecting levies in England. Islamism, against which he ever combated, imparted the character of a Crusade to any expedition that came to aid the prince; and it was, therefore, under pretext of militating against the enemies

of the Cross that he principally attracted to his army the undaunted warriors of Northern Europe. Gilbert, an English priest, who was elevated to the dignity of Bishop of Lisbon, departed for Great Britain in 1151, to preach a new Crusade against Seville—that is to say, against the dominions of the Almohades in Spain, whose capital it was.

The efforts of Gilbert, it appears, were crowned with success, and a fleet left England for Portugal; and, in conjunction with his auxiliaries, Alfonso proceeded to besiege Alcacer in that same year or the following one. But the undertaking failed, owing to the energetic resistance offered by its defenders; and, we believe, the fleet of Crusaders returned to England without effecting any conquest.

But although repulsed, Alfonso did not desist from his project, and renewed the attempt in the year 1157. This attempt occasioned the coming of another fleet, which, proceeding on the northern sea, was directed towards Syria. In these long voyages the coasts of the Peninsula afforded to the storm-beaten voyagers safe harbours, and where they could revictual their ships within the vast ports. Among these, none equalled the mouth of the Tagus, on account of its situation; hence, from the time of the conquest of Lisbon, this port became more generally frequented by the fleets which followed the route to the East. With the object in view of gaining Alcacer, he aided the new expedition, in order to renew his attempt, which, however, also proved unsuccessful.

These events are so shortly narrated in the chronicles of the Goths that we scarcely can credit the statement that this fleet was the one belonging to the Count of Flanders, Thierry, or Theoderic of Alsace, which, in the year 1157, started for Syria. The arrival of Thierry in Portugal at that juncture probably gave rise to the erroneous tradition that he was one of the Crusaders who assisted in the taking of Lisbon.

Alcacer fell, however, on the 24th of June, 1158. This castle, whose ruins still subsist as a melancholy proof of its solidity—which had resisted the united forces of Alfonso I. and the fleets of England and Flanders—at length surrendered, after sixty days' siege, to the forces alone of the King of Portugal. According to Arab historians, the garrison was put to death, but from the Christian memoirs we gather that, after the surrender of the castle, it was permitted to the Saracen garrison to retire to the interior of the Gharb, thus leaving to

their co-religionists the melancholy certainty that the territory of the province of Al-Kassr would eventually be taken by the impetuous Ibn Errik.

But while the small kingdom of Portugal was extending itself to the south and the east, the powerful monarchies of Leon and Castille received a deep shock in the death of Alfonso VII. (1157). This monarch, in spite of the perturbations he had experienced, divided, before his death, the vast States between his two sons. Castille, with all the provinces it included, he gave to his eldest son; while to his second son, Ferdinand, he left Leon, with Galicia and Estremadura. It appears that some petty discords arose between the brothers, but there was no open rupture. The Kings of Castille and Leon met in Sahagun, and there they celebrated a covenant calculated not only to maintain peace within their respective States, but likewise regulate the limits of their conquests in the future, and afford mutual aid in their wars, defensive and offensive. This covenant is of especial interest to our history, as it reveals that, although Alfonso had tacitly consented to the independence of Portugal, he nevertheless had made a mental reservation, in the hope of yet bringing his cousin to submission, confiding this thought to his sons, or else they newly took up the former idea. It is certain that by the treaty made in Sahagun, on the 22nd of May, 1158, between Sancho and Ferdinand, they both promised not to sign any treaty or convention disadvantageous to either, with the King of Portugal, unless by mutual consent. In the event of conquering the States of their cousin, which, it seems, they seriously intended doing, they were to divide the said States equally between themselves, the King of Leon to make the division, and the King of Castille to choose which portion he desired. As regarded the acquisitions in Saracen territory, Ferdinand was to take possession of the modern Portuguese provinces of Alemtejo and Algarve, with the territories of Niebla, Montanches, and Merida, while the conquests effected from these places to the east were to appertain to the crown of Castille.

The death of Sancho, which took place a few months after this treaty was signed, altered all the designs of aggrandisement projected by the two brothers. The King of Castille left a son under age, who became Alfonso VIII., surnamed the Noble. Under pretext of his right to the tutorship of his nephew, Ferdinand took advantage of the discords which this event gave rise to among the nobles, to enter, with

armed forces, into the territory of Castille, where, during the civil wars, which were continued for some years, he took possession of Toledo. In the midst of these calamitous events, produced by ambition, the empire of the Almohades was becoming consolidated in Mussalman Spain. Meanwhile, the adversary of the Almoravides, who vainly disputed what remained of his dominions in the southern districts of Andalus, and of the Christians, who were enemies far more formidable and dangerous, Abdu-l-mumen, engaged in crushing down rebellions in Africa, and widening in that region the frontiers of his dominion, sustained the war beyond the sea by his generals. Ibn Ghaniyyah, the last illustrious defender of the Lamtunite dynasty, perished in a combat on the Vega of Granada (1148), after losing Cordova and nearly all the other important places. Casting themselves at the feet of Alfonso, whose victorious arms had reached even to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, where he reduced Almeria in the same year that his cousin took possession of Lisbon, the Almoravides had done nought else but contribute to the aggrandisement of the Leonese Monarchy, while they were, nevertheless, unable to avert their own ruin. Ambitious, like Alfonso VII., the King of Portugal had taken advantage of the contentions existing between these two rival parties, which enabled him to further his own designs.

The history of the ten years which elapsed from the taking of Almeria to the death of the Emperor is a long series of devastations effected by the Christians on the south of the Peninsula. Vainly did the Spanish Mussalmans, who were of the party of the Almohades, send numerous deputations to the powerful Ameer of Morocco, bearing protestations of unlimited adhesion and obedience, beseeching him, meanwhile, to send forces to Spain capable of putting an end to the triumphs of the infidel prince. He listened to them all; he treated them most graciously, and dismissed them with rich presents and great promises. He even came as far as Ceuta, to show that he desired to cross the strait; but suddenly he marched from thence to the east of Mauritania to continue his victories, and retrenched the aid afforded to the Spanish Saracens by ordering forces to surround Almeria by sea and by land. These proved sufficient to resist Alfonso VIII., who vainly attempted to raise the siege, but not strong enough to prevent the enemies from reducing other places, such as Baeza and Ubeda, which the Emperor took possession of during the siege. In the same year as the death of Alfonso occurred, Almeria at length fell

into the hands of Cid Abu Said, son of the Ameer Al-Muminin, whom the latter had placed at the head of that expedition.

The conquest of the ancient Salacia, without need of foreign aid, necessarily increased the confidence of the Portuguese warriors in the prowess and skill of their chief; and the terror produced by so many reverses continued to crush the spirit of the Mussalmans, while it exalted the military reputation of Alfonso I., which in brilliancy excelled that of any of the princes of Christian Spain, on account of his victories and rapid conquests.

In the prime of life he saw nearly all his designs realised, and his name appears in history, and in the narrative of the protracted death agony of Spanish Islamism, like to an angel of extermination, yet with full confidence in his own destiny. But, in order to verify facts which are uniformly narrated by Arab historians, it is necessary to suppose that, after the conquest of Alcacer, the victorious Christians penetrated like a torrent into the interior of modern Alemtejo, and that in this first invasion some of the important towns submitted, among them Evora and Beja. The latter, which was taken in December, 1150, was abandoned four months later, the conquerors first dismantling the fortifications.

The glory and renown which Alfonso I. had acquired naturally induced the other princes of Christian Spain to seek an alliance with Portugal, not only in a political sense, but with its valiant prince in close domestic relations. The King of Portugal lost his Queen D. Mathilde, or Mafalda, on the 3rd of December, 1158, shortly after the taking of Alcacer, leaving a son and three daughters, Sancho, Mafalda, Urraca, and Theresa, all in their infancy. Besides these, there were three who died at a tender age, D. Sancha and D. Henry and John. Sancho (called formerly Martin) was born in 1154.

The Count of Barcelona, Raymund Berenguer, had married Petronilha, the Queen of Aragon, who bore a son called, like his father, Raymund Berenguer, who inherited the States of Barcelona and Aragon, ascending the throne under the name of Alfonso II. This prince was a little older than Mafalda, and his father wished to betroth him to the Portuguese Infanta. With that object he departed to the frontiers of Portugal, in spite of the wars which he was then engaged in with the South of France, to arrange this alliance with Alfonso I.

These princes met in Tuy on the 30th of January, 1160, and

in presence of various prelates and barons of Portugal, Aragon, and other parts of Spain, was celebrated the contract of marriage, which, however, the death of the princess prevented its realisation.

In the civil discords which were rising up between Castille and Leon, due to the ambitious pretensions of Ferdinand II., this prince, abandoning the idea of conquering with which he had ascended the throne, now strove to ally himself also with the King of Portugal, and the interview in Tuy with the Count of Barcelona was followed in that same year by others in Cella-Nova with the Leonese king. No especial memoir remains to us of the subjects treated of in that conference, but it is supposed that the marriage of the Infanta D. Urraca with the King of Leon was arranged, as it actually took place in 1165.

It is probable that the two princes, who were bent upon prosecuting their conquests along the Mussalman territories, should confer about the future demarcation of their respective States, as the rapid triumphs of Alfonso I., who was already lord of the province of Al-Kassr, might very possibly proceed with his arms to the very heart of Andalusia, and on his way take possession of the parts already conquered by Leon and Castille, induces us to infer that the question of limitation was one of the chief subjects of the meeting of the princes. The great object, however, which compelled the King of Leon to seek an alliance with the King of Portugal was to keep him favourably disposed to his attempt of usurpation in Castille.

But these important alliances, which bore such evident testimony to the high reputation enjoyed by the King of Portugal, now received rude shock. The Ameer of Morocco, when he concluded the conquest of Eastern Mauritania, resolved to cross over to Spain, where the fortune of war was adverse to the Mussalman arms, particularly in the west. At the commencement of the year 1160 he ordered his son Abu Said, the Wali of Granada, to increase the fortifications of Gibraltar. When this had been effected, the Ameer crossed the strait with an army, and resided there for some time (1161). Throughout Andalus the fame of the conquests of Ibn Errík, and the devastations effected in the territories of the Gharb, were the themes of all, and Abdu-l-mumen came to avenge the affronts done to Islamism. He sent to the western frontiers 18,000 Almohade knights, commanded by Abu Mohammed Abdullah Ibn Hafss. On entering the province of Al-Kassr the King Alfonso I. came out to

meet him; but the Portuguese squadrons were unable, however, to resist the impetus of the veteran warriors of Abdu-l-mumen, well inured to war in their repeated victories of Africa. The defeated Christians left 6,000 dead on the battle-field, besides a great number of prisoners. The result of this event was the loss of the towns they had taken possession of in the interior of modern Alemtejo. The conquerors, laden with the spoils of the enemy, did not proceed further, and the Ameer Al-mumen commanded Ibn Hafss to retire, nominating Mohammed Aly Al Hadj wali of the Gharb and defender of the frontiers.

But in spite of this great reverse, it was not easy to abate the valour of a people full of youth and energy, whose life was spent in strifes and perils of a continuous war. The wrestling with the Mussalmans was renewed in the following year, while Abdu-l-mumen returned to Africa, with the object of visiting the capital and resting from his fatigues. The raids and incursions of the Christians commenced in the land of Gharb, where the vestiges still subsisted of past invasions; but now the King of Portugal and his noblemen were engaged, it appears, in repairing the losses of the past year, leaving to their subordinates the continuance of these *algaras* or entries, which, as they carried desolation to the fields and unfortified places, opened a path to important conquests of cities and castles, defended by numerous garrisons. The conquest of Beja was due to the municipal troops, and of the fortress, which, broken up some three years before, must have been rebuilt by the Saracens. A body of burghers, or rural knights, led by one Fernando Gonçalves, marched against the city in the depth of winter, and, during a sudden nocturnal attack, took possession of Beja at the end of November, 1162.

Evora, in those days, was the most important city after Badajoz, the capital of the province. Vast and well populated, surrounded by walls, the castle which proudly stood on its height constituted its principal defence. Its environs were considered singularly fertile, its chief productions being cereals, all kinds of pulse, and herds; while an extensive commerce was kept up of exports and imports, which rendered it wealthy, and its mosque was truly magnificent.

Having been entered by the Christians, after the conquest of Alcacer, during their first impetus, the Almohade troops very quickly replaced Islamism; but the hour when the Cross should be lifted up on the pinnacle of its celebrated mosque had already struck.

Tradition invests with poetic circumstances the simple history of the captain of highwaymen who took it. If we credit the legends written at a more recent age, Giraldo, the hero of romance—who, on account of his marvellous daring, had obtained the surname of *Sempavor* (Fearless)—was a noble knight, who, on account of various crimes, had forsaken the service of Alfonso I., and had joined, in Alemtejo, a band of men who obeyed him. Remorse and shame of his evil life induced him to undertake a glorious undertaking, the happy results of which should effect a moral restoration. This was to be the taking of Evora. The narrative of this conquest is similar to the taking of Santarem, and, perchance, was an imitation. Restored to the favour of the prince, he was elevated to the dignity of Alcaide of the city, which with such skill and daring he subjected to the Christian domination. The Chronicles of the Goths, however, scarcely tell us more than that, in 1166, Evora was taken and sacked by Giraldo Sempavor and his associates, and that he afterwards delivered it up to Alfonso I. The silence of other contemporary writers concerning Giraldo being the conqueror of Evora might induce some suspicion even of the fabulous event, although reduced to its primitive simplicity.

The royal troops paced anew the territory of the Province of Al-Kassr, the complete conquest of which was greatly facilitated by the taking of Evora and Beja, or, rather, rendered inevitable in view of the absence of aid from beyond the sea. Abdu-l-mumen died in Salé (1163), where he had mustered together a numerous army to pass over to Spain. His son Yusuf Abu Jacub, whom he elected to succeed him, was at the time in Seville, and he at once departed for Africa, where he was acclaimed Ameer; but the resistance offered by his brothers, who were excluded from the throne, and various mutinies which successively occurred in those parts, prevented Yusuf for some years from attending to the defence of the western frontier of Andalus. But now that Alfonso I. was under no fear of the Almohades of Africa, he newly invaded the Mussalman territories. Christian memoirs briefly allude to these conquests, which were effected in 1176, of Moura, Serpa, and Alconchel beyond the Guadiana, and the rebuilding of the Castle of Coruche between Evora and the Tagus. A contemporary Arab writer relates with greater length the rapid series of triumphs which robbed Islamism of, perchance, the best part of the Gharb. According to this writer, the King of Portugal sped as far as Trujillo, which he took by stratagem

in April or May, 1165. The same fate awaited Evora in September or October following. Caceres surrendered in January, 1166, and the Christians in the spring became masters of the Castle of Muntajech and the towns of Sheberina and Jelmanyah.

The narrative of the Arab historian who lived near the theatre of war does not contradict, but completes and illustrates the details concerning these successes. The history of Ibn Sahibi informs us of the daring and impetus of the invasion which the King of Portugal attempted at this juncture. It appears the army had passed the modern frontier of Portugal by old Alemtejo to the north of Badajoz, following along Spanish Estremadura in a line from west to east of more than twenty leagues in length, and retroceding obliquely, to occupy the strongholds of Alconchel and Serpa, situated on the left margin of the river Guadiana.

By thus establishing his frontiers beyond this river, Alfonso I. secured the dominion of the whole territory of modern Alemtejo as soon as he could take possession of Badajoz, where a strong garrison would defend the north of the province, bordered to the right of Badajoz by Lower Beira, or ancient Portugal. As regards Caceres and Trujillo (Tordjala), the silence which the ancient Chroniclers maintain concerning these conquests convinces us that they were destroyed or abandoned. The ruin of Trujillo was equivalent to a great victory. Tordjala, which the Arabs compared to a theatre of war on account of its solid ramparts, was inhabited by a race of restless, brave men, whose sole occupation, whether high or low born, was making continual *algaras* with the object of devastating and sacking the territories of the Christians.

Meanwhile the King of Leon, who had taken possession of part of the States of his nephew the King of Castille, was still in arms with the subjects who had continued faithful to the youthful prince. During the varied fortune of the war he sustained since the year 1160, the union celebrated by Ferdinand II. with the daughter of Alfonso I. did not suffice to allow him to obtain his ends. These family ties, far from serving to bind by mutual affection the spirits of father and son-in-law, and thereby establish a lasting peace between the two States, acted in a diverse manner, and scarcely from that epoch did discords cease.

We know not in a distinct manner what the real motive was which finally induced a violent war to break out between the two princes. It is said that a servant or familiar of Alfonso I., moved by some offence he received from him, fled to the Court of the Leonese prince, and

persuaded him to found Ciudad Rodrigo, from whence Ferdinand II. effected great devastations to Portugal.

As the marriage of Ferdinand with D. Urraca was celebrated in 1165, we must suppose that these dissensions took place previous to the union, as the erection of Ciudad Rodrigo appears to coincide with that date, and the Tudan and Toledan Chronicles narrate the wrestling between the two kings as commencing after that event. Moreover, the Portuguese troops were engaged during part of 1165 and the following year in conquering both sides of the Guadiana, and therefore it is not likely that Alfonso I. should risk his States by declaring war at this juncture to the powerful King of Leon. Hence the events which we shall describe necessarily took place after 1166.

Sancho, the only son of the King of Portugal, was over twelve years of age. In view of the state of the country, it was needful that the heir to the throne should be educated in the profession of arms, and his youth spent in witnessing the terrible scenes of war, devastations, conflagrations, and deaths; to harden his limbs in the rough life of the camp, and close his spirit to all tender feelings and desires of repose. But remembering, probably, the sad example of Sancho, the beloved son of Alfonso VII., slain by the hands of the Saracens in Ucles, the King of Portugal did not wish the Infante to receive his first lessons of war in the Gharb, where death or captivity was equally dreaded. Hence, on arranging an expedition against Ciudad Rodrigo, he ordered Sancho to accompany the army sent out for the purpose.

At this juncture the resistance of the Castillians against the usurpation of King Ferdinand II. had assumed great proportions, and the partisans of Alfonso VIII. had taken possession, in 1166, of Toledo, the capital of the States belonging to the youthful prince.

In the midst of the cares and anxieties which fell on the Leonese king, the news came to him of a new adversary who was coming to complicate the difficulties of his position. Besides the moral gifts of piety, simplicity, liberality, and benignity, which the ancient historians ascribe to him, Ferdinand was dowered with undaunted bravery, a virtue common at that epoch. In that difficulty he did not lose heart, but, leaving the larger portion of his army to sustain the war against his nephew, he proceeded with the remainder to meet the forces which were nominally commanded by his brother-in-law. The Portuguese had rapidly advanced, and were already traversing the territory adjacent to Ciudad Rodrigo, when they encountered the Leonese, who had come

to receive him. A battle took place on a spot called Arganal, close to the threatened town. The King of Leon was victorious, and Sancho was forced to fly, a great number of his soldiers remaining prisoners; but Ferdinand liberated them, either through generosity of spirit or, what is more natural, to soften by this means the wrath of his father-in-law, whose fiery character he well knew.

But Alfonso I., irritated by the affair of Arganal, accompanied by the Infante, personally opened the campaign along the frontier of Galicia with the veterans who had assisted him to obtain so many victories. Crossing the Minho, Alfonso I. assailed the city of Tuy, and took possession of it. Its cathedral, where the garrison attempted to resist, was attacked and violated; and the invading army, proceeding to the north, quickly subjugated the districts of Toronho up to the margins of Lerez. Then returning to the east, the King of Portugal took possession of the territory of Limia, where the Portuguese, becoming divided, simultaneously attacked both districts.

Meanwhile that Alfonso I. was compelled to raise the siege of Castle Sandino in consequence of a terrible tempest, which the superstitious of that age ascribed to Saint Rosendo, the protector of the monks of Cellanova, upon whose seigniority this castle was built, the Count Velasco was taking possession by stratagem of those of Santa Cruz and Monte Leboreiro. In order to secure those conquests, Alfonso Henry ordered a new castle to be quickly erected, that of Cedofeita, close to Cellanova, where part of the monks in terror had fled to Leon. The violent acts practised by the conquerors in that district were unbearable, and a contemporary writer compares the rude proceeding of the Portuguese king to that of Pharaoh. Leaving the Count Valasco in Cedofeita, and garrisoning the castles in those two districts, Alfonso I. retreated to Portugal, it appears, with the intention of continuing the war with the Saracens on the southern frontier.

Ferdinand meanwhile marched to the north of Galicia, resolved upon expelling the Portuguese out of that province, and laid siege to the Castle of Cedofeita. It was a stronghold and well guarded, and the resistance was becoming obstinate and protracted, when nature intervened in the wrestling. One dark, tempestuous night a thunderbolt fell on the principal tower of the castle, striking the garrison of cross-bowmen. Terrified by that awful spectacle, the rest of the defenders of Cedofeita surrendered the following day without combating. • Whether the King of Leon was able to reduce other places

taken by the Portuguese is unknown, but it is certain that even in 1169 the two districts of Toronho and Limia were still considered subject to the King of Portugal.

The prosperous reign of this illustrious warrior had reached to its height. The extent of his dominions now equalled modern Portugal, because, although the dominion of the territory which is now called Algarve was still wanting to him, this want was amply compensated by the last conquest beyond the Minho. Successful in nearly all the undertakings which he personally conducted, it would be an act of injustice to ascribe it only to chance, as, indeed, he undisputably surpassed in military talent and firmness of purpose.

It is believed, however, that had the alliance he had entered into been as sincere as it appears it was on the side of the King of Leon, or had he been less blinded by political conveniences, he would have averted the grievous event which embittered the declining days of his life and placed in jeopardy the independence of the country which had been conquered at the price of so much blood and fatigue.

While Ferdinand fought to regain the castles held by the Portuguese in Toronho and Limia, Alfonso entered anew with his army into the Saracen territory of the Gharb, which he had been unable to subdue in his former invasion of 1166. In the spring of 1169 the King of Portugal attacked Badajoz. This city, situated on the shores of the Guadiana, and surrounded by strong walls, was still a principal town, although its environs, which at one time were more populated than the city itself, were now deserted in consequence of the civil discords. The news of the expedition of his father-in-law reached the ears of the King of Leon. To him belonged Badajoz by two titles. First, in the convention or treaty of limitation made between the two princes (probably in Cellanova) respecting the new conquests, Badajoz, it was arranged, should appertain to the Leonese crown; secondly, the dwellers of the ancient capital of the Gharb had placed it under the protection of Ferdinand, the Governor of the city submitting as a vassal tributary to him. Sworn treaties and covenants, like to all moral bonds, are but weak barriers against political calculations, and the subjugation of Badajoz enabled Alfonso I. to continue his brilliant conquests, because he thus completed the line of stronghold which secured him the possession of the left margin of the Guadiana, and almost the whole western frontier of Andalusia. For this very reason it was most important that the King of Leon should dominate that point which

occupied by his father-in-law, prevented him from attempting any invasion into Mussalman Spain, the result of being deprived of dominion in the States of Castille.

And similarly to the many towns which had submitted to the yoke of Alfonso I., so also did Badajoz surrender; but the garrison retired to the Kassba, to sustain a useless defence. Besieged in that narrow space by the Portuguese, who were already masters of the city, they had waited in vain day by day for aid from the Almohades, when the troops of Ferdinand II. arrived to re-animate their failing hopes. The arrival of the Leonese suddenly altered the aspect of affairs, and Alfonso found himself at once besieger and besieged.

Historians vary in their accounts of what took place at the time. Some say that Alfonso went forth to meet and fight the King of Leon. Defeated by him, he retreated to the city he occupied in part, but not feeling secure, he endeavoured to return, when his leg became crushed by the bolts of the door. Unable to keep on horseback, he fell into the hands of the enemy and was made prisoner. Others say that the Saracens of the Kassba had agreed among themselves to surrender at the end of a week, should no succour arrive before the term expired. One day, when part of the Portuguese troops were sauntering about the environs, and Alfonso I. was quietly reposing in his tent, the King of Leon unexpectedly arrived. While Ferdinand encountered the King of Portugal, the besieged in the castle made a sortie, and on the opposite side attacked the besiegers. Alfonso I., aroused by the tumult, leaped on a swift steed and fled, but on speeding through the gates his leg was crushed against one of the iron bolts, breaking the limb. He sped in this state for some miles, until he fell into a pit, where he was extricated by some shepherds, who delivered him up to his son-in-law.

Had contemporary writers not given us already a testimony of the generous character of Ferdinand II., his conduct at this juncture would seem to us a stupendous act of nobility of soul. The warrior who had wrenched from the Leonese monarchy one of her most beautiful provinces to constitute an independent State, he who constrained Alfonso VII. meekly to accept that fact, the victorious captain, the lash and terror of the Saracens; in one word, he who had wrought so much evil to him was now a captive and at his feet. Writhing in his bed of pain, that proud spirit was humbled by misfortune, and we behold the pride of Alfonso I. disappear. Confessing that he had been disloyal to his God and to his relative, he offers to

deliver up unreservedly to him his States in return for liberty. But misfortunes never found the heart of the Leonese King closed to pity and mercy, and the King of Portugal received a proof of his magnanimity on this occasion. "Make restitution of what you have taken from me," replied Ferdinand, "and keep your kingdom." And, in effect, the Castles of Limia and Toronho were dispossessed of the Portuguese garrisons, and the left margin of the Guadiana abandoned. At least we know that Alconchel was subject to the dominion of Leon in 1171.

The restored castles, it is said, numbered twenty-five, and the King of Portugal gave his son-in-law twenty war-steeds and fifteen mules loaded with gold, but this seems almost an exaggeration. After a duration of two years' captivity, Alfonso returned to his States, but completely disabled for military duties.

These grave events occurred in the spring of 1169. Alfonso I. was finally set at liberty, and resorted to the Caldas of Alafões, where, during his convalescence, he attended to the defence of Alemtejo against the Mussalmans. He endowered the Order of Knight Templars with a third portion of all he might derive and acquire in that province, on condition that the Order should spend these rents in his service and of his successors so long as the war between the Christians and Saracens continued. This powerful association of monk-knights, besides what they obtained during the government of D. Theresa, had already received from the King of Portugal the seigniority of the Castle of Cera (Ceras) and the territory divided by the Nabão and Zezere from high Estremadura, extending to the east along Beira Baixa—vast territories in which the Templars had successively founded many castles, such as those of Pombal, Thomar, Ozezar, Almourol, Idanha, and Monsancto. It was to these men, enriched by him, and whose institution obliged them unceasingly to combat against the infidels, that the King, disabled from taking up arms himself, confided the defence of his latest conquests.

In the midst of these events, Yusuf Abu Yacub, after subduing the pretenders to the throne, and reducing the most turbulent provinces, consolidated his empire in Africa. The news, however, of the alarming progress effected in Andalus by the army of the son of Henry came to him day by day, and proved to him how urgent it was to attend to the Mussalmans of the Peninsula. The siege of Badajoz compelled the Ameer to take prompt measures. Abu Hafss, brother to the

Emperor, was chosen to lead the Almohades and some volunteer corps, with the object of repulsing the Christians. In 1169 Abu Hafss departed, landing in Tarifa, from whence he proceeded to the western frontiers in hopes of yet saving Badajoz from the horrors of a siege. Scarcely had he reached Seville, where he commenced preparations for that expedition, than he heard of the defeat of Alfonso I., and that Ferdinand had retreated to his States. Abu Hafss then wended his way towards Cordova, and from thence sent a body of troops under the command of Ibrahim Ibn Humuchk, to cover the frontiers of Badajoz.

The military progress of the Almohades in the territories recently submitted by the King of Portugal does not appear to have been very great, notwithstanding the auxiliary forces led by Ibn Humuchk. Some of the Arab memoirs vaguely allude to various skirmishes with the infidels, but the Portuguese records preserve absolute silence concerning these events. Tradition tells us of the death which took place about this date of Gonçalo Mendes, brother to Sueiro Mendes da Maia, surnamed the Battler, on account of his prowess in battle, when over ninety years of age.

In 1171, while the Saracens by increasing the fortifications of Mertola were putting in a better state of defence the district of Al-faghar (Algarve), which was all that remained to them west of the Guadiana, Abu Yacub was crossing the sea with troops to further the war. It is said he gathered together in Spain 100,000 soldiers, with which the Mussalmans obtained some advantages in the Gharb. Tradition preserves to us the memoirs of an invasion of Almohades at this juncture into the interior of Portugal, and this is confirmed by historians and chroniclers. Without meeting any serious resistance, Yusuf and his generals crossed the Alemtejo and laid siege to Santarem, when Alfonso I. was there. The affair of Badajoz diminished the terror which the prince inspired in the Saracens, and they attempted to besiege the lion in his lair. It also added to their hope of success to behold the valiant King of Leon forsake his father-in-law to his fate, irritated by former events.

In this way did they hope to avenge the past, and, perchance, reduce the frontiers of Portugal to its former limits. On hearing of the siege of Santarem, Ferdinand convoked his knights, and proceeded at once to the districts on the south-east. As soon as this march of the Leonese king became known in Santarem, grave fears assailed the heart of Alfonso I., because, notwithstanding the generous action of his son-in-

law in the affair of Badajoz, he feared lest he might take advantage of this to deprive him of a part of his dominions and help the infidels to crush him. Straitened by circumstances, the King of Portugal sent messengers to investigate the intentions of the Leonese king, and endeavour to appease him; and as he was disabled from commanding in person his warriors to battle, implored peace. But his fears were turned into joy. Ferdinand was flying to his aid, the messengers brought word to the king; and on the news becoming known throughout the Mussalman camp, the scene changed. The Saracens, placed between the forces of Portugal and Leon, became aware that it was necessary for them to retire, and thus Santarem was saved. On retiring, it is believed, the Almohades devastated the territories adjacent to the Guadiana held by the Christians, retaking Alcantara from the Leonese king, who had taken possession of that city in 1167.

In extreme youth the Infante Sancho received the sad lessons of war in the combats with the Leonese, a duty he would be called later on largely to perform. He was scarcely fifteen when his father fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Leonese king. On being restored to liberty, one of the first acts of Alfonso I. was to bid his son receive investiture of knighthood, the ceremony being performed in Coimbra on the 15th of August, 1170.

Under the circumstances, this resolution of the King of Portugal of investing his son with knighthood was only a prelude to another more powerful resolve. As the founder of a new dynasty in the midst of a society equally new, Alfonso perceived the need of accustoming his subjects and foreigners to consider Sancho as the king, even before his own death, in order to establish the succession of the monarchy.

The family alliance entered into in 1160 by the Count of Barcelona, Raymund Berenguer, with the King of Portugal for the union of their children was not realised, owing to the death of the Infanta Mafalda. This alliance was, however, renewed in 1174, although in a different way, by Prince Sancho marrying Dulce, daughter of Raymund Berenguer, and sister of Alfonso II., who succeeded his father in the County of Barcelona, and Petronilha his mother to the crown of Aragon. For some years previous and subsequent to this event peace reigned in Portugal.

The war between the Portuguese and the Mussalmans, however, was renewed at the end of 1178, the Portuguese being the first to commence hostilities. Sancho, in the vigour of youth, followed the example of his

illustrious father. Crossing the Guadiana, leading an army, he penetrated into Andaluz, and the warriors of Portugal trod a territory over which never had the banners waved of Alfonso I., the veteran soldier-king who had so often led them to victory. After obtaining various advantages from the Christian princes, and collecting together under his authority the whole of Mussalman Spain, without excepting the Ameership of Valencia, which had preserved its independence for many years, Yusuf Abu Yacub retired to Africa in 1176. No longer in fear of the presence of the Amir-el-muminln in the Peninsula, the Infante marched against Seville, the most important city of Andaluz, the usual residence of the Prince of Believers when on this side of the strait. Yusuf had spent large sums in fortifying Seville, erecting a magnificent aqueduct, adorning her with buildings, among them the sumptuous Mosque, constructing quays to facilitate the landing of merchandise along the Guadalquivir. The vestiges of its extent, the strength of its ramparts, the majesty of its monuments afford a brilliant proof, in spite of its successive decadence, of what Seville was under the dominion of the Almohades.

Situated on the left margin of the river, the city held communication with its principal suburb, that of Triana or Atrayan, as the Arabs called it, which was situated along the right shore, by means of a bridge of barques. Triana was like an advanced post to defend the capital on that side. A tower overlooked the bridge, which started from the opposite shore close to the Tower of Gold. Thus this populous suburb, which some say was the seat of ancient Hispalis, remained exposed to the first assault of the Christians, whose frontier extended on the right of the Guadalquivir.

The strength of the Portuguese army was inadequate to assault the city, which later on required all the united military resources of Christian Spain and her allies to conquer. Sancho, however, making a wide circuit through modern Spanish Estremadura, crossed Sierra Morena, descended by the south, and defeating some troops who endeavoured to oppose him, entered Triana. The place was sacked, and much damage done; he then returned to Portugal loaded with spoils, which the Almohades were unable to prevent him from taking.

The wrath of the Ameer of Morocco may be easily imagined on receiving the news of the loss and sack of the suburb of Seville. The Emperor of Morocco prepared to reduce definitely this new Christian monarchy, which even in its infancy had already extended itself to the

greater part of the Gharb, and whose warriors had come to flash the steel of their lances amid the green shores of the Guadalquivir.

Resolving to attack the Portuguese by sea and by land, Yusuf prepared a fleet, and, under the command of Ghamim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mardanix, proceeded to the coasts of Portugal, and, doubling Cape Saint Vincent, entered the Tagus in 1179. The Saracen admiral returned without effecting any decisive attack against Lisbon, contenting himself, we believe, with sacking the outskirts.

While the King of Portugal was fitting out a fleet either to resist the naval forces of Yusuf or to avenge in the ports of Andaluz the damage he had received, the title of King, which he had so greatly desired to obtain from the Roman Curia, was at length confirmed by Alexander III., as though fortune wished to console him for his recent misfortunes.

The Ameer did not forget the destruction of Triana by the Infante Sancho, nor the small result of his expedition against Lisbon. Summoned back to Africa on account of the rebellion which had arisen in the province of Efrikia, instigated by one Azzobair or Ibn Zobeir, the Emperor sustained the war in Spain with his generals. According to Christian memoirs, Yacub, the eldest son of the Ameer of Morocco, entered with his army into Portugal in 1179, and, crossing Alto Alemtejo, laid siege to the Castle of Abrantes. The besieged bravely defended themselves, and the prince of the Almohades was forced to retire. If we credit the Chronicles of the Goths, the loss to the Saracens was very great, but to the Portuguese very small. On the following year the Almohades took Coruche, destroyed it, and made its dwellers captive. Yet within two years this important castle was reconstructed and garrisoned.

The war actively continued. Our historians relate that it was sustained by the Infante, who led the armies of his father, and that various victories were gained against the infidels. Modern Alemtejo was a vast battlefield, wherein the captains of Yusuf afforded but little repose to the frontiers of Portugal. An Arab historian tells us that towards the end of 1180 or beginning of 1181, Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Ibn Wamudin, leading the troops of Seville, crossed the Guadiana, and laid siege to Evora. The Saracens encountered a stubborn resistance, because, after sacking the neighbouring territories, and destroying some fortified places, they returned to the capital of Andalusia, while Abdallah Ibn Is'hak Ibn Jami, the admiral of the

Sevillian fleet, encountered the Portuguese armada, and, after an engagement, put it to flight, capturing twenty ships, many spoils, and a great number of captives.

After these events the wrestling on the frontiers diminished, but it was only the calm which precedes a storm on the ocean. Yusuf in 1182 prepared to go over to Spain, and was collecting together one of the most brilliant armies that ever crossed the straits during the Saracen domination on the west of Europe. Having settled all affairs in Africa, he planned how to effect the decisive blow which he purposed to deal at the Christian States of the Peninsula, by proceeding against the aged Ibn Errik, the Lord of Portugal, the most dangerous of all the adversaries to Islamism. The departure of the Emperor from his capital to carry out this expedition took place in 1182, or, as some say, on the following year. And while the forces of the Emperor were gathering and proceeding to various parts of Ceuta, Abu Yacub received the news in Salé that the province of Efrikia was completely restored to peace. Hence, delivered from the troubles of Africa, he was able to give his whole attention to preparing his expedition to Spain.

Before describing the military events which followed, we shall turn awhile from the tedious and monotonous spectacle of wars and sieges, devastations and raids, which we have followed with but short intervals during the last half-century, to the contemplation of domestic life.

The King of Portugal had witnessed the death in tender years of his daughter Mafalda, who was to be the bond of union between his own dynasty and that of Aragon. Urraca, who was married to Ferdinand II., when the military reputation and glory of Alfonso I. was at its height, and rendered it desirable to form intimate alliance with this prince and the other kings of Spain, was now in the solitude of the cloister, bewailing the affront of a repudiation which the relationship between her and her husband afforded a pretext. Another daughter remained to the aged monarch, Theresa, to whom he assigned a good portion of the lands he purchased at the high price of blood and fatigue. His love for her was very great, at least we suppose so in view of the reluctance he manifested in parting with her, and this is but natural, after the turbulent, lengthened career he had led, that he should, in his repose, gratefully bask in her affectionate love. This Infanta was singularly comely, and the fame of the beauty of the

princess of the West was celebrated as superior to any other of the northern countries. Philip, Count of Flanders, son of Thierry of Alsace, was enamoured of the Infanta, either from seeing her portrait or, what is more probable, through meeting her at the Court of Alfonso I., when he visited the king on his second voyage to Palestine (1171-8), because Lisbon was the port most frequented by the Crusaders in their expeditions to and from the Holy Land. He was a widower, his late consort being the sister and heiress of Rudolph, Count Vermandois and Amiens, at whose death he possessed the two counties. Hence Philip was one of the most illustrious knights of that epoch, and one of the princes whose life was most restless. By his first marriage he had no children: his sister Margaret, wife of Baldwin, Count of Hainaut, succeeded to the county, and was acknowledged heiress in 1177. The new marriage which was projected must needs be distasteful to the Countess Hainaut, and no less so to the youthful Philip Augustus, King of France, who assumed the right to the States of the Count, part of which he claimed after his death.

These were frail barriers against the passion of Philip; but he met with greater ones in the reluctance of Alfonso I. to separate from his daughter. At length, after repeated embassies, the King of Portugal yielded. A fleet set sail from Flanders to Portugal, to conduct the Infanta, who left Portugal attended by various knights. On bidding farewell to his daughter, whom he was never more to see, the aged monarch conducted himself in a very generous manner towards her, and contemporary historians extol the wealth of gold, brocades, silk, priceless jewels, and precious stones with which the Flemish ships were laden. On reaching Rochelle, after a prosperous voyage, Theresa found commissioners from Henry II., King of England, who greatly favoured this union, charged by him to provide all that might be needed to ensure a happy journey as far as the frontiers of Flanders, since nearly the whole country she would have to traverse belonged to Henry II. The enamoured Philip of Alsace came to receive the princess on entering his States; and in presence of his army and a great concourse of people who had assembled, he was joined in nuptial bonds to the beautiful Infanta, who, on this occasion, changed her name for that of Mathilde, although some erroneously call her Beatriz.

The invasion of the Saracens did not afford Alfonso I. much time to bewail the absence of his daughter, and graver cares soon assailed

him. When Yusuf had collected together in Ceuta all the troops from Africa intended for the war in Spain, he ordered the army to pass the strait, while he followed with his guard of negroes, the officers of the Court, and his Ministers, in May, 1184 (5 of Sapher of the Hegira 580). From Gebal-fetah (Gibraltar), where he landed, the Emperor of Morocco proceeded along Algesiras and Seville, joining the numerous squadrons of his son Abu Is'hak, the Wali of the province, and marched to the west, when, crossing Alemtejo, he proceeded to pitch his camp close to Santarem about the end of June.

The narratives of Arab historians concerning the siege greatly differ, and are almost at variance with the details given us by the Christian chroniclers, although virtually similar as regards the principal facts. The first state that Yusuf, on passing the river, laid the province under siege, pitching his camp on the north side. The Saracens were repulsed during successive combats, repeated for a fortnight, although they used every effort to avoid it. At night, on the 4th of July (or 22 of Rabieh 1°) Abu Yacub had the encampment shifted to the western side, to the surprise of every one, yet none dared to question or oppose the resolve of the Emperor. They, perchance, judged that, losing all hope of reaching Santarem, he had resolved upon marching to the interior of the province, devastate it, and return to Seville. When it was already night, Yusuf sent for his son, and bade him depart on the following morning with the Andalusian troops, march against Lisbon, and reduce the territory by fire and the sword. Abu Is'hak understood that his father was sending him back to Seville at midnight. The army began to cross the Tagus, and at break of day Is'hak departed with the rest of his men, Abu Yacub remaining alone in the camp, together with his negro guards and the Andalusian Alcaldes, who always accompanied him as van and rear guards. At sunrise the Christians, who garrisoned the towers and *adarves*, observed that the camp had struck, and the army were departing. The outposts sent to reconnoitre the camp soon returned and confirmed the news, assuring them that the Ameer remained, with only a small portion of soldiers. Opening the doors, the besieged cast themselves on the encampment with loud cries—"To the King! to the King!" The guards of negroes attempted to resist, but became broken up and dispersed by the Portuguese; they then rushed into the Emperor's tent. The prince bravely defended himself with his sword, striking six dead at his feet. The terrified cries of the

Emperor's wives drew to that spot the Almohades and the Andalusians who had remained firm, and these compelled the Christians to retreat, driving the guards to the very walls of Santarem. Yusuf fell, grievously wounded, and retreat was inevitable. The Emperor was placed on horseback, already insensible, it appears, and unable to command. Deprived of their leader, the troops crossed the Tagus, and, directed by the drummers, took the road to Seville. From that city Abu Yacub was taken to Algesiras, where he died of his wounds on the 12th of Rabieh 2° of 580 (or 24th July, 1184), and ere he could reach Africa.

Such is the narrative of Abd-el-halim and other Arab writers. The discrepancies are evident: how can we credit that Is'hak did not understand that his father was sending him against Lisbon, bidding him at the same time devastate that district, which would be an absurd order in respect to Seville? Besides which, are the Andalusian troops the ones assigned for the expedition, and, with the son of the Ameer, retreated from the invaded territory, while their chief did not accompany them, but remained close to Yusuf? From these and similar contradictions may be deduced that some sudden attack of the Christians had spread terror and caused a panic among the Mussalmans, and Yusuf, being surrounded in the midst of the tumult, terror increased, and the army became undisciplined and took to flight. It is certain that two of the most trustworthy of the Arab historians, Ibn Khaldun and Al-Makkari, omitted the circumstances referred to by Abd-el-halim, which were probably invented to colour the sad result of the undertaking.

The Portuguese monuments which might enlighten us concerning this important event do so in curtailed terms. From them we scarcely know more than that the Mussalmans spread themselves over the whole of Estremadura, and, during the five weeks which they remained there, devastated it. This period agrees, with slight difference, with the Arab writers. That defeat, against nearly the whole force of the Moghreb and of Andaluz, which had been collected together for the undertaking, must have resounded throughout Europe. An English historian who wrote about that date has presented us with the most interesting narrative of the event and the manner in which the furious tempest which threatened to utterly ruin Portugal was thus averted. The narrative of Radulph of Diceto was probably received from some of the actors in that drama, for it is

certain that relations were frequent between Portugal and England, as we have already seen, and shall further have occasion to notice in the history of subsequent reigns. For this reason it appears to us preferable to that of Mussalman writers who had an interest in dissembling the truth. Hence, according to Radulph, Abu Yacub led in his numerous army thirty-seven Walis (Reges), with the soldiers of their respective provinces. On crossing the Tagus the invaders assaulted Santarem, and continued to assail it for three days and three nights, until the walls fell, when the Almohades entered, and compelled the garrison to take refuge in Alcaçova. On the following night a body of Christian troops, led by Sancho and the Bishop of Oporto, arrived. These assailed Gami, one of the principal Mussalman chiefs, probably Ghamin Ibn Yusuf Ibn Mardanix. The admiral of the Almohade fleet perished in the conflict, with the greater portion of his troops, whose bodies, heaped up in the breach, served as a parapet to the conquerors. Meanwhile, as soon as the coming of Yusuf became known, an army of 20,000, commanded by the Archbishop of Santiago, descended from Galicia to succour the Portuguese, and arrived at Santarem on the 26th of July, at daybreak, and immediately after the victory effected by Sancho. Being suddenly assailed, the Mussalmans experienced a frightful loss. The advantages obtained were not yet sufficiently decisive, and the siege continued the whole of the following month. Perchance, with the object of diverting the attention of the King of Portugal, a body of Saracens proceeded towards Alcobaça, and, in its desolating march, put to the sword all the women and children, which, it is said, numbered 10,000. The Castle of Alcobaça, however, offered a more stubborn resistance, and three Walis, with a great portion of the unbridled army, paid with their lives for the cruelties perpetrated. At length the news arrived, on the 24th of July, at the Mussalman camp, that the valiant King of Leon was coming towards them, to challenge in single combat the Emperor of the Almohades. Yusuf was already preparing for the combat, when, on attempting to mount his horse, he was seen to stagger and fall. Thrice he attempted to mount, and thrice he fainted away. Was it an arrow shot from the ramparts that had pierced him? Was it a stroke of some sudden and deadly sickness? The English chronicler does not tell us. The news of this unexpected event spread through the camp. Terror and panic took possession of the army, and they broke up and fled in disorder,

abandoning the spoils they had collected when devastating Estremadura.

Delivered almost in a miraculous manner from the perilous position he was placed in, the King of Portugal manifested his gratitude to Providence in the manner which in those days was considered most agreeable to God. A great number of Saracens had been made captive, and these were condemned to servitude, and distributed about the country, were compelled to work in bringing the stones needed for repairing and rebuilding the churches; and the gold accruing to the State after the sacking of the camp of Yusuf was applied to the making of a casket for preserving the relics of Saint Vincent, which many years before had been transferred to Lisbon, from the cape bearing his name, and during the Saracen domination had been preserved by the Mozarabe priests in a temple constructed upon its lofty promontory, a temple which was always respected by the exemplary tolerance of the Mussalmans.

Shortly after Yusuf besieged Santarem, and the territory of modern Estremadura was devastated by the Almohade troops, a numerous fleet, which probably united the naval forces of Africa and Andalusia, entered the mouth of the Tagus prepared to attack Lisbon. Among the galleys composing this fleet was distinguished one which, on account of its size, was called by the especial name of *dromon*, or *dromunda*.

These first-rate ships corresponded in a certain sense to our ships of the line. Upon this potent galley the Saracens carried an ingenious war-engine, from which, when the ship anchored near the walls of a city, the troops could leap upon the fortress wall, and combat hand to hand with the Christians. Such an attack was one to be dreaded, as the advantage of fighting behind the parapet walls was unavailing, but among the Portuguese one man offered to remove the common danger, at the risk of his own life. Unfortunately, history has not preserved to us the name of that brave man, nor the details of the event. We only know that in the silence of the night he approached the dreaded vessel and sprang a leak, and the water, entering into the ship, overset it, and the ill-guarded machine, descending to the brink of the water, was brought to the shore and suspended to the walls. At dawn of day the Saracens perceived that their efforts had been foiled, and they gave up the project, but not before they had leaped on land, and taken captive all the Christians who imprudently wandered in the suburbs and neighbouring fields.

Such, for the Almohades, was the unsuccessful ending of their attempt against Portugal, which, in their pride, they judged they could easily erase from the list of the Christian States of Spain. During the long weary years of sickness of Alfonso I. his heart once again, and for the last time, beat with pleasure at this new victory. His faithful sword had lain long in its scabbard by his bed of suffering; but he derived consolation from the fact that he would leave a son worthy of him in martial valour, and a nation brimming with energy and hope, which owed to him, almost entirely, its political life. The invincible resistance which the naval and military forces of the Mussalmans had encountered in Portugal proved that the people trained by him had, in a few short years, passed from weak infancy into robust youth. The edifice of national independence designed by Count Henry, consolidated by D. Theresa, and substantiated in all its details by himself, was now completed, with the necessary strength to resist the destroying action of ages. When, perchance, in the intoxication of victory, or on feeling his greatness and power, the King of Portugal assumed to himself the titles of Excellent and Triumpher, the pride which dictated this was noble and legitimate, because founded on the testimony of his own conscience and the unanimous one of friends and enemies, of foreigners and natives.

The last year of the life of Alfonso passed away without history recording anything worth mentioning respecting the prince. The warrior was already slumbering in the sleep of death, which so soon was to close his eyes for ever. The documents left to us barely tell us more than that in his last days he did not quite cease to hold the reins of government, while he continued his liberality to the Church, with which he always largely divided the fruits of his conquests. He died on the 6th day of December, 1185, having governed the country twelve years as Infante and Prince, and forty-five with the title of King. He willed to be interred in the Monastery of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, where the remains of his Queen D. Mafalda reposed. Hence in this spot at length was laid to rest that frame, worn out by continual combats, in a modest sepulchre, until the King D. Manuel raised up a rich mausoleum, which to this day holds the mortal remains of the founder of the monarchy.

Following the phases of this long reign, and judging impartially the actions of the man whom Providence placed at the head of a

nation, to guide it during the first years of its existence, it may be perceived that the thought of assuring the independence of Portugal pervaded above all other considerations, even at the expense of some worthy to be respected. And, in truth, that idea induced many acts which, taken separately, give us the right to accuse him of bad faith or unbridled ambition. Besides the rebellion against D. Theresa—which ought to be attributed more to the nobility than to an inexperienced youth—the breaking of the treaty made to the Emperor in 1137, the deceit conceived in order to entrap the garrison of Santarem unawares, the cruelties practised with the Saracens, and, finally, the manner he behaved towards his relative the King of Leon—whose noble, generous character cannot but place that of Alfonso I. in the shadow—were actions which, weighed by themselves, will be always worthy of reprehension, at least until other documents are found which may reveal some circumstances, hitherto ignored, to induce posterity to absolve him.

But if we bring them to bear on the one idea the King had at heart, and which almost, we may say, formed a part of himself, who would not excuse these actions if we take into account the barbarism of the age, the difficult situation of the country, and the extreme weakness of a society dismembered from another which was striving to win it back to its fold? The great need which Alfonso I. attended to was to give uniformity and strength, both internally and externally, to the nation that was being constituted. In order to effect this it was necessary likewise to court the favour of the Church, the primary element of power in those days, and favour the nobility, who were the principal nerve of the armies, and finally impart to the municipal spirit the highest degree of vigour, without which, in our opinion, there never was, or ever will be, national energy or ardent love of home.

Moreover, besides this work of interior organisation, it became his duty to extend the limits of inheritance, since it was too circumscribed for establishing an independent State. The terror which his name inspired among both Mussalmans and Christians, and the daring of his soldiers, were the means he employed to obtain it. Naturally of a bellicose character, he taught two generations the hard science of war, and attained to bequeath to his successors the glorious traditions of prowess and patriotic love which the nation religiously preserved for several ages. However, before Alfonso I. entrusted the independence of his country to the fortune of the battle-

field, it was essential to protect it with political skill while still weak. From thence sprang, under peculiar circumstances, a proceeding which, morally considered, was worthy of condemnation.

But viewing the scene in a more appropriate light, these spots almost disappear; and the sympathy which, in all ages, the people of Portugal have manifested towards the memory of the son of Count Henry becomes venerable, because its roots are planted in a love which is rarely found in nations—gratitude towards those to whom much is owing. This national affection has reached so far as to attribute to Alfonso Henry the glory of the saints, and to claim the martyr's crown from Rome, to place it on the brow of the fierce conqueror. If the creed, which is one of peace and humility, does not consent that Rome should bestow this crown, another religion, likewise venerated—national love—teaches us that, on passing the discoloured and worm-eaten door of the Church of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, we should salute the ashes of the man without whom the Portuguese nation would not be in existence to-day, or, perchance, the very name of Portugal be unknown

END OF SECOND BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1185—1211.

Accession of Sancho I. to the throne—Territories of the Portuguese at the end of the Twelfth Century—State of the Almohade Empire—The defences and population of Portugal—Alfonso IX. succeeds Ferdinand II. to the Leonese Crown—Ambitious designs of Sancho I.—Renewal of the Crusades—The idea of the King of Portugal to join the Crusade is changed—Algara of the Almohades—An invasion is projected against the Mussalman Gharb—The two fleets from the North arrive—War is commenced on the coasts of Al-faghar—Siege and taking of Silves, and subsequent conquests—Reaction of the Almohades—Yacub enters into Estremadura—The devastations which were effected, and withdrawal of the Saracens—The English fleet in Lisbon practises violent acts, and satisfaction is taken by Sancho—Marriage of Alfonso IX. with the Infanta D. Theresa—Yacub enters again, and the former conquests in the Gharb are lost—Failing state of material strength of the country—Internal policy of the King of Portugal—Divorce of Alfonso IX.—War between Alfonso VIII. of Castille and Yacub—Defeat of the Christians in Alarcos—Union of Alfonso IX. with the Almohades, and alliance of the Kings of Castille and Portugal—General war in the Peninsula—The King of Leon is united to the daughter of Alfonso VIII.—A short term of peace follows—Contentions are renewed—Questions arise with the Pope regarding the tributes—Efforts of Sancho to populate and defend his kingdom—Death of the Queen D. Dulce—Wars with Leon—Political negotiations between England, France, Castille, and Portugal—Development of internal strength—Foreign Colonies—Erection of new Municipalities—General famine—Sancho continues the pacific system he had adopted—State of the Peninsula, and effects of the peaceful situation of Portugal—Marriage of the Infante Alfonso, heir to the throne, with Urraca of Castille—Disagreement of Sancho with the Clergy—Phases and circumstances of the strife—Illness of the King—Reconciliation with the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra—Death of Sancho I.—Observations upon his character and government.

THREE days had scarcely elapsed after the death of Alfonso I., when his son, who was away far from the Court of the aged monarch, arrived to Coimbra in order to ascend definitely the throne he had strengthened at the price of so much fatigue. Sancho was taking upon his shoulders all the duties of the laborious and precarious life of a king,

under circumstances of great difficulty, although in part advantageous In Leon reigned Ferdinand II., who during his father's lifetime had several times defeated him. On the other hand, the last advantages obtained from the Saracens, particularly the disastrous death of Yusuf, and the dispersion of his army, were calculated to inspire new courage for repelling the attempts of the Almohades, and recover the Gharb, a portion of which Alfonso I. had won. The family alliances effected with various princes more or less powerful, the confirmation of the royal title obtained by his father from the See of Rome, the mature age of thirty when he assumes the crown after his large experience of warfare, were so many motives of hope for Sancho I. and for the country. But before we follow the new monarch through the various events of his reign, we must consider what was the territory which Alfonso I. definitely separated from the Monarchy of Leon to bequeath to his son, or, rather, what were the limits of Portugal at that epoch.

When Sancho I. assumed the entire administration of the kingdom, the northern and southern limits of Portugal were the same as during the government of his father, with the exception of the fleeting changes which the wars with Leon had induced. From the mouth of the Minho where it enters into Spanish territory was, as it is now, the natural line which divided the two States. The events we have already related show us that Tuy with its district, which extended along the right margin of that river, belonged to the Leonese; while Alfonso Henry, ruling the left margin, founded Lapella (we know not what year) and Melgaço in 1181; and his son later on peopled Contrasta, (Valencia), opposite Tuy. From Melgaço the frontiers form an angle descending more or less from north-east to south-east in the same direction as in our time to Lindoso. From thence returning by a new line towards the east, it run along the extremities of the two districts which divided the most northern part of the province of Tras-os-Montes—that is to say, Montenegro and Bragança—and turning round to the north-east, the capital of the last district, from whence it derived its name, veered towards the south. In that direction it turned to flow towards the east, winding round the territory of Miranda, until it ascends once more and flows into the Douro on the right margin, dividing Spain from Portugal. Hence the division of the two counties was, at the end of the reign of Alfonso I., the same, or nearly so, as in our days from the mouth of the Minho to the Castle of Alva on the Douro. From the left margin of this river towards the

south, the limits of our country were, however, more circumscribed: the Leonese frontiers extended to the mouth of the Coa, then followed its course to the confluence of Pinhel, and along the length of this river, probably to near its source, near Sabugal and Sortelha, until it flowed into the fountains of Elga. From thence the Elga to the Tagus formed the division of the two States, as it still does.

It is not possible nor necessary to fix the bounds of Portugal, whether in relation to Leon or to the Saracen dominions to the south of the Tagus, because all was then uncertain and changeable. The conquests of the two rival border-lands extended or became abridged in proportion as circumstances favoured their common adversaries, the Mussalmans. It is certain that between Ferdinand II. and Alfonso Henry some basis, unknown to us, had existed, probably was defined in 1160, to assign beforehand the line of division which should determine which districts were to be subjugated on the Gharb, and united to each of the crowns; but it is obvious that the realisation of this convention, whatever it might be, depended on many casualties, and therefore could not altogether be depended upon. The increase or diminution of each of these two States dependent on the fortune of war or domestic events, the difference of military genius and the energy or ambition of their respective princes, the pretensions of Castille, to whom it was similarly important to crush Spanish Islamism, the aggression of the Almohades, who considered the various Christian States as one only country, and in their dreaded reprisals would compel the Christians to retreat to either dominion without any investigation of their respective political standing—all this, we say, prevented any certainty or permanence of international rights as regards the demarcation of territories whose definite conquests were still doubtful.

The Gharb, similarly to all other provinces south of the Peninsula, was a vast battle-field, where, amid torrents of blood, of villages burnt down, of tribes and families oftentimes fugitive and vagabond, was seen waving on the heights of the conquered castles, taken and retaken, lost and taken again ten times over, and from the towers of fortified cities, which as frequently changed masters, the standard of Mahomet or the banners of Christianity. Of what use, then, to attempt to fix, even if that were possible, the limits, which at best were nominal, and that were one day confirmed and the next annulled?

Also in respect to the northern and central provinces of Portugal

the reader would conceive a false idea concerning the frontiers we have designated above of the limitation of Leon, should he imagine that at the end of the twelfth century these were defined and precise as they are now. From this continual change of masters resulted what is obvious, that the lands withdrawn from the fortified places where the agriculturist could easily and rapidly save himself and the produce of his industry had necessarily become barren, because untilled; and cultivation scarcely extended beyond the environs of the castellated towns—all the rest was but a desert. Hence it was no precise line, or a series of fixed points, which definitely determined the borders of the country at the end of the twelfth century, the epoch when the discords between the Portuguese and Leonese constituted the normal state of the two kingdoms, and wherein peace was the exception. The strongholds and castles which protected the towns were the landmarks which indicated to what point the dominion of the two nations had reached, and if between these points there existed any extent of uninhabited land, it is probable that in the greater number of cases neither could tell amid the woods and sandy places where the boundary lines should be.

But while these circumstances forbade the exact limitation of the frontiers, and resulted in much evil by preventing the natural increase of the population and the development of agricultural industry, they indirectly produced a useful consequence—it imparted life and energy to the municipal spirit. The municipalities were so many societies which were becoming formed and united by rights, and by interests, and, above all, by troubles and common dangers. Further on we shall have occasion largely to develop the history of that great institution, the Municipality—the most precious legacy that the Peninsula inherited from the Roman domination. We shall only say, in passing, that our first kings, constrained by force of circumstances to multiply these popular corporations, soon became aware that they constituted their most powerful barriers against the aggression of foreigners, and at the same time a secure and safe instrument of government—an instrument they employed not only to create a system of repression against the privileged classes, but likewise to increase the number of unpaid soldiers, so greatly needed in an existence of continual warfare.

Ferdinand II. only survived three years the death of his father-in-law, and during this period there appears no discords took place between him and Sancho I.

If it is certain that when the entry of Yusuf took place in the year 1184 the King of Leon did not judge sufficient that the Archbishop of Compostella should come to aid Santarem, but also personally marched against the Almohades, this noble proceeding on his part was calculated to diminish any mutual resentment which might yet exist between them.

In truth, by the documents of 1187 may be deduced that in the autumn of that year the King of Portugal proceeded to his frontiers on the north to defend himself from some impending assault. Beyond this doubtful vestige, none other authorises us to suppose that any discord or cause of perturbation existed between the two countries.

The war with the Saracens was also limited to attempts of minor importance after the death of Yusuf. But Yacub Abu Yusuf, who was to succeed him in the empire, transferred to Salé the body of his father, and only then did he publish officially the death of Yusuf, and acclaimed himself Amir-al-mumenin in 1184. This prince was dowered with uncommon and superior gifts to those of his predecessors of the Almohade dynasty, if not in valour, at least in talent and culture, and this new master of the Empire of Morocco dedicated the first years of his reign to securing and strengthening the crown, and improving the interior administration of the vast States he inherited. Convinced that two of his brothers were conspiring against him, he, following the sanguinary traditions of Mussalman policy, ordered them to be put to death, and was forced to smother in blood a revolution which broke out at that juncture in Africa. Thus engaged with other affairs, he allowed the Christian princes of Spain a term of repose.

During the last two years preceding the death of the Leonese king, the King of Portugal, D. Sancho I., employed in actively providing the internal needs of the country by restoring the deserted ruins of former towns, or in erecting new castles and cities, the latter to be included in the vast social municipal system, the importance of which and their ends have been briefly stated—the castles to form landmarks against the attempts of Leon, or against the desolating invasion of the Saracens. To this epoch belongs the tithing of various municipalities especially established in the eastern districts of Beira, and to this conjunction may be also attributed others given by the same prince, but its exact date is unknown. From the very commencement of his reign, Sancho I. attended to one of the gravest public needs, that of repopulating the territories devastated by wars which had lasted, not

simply years, but centuries. And while he sought to promote and increase public strength, and, as a consequence, supply new resources for the maintenance of the State, he likewise employed other means which policy, custom, and the various circumstances of the time rendered needful for the defence of the country. Among these means was the increase of the Orders of knighthood of military monasticism, to whose martial spirit the monarchs of Spain owed, in a great measure, the expulsion of the Saracens. These warrior-monks, among whom monastic discipline supplied, up to a certain point, the deficiency of military discipline, which was but little advanced in those days, exercised, on that account, a certain advantage over other knights and warriors, among whom, there is no doubt, obedience was oftentimes wanting in combating, and the force which unity of purpose and action inspired. For the defence of the castles entrusted to their keeping, they were endowed with the temporal dominion of them; hence no garrison could equal them, because these strongholds or castles usually became converted into *tutories* or benefices (*mansio*), and the monks who dwelt in them, in their dual character of monk and knight, held their residence as a kind of home or convent, and this to the degree that when compelled to defend it, it was the feeling of love for home and hearth that induced them to employ their whole strength and skill. In relation to other border countries, the influence and power which these Orders obtained in Portugal during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought grave inconvenience to her, in consequence of the subjection of the Portuguese preceptories to their respective superiors *(procuratores ministri)*, who usually resided in Leon and Castille, and were subjects of foreign kings; but in relation to the wrestling against the Mussalmans, these institutions were of immense utility to the monarchy.

Besides the Jerusalemite Orders of the Temple, the Hospitalliers, and of the Sepulchre—which already existed, and were amply endowed during the preceding reign, and whose first foundation goes back as far as the epoch of D. Theresa—some members of the Castillian Order of Calatrava had entered into Portugal about the year 1166, and, it appears, established themselves first in Evora, which had been conquered, and these individuals later on assuming the name of Friars of Evora and Friars of Calatrava. A new Order, meanwhile, was founded by Ferdinand II. in Leon, that of Caceres, Ucles, or Santiago. Notwithstanding the superiority of the Templars—a superiority which

shines brightly in the documents relating to the various monastic-military corporations—and in spite of Alfonso I. having previously endowed the Temple with a third part of all which might be conquered beyond the Tagus, Sancho I. judged it expedient to deliver up to the friars of Caceres the castles of Alcacer, Palmella, Almada, and the borough of Arruda, the seigniory of which they possessed since 1172—that is to say, if the endowment made by Alfonso I. in their regard was ever effected. He also ordered the borough of Alcanede to be occupied by the knights of Calatrava, and likewise that of Alpedriz, in modern Estremadura, and assured them the dominion of the strong-hold of Jurumenha, as soon as it should be conquered from the Saracens who lorded over it.

At this juncture of affairs the King of Leon died at Benavente, on January, 1188, in the prime of life. A son, the Infante Alfonso, was the only issue of his first marriage with D. Urraca, sister to Sancho I., who was repudiated in obedience to the Pope owing to the degree of consanguinity existing between them, or, what is more probable, this repudiation was on account of the discords existing between Alfonso Henry and his relative. After this separation, Ferdinand II. took to wife D. Theresa, daughter of Count Nuno de Lara, and granddaughter of the renowned Ferdinand of Trava, he who played such a conspicuous part in Portugal. D. Theresa died childless; and the King of Leon married, for the third time, another D. Urraca, daughter of Count Lopo Diaz de Haro, Lord of Biscay. By her he had two sons, Sancho and Garcia, still in tender years when their father died.

The Portuguese Infanta, the forsaken Queen of Leon, was still living at the time of Ferdinand's death, and had taken the veil in a convent of Nuns Hospitalliers. Her son, being the eldest, was heir to the throne; and, as a fact, Alfonso IX. was acclaimed King, being then seventeen years of age. This event seemed to be a presage for establishing a permanent peace between Portugal and Leon. D. Urraca left the cloister for the court of the youthful prince, and her influence, together with the blood-relationship which united her to the new King of Portugal, was calculated to contribute towards a sincere friendship; but the reverse was the result.

It is said that even in the lifetime of Ferdinand II. the third wife of the prince, D. Urraca de Haro, had sought to arrange things in such a manner as to exclude Alfonso IX. from the succession, in order that Sancho, her elder son, should be called to ascend the throne; and it is

even said that, finding himself persecuted and irritated, the legitimate heir to the throne proceeded to the court of his uncle Sancho I. to beseech his protection, and that on the road he received the news of the death of his father. He then turned back, and the Infante obtained the crown in spite of all attempts of his step-mother, who vainly endeavoured to corrupt the fealty of her brother, the first ensign, Diogo Lopez de Haro, and induce him to raise the standard of revolt in favour of his nephew. Should these events be true, which we doubt, they would offer us a natural explanation for the hostilities of Sancho I. against the youthful prince, who, in order to obtain his protection, no doubt had made promises which, when once seated on the throne, he would be unable to fulfil. But whether true or no, it is, however, certain that scarcely had Alfonso IX. commenced his reign than he was threatened by his uncle and by the King of Castille. Moreover, even supposing that the youthful monarch had given some pretext, as the Archbishop of Toledo seems to wish us to infer, for this violent and ungenerous proceeding of the border princes, it is more credible that, under some specious pretext, the true motive of war was ambition, which the Castillian King and the Portuguese one hoped to easily satisfy, at the expense of a youth inexperienced in the art of governing and in the science of warfare, and at the same time avenging, in the person of the son of Ferdinand II., the oppressions which the Leonese King had made him experience under analogous circumstances, and the King of Portugal for the humiliation which he and Alfonso I. had passed through in their former discords with the deceased prince. If we credit an Aragonese historian, comparatively modern, but who had consulted contemporary documents, Sancho endeavoured to renew former alliances with his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon; but the latter exacted that in the new covenant the Leonese Prince should be included; and as the King of Portugal refused to accede to this, the ambassadors retired to Zaragoza, without concluding their mission.

Unable to defend himself against two dangerous adversaries who were menacing him, the King of Leon resolved to cast himself into the arms of one of these in order to suppress the other. The one more powerful, not only on account of the reputed greatness of his States, but also by reason of the reputation he held of victorious, was Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and because, moreover, Sancho, the weaker one, had repulsed him. Hence the Castillian was preferred. Negotiations were

arranged, and Alfonso IX. proceeded to Carrion, where his cousin was holding the Cortes. In these Cortes they treated upon definitely sanctioning the matrimonial contract betweeh Conrad, son of the Emperor of Germany, and Berengaria, eldest daughter of Alfonso VIII. On this occasion the successor of Ferdinand II. received the investiture of knighthood at the hands of his cousin, humbling himself to the point of kissing his hand. In this act the new Leonese King acknowledged himself in a manner dependent on the Castillian King, the pride of the princes of Spain being such that they did not receive from others the investiture of knighthood, but, as we saw before, they took the arms themselves, and vested them with their own hands.

These events took place in the summer of 1188. The King of Portugal must necessarily experience grave fears, on account of the alliance celebrated in Carrion between Leon and Castille. At least it was a fact which compelled him to proceed with extreme moderation in regard to his nephew. And this was evidently the case, as we learn that the dissensions which had commenced with the youthful Alfonso IX. did not make any progress, and during that year the country appeared to enjoy a profound tranquillity. The civil war which was devouring Africa made it improbable that any serious attempt on the part of the Almohades to recover their past losses of 1184 and prestige should be made. Therefore not only in regard to Portugal, but to all neighbouring States, days of peace seemed in store.

The news, however, of a deplorable event re-echoed from one extreme of Europe to the other, which called forth tears of anguish and indignation from all the followers of the Gospel. In the battle of Tiberiada the King of Jerusalem, Guido de Lusignan, was taken captive, and his army annihilated, and the wood of the cross fell into the power of the terrible Saladin, who successively reduced nearly all the cities and strongholds of the Christian monarchy of Syria, and finally besieged the capital, which soon capitulated (October, 1187). Tyre and Tripoli barely escaping the Saracen conquest. When these disasters were known in Europe, and all the details narrated, some true, and others fabulous, calculated to arouse indignation and horror at an epoch when religious beliefs and strong passions predominated, the agitation it produced was truly extraordinary. Pope Urban III. died at this juncture, it is said by some from the effects of excessive grief, caused by the untoward events of the East.

He was succeeded by Gregory VIII., a man of lively faith and severe rule of life. He was therefore fitted in every way for renewing the moral fever which had induced the first and second Crusades. In the Encyclical letter which he addressed to all the princes and the faithful, and also in the especial bulls promulgated about this time, can be perceived the grief of the sovereign head of the Church, which he was suffering at beholding the Holy Places in captivity, and the indignation felt by this fervent, upright-minded ecclesiastic against the perversity of customs, the want of concord among the reigning princes, the corruption of the clergy, of the nobles, and of the masses, to which, in the simplicity of his heart, he ascribed the misfortunes of Jerusalem. Summoning to arms all the warriors of Christendom for the redemption of the Sepulchre of the Saviour, he likewise enjoined amendment of life and penitence, placing under the especial protection of the Apostolic See the families and the goods belonging to those who should enlist for this pious end, and suspending all litigation respecting such property, at the same time that the College of Cardinals was declaring all or any princes who should enter into war with each other during the space of seven years to be excommunicated and cursed of God. Gregory VIII. did not attain to see the result of his designs, as he died at the end of 1187, after barely two months' pontificate. Clement III., who succeeded him, actively followed up the project of his predecessor, and was fortunate enough to see it realised.

Sancho I., it appears, yielded at the moment to the general impulse, and resolved to proceed to the Crusade. Perchance he felt secure and with no apprehension from the Saracens of Portugal, after the severe lesson they had received in Santarem, the decadence of the Spanish Mussalmans, the revolts which kept the Almohades engaged in Africa, and, on the part of the Christian princes, the threats of Rome against all who should make war at this juncture with each other. A document dated 1188 renders this idea a plausible one. This document is the testament of the King of Portugal. In the prime of life, in the midst of peace, he foresees the possibility of dying in some remote spot, or of being taken captive, which presupposes his intention of undertaking a long and perilous voyage, and therefore desires to establish the order of succession, and arranges the manner of preserving the treasures he possesses until his successor should arrive to years of discretion. Accustomed to combating daily the Saracens of the Peninsula and of Africa, and, what is more, to conquering them in every

engagement, such a proceeding on his part shows that he had resolved upon some arduous, extraordinary undertaking.

However, if the idea of Sancho I. was to imitate his grandfather in what was considered the most glorious enterprise in that age, the expedition of Ultramar, this prince met, as we believe, with opposition in the country, and not only from the orders of Knights Templars and Hospitalliers, who were well aware of the perils and dangers of these wars, but also from the nobles and burghers. But though he severely punished the obstinate, he did not carry out his intention, probably because circumstances quickly changed aspect. Between the Christians of Spain and the Arab and African races, who disputed inch by inch the possession of its blood-stained ground, fatigue might induce a truce to the combatants, but a peace of any duration was impossible.

Yacub, who must have retained a vivid remembrance of the death of Yusuf and the routing up of the numerous Almohade army during the invasion of 1184, was fortunate enough to subjugate the rebels of Efrikia, and his authority acknowledged throughout his empire. He returned to Morocco triumphantly in the month of Rejeb, 584 (September, 1188), and while engaged in beautifying his capital, he continued to receive information concerning the state of the Mussalman frontiers of Andaluz, and prepared to avenge past reverses.

And, in effect, during the following spring he crossed the sea with his troops, disembarked in Algesiras, and proceeded to the west. Arab writers enlarge on the devastations effected by the Mussalman prince on Portuguese territory. According to their account, the Almohade army had encamped close to the walls of Santarem, and continued their incursions as far as Lisbon, leaving terrible signs of desolation in fields, burning down towns, and taking thousands of individuals captive. However, in our contemporary writers we find no records of this event, but the tendency of both Arab and Christian historians was to exaggerate the advantages derived by their own party, to the detriment of the adversary; and this tendency affords us sufficient evidence to prove that the entry of Yusuf was no more than a simple raid, from which no great result followed, such as the reconquest of any castle or important town, and moreover was so fleeting that though he crossed the strait at the end of April, he had already returned to Fez by September.

In the supposition that the King of Portugal really purposed to proceed to the East, it was necessary and imperative not only to leave

proper previsions for the good government of the country during his absence, in case of any unpropitious event, but likewise should collect together his troops, arms, and all needful military equipment, not only for the expedition itself, but also for the security of the State. On preparing, although with diverse ends, for the war, Sancho necessarily opposed a serious resistance to the Almohades; and the return of Yacub to Africa without being able to reconquer so much as one of the many castles and cities which Alfonso I. had wrested from the Mussalman power warrants us in the conjectures which supply the deficiency of national monuments.

The retreat of the Emperor of Morocco, however, would not be a sufficient explanation, did we not put together the events which were then taking place in Africa. Arab historians inform us that Yacub Al-Manssor (or *victorious*, a surname he assumed), on arriving at Fez, received the news that a fresh revolution had burst out in the eastern districts of his States. It is possible that, previous to quitting the Peninsula, Al-Manssor had some indications of the intended revolt, and for that very reason, joined to the small results attained, induced him to return to Mauritania.

The war with the Saracens had become once more ignited with the entry of the Almohades, and this circumstance constrained Sancho I. to alter his plans, and abandon the idea of proceeding to the East.

The considerations he represented to the Pope in this respect, and the attention they merited from the Apostolic See, as we are told by the ancient chroniclers, inclines us to believe that in this tradition there was a legitimate foundation. But whether these representations were accepted or not, we know that the King of Portugal resolved to take advantage of the departure of Yacub to continue the conquests on the Gharb which had so largely been furthered during the previous reign. Of the three provinces into which the west of Andaluz had been divided formerly, one, that of Belatha, was definitely united to the Portuguese territory, but the same could not be said of Alkassr. On the north of the latter Coruche was the last castle on the frontier of which we find any mention made on that side, while the Christian dominion had extended in the centre of the province as far as Evora.

Towards the east, in view that Alfonso I. had taken possession of various places on the left margin of the Guadiana, the disaster of Badajoz must, in all probability, have caused him to lose them, because it is certain that at the end of the twelfth century the Saracens

possessed Badajoz, and Sancho I. hoped to take Jurumenha, meanwhile that the conquests of Leon by Ferdinand II., which had greatly extended to the south of the Tagus, were now retreating once again beyond the right margin of this river, the Leonese only attaining to occupy anew, about the commencement of the next century, the districts between the Tagus and the Guadiana, and towards the south of the river a vast tract of land where Alfonso IX. founded (to the east of the central point of modern Alemtejo) Salvatierra and Salvaleon. It is certain, however, that even in 1202 the friars of Saint Julian, of Pereiro, and of Santiago, the chief defenders of this frontier, considered as a perilous battle-field the whole of that part of Spanish Estremadura which lies to the south of Coria.

About this time an event occurred in the affairs of the East to encourage the King of Portugal to further his designs of conquest. The efforts of Popes Gregory VIII. and Clement III. to enkindle the ardour and fervour of the warriors of the Cross in their project of rescuing the Holy Places took the desired effect. All things were in preparation in Italy, Flanders, France, England, and Germany, and even in more northerly countries, for the departure of the Crusaders by sea and by land. Fleets more or less numerous were coming down daily by the North Sea to the ports of England and France, to join the ships of these nations, and continue their devastations along the coasts of Spain, in their impatience to combat the Mussalmans, and where richer spoils awaited them than in the already devastated lands of Palestine. During the Lent of 1189 a fleet of sixty sails started from the North Sea in the direction of Palestine. This fleet conveyed between ten and twelve thousand men from Frisia and Denmark, among whose leaders was the nephew of Knud, King of Denmark. Favoured by propitious winds, the Crusaders in a few days reached the coasts of Galicia, probably porting in the *ria*, or inlet, of Noia, and proceeded by land to Compostella, to visit, as usual, the Temple of the Apostle, one of the most celebrated places for pilgrimages. Whether on account of their number or because they suspected the intentions of these people, brought principally from rude, barbarian countries of the North, the following scene took place : A rumour was circulated that the pilgrims purposed to rob the head of the Apostle whose mortal remains were preserved in the church. The Crusaders were repulsed by the inhabitants of the districts, and compelled to return to their ships after experiencing some losses, and, on continuing

their intended voyage, came seeking harbour to the mouth of the Tagus. As they had vowed to fight against the Infidels, it was an easy matter for the King of Portugal to persuade them to enlist in his intended project. The Portuguese fleet was manned, and departed with the Crusaders, and together sailed towards the south, following the coasts of the Algarve.

This province, which, as we said before, was called by the Arabs Al-faghar, or Chenchir, and whose chief towns were Chelb, or Silves, the capital of the territory, and Sancta Maria and Tabirà, towns on the shores, and the powerful Castle of Mirtolah, situated on the river Iana, or Guadiana, on the borders of the province of Al-Kassr, enclosed, besides these, many other places more or less fortified and populated, particularly near the coasts of the ocean.

Albur (Alvor) was one of the most powerful castles which guarded the maritime limits of Chenchir. It was against this point that the expedition was directed. Terrified at the appearance of so many ships, and probably driven away from the villages and open fields by the assaults of the men as they landed, the Saracens, who had been unable to retreat to Silves, had taken refuge in Alvor, where, instead of harbour and safety, they met their utter ruin. The Christians were too numerous for resistance to be of any avail. Taken by scaling the walls, its dwellers experienced the cruelty of the conquerors, who spared neither sex nor age, and put to the sword nearly six thousand persons, leaving the whole place a heap of ruins.

After this the north fleet, not wishing further to delay their voyage, proceeded to the strait, accompanied by the Portuguese ships, which followed up to that point, when they returned, and passing along the coast, brought some Saracen captives, while the Crusaders entered the Mediterranean Sea, laden with the spoils of Alvor.

The successful issue of this attempt redoubled the hopes and courage of Sancho I., but he needed to take advantage of these expeditions, because the Northern tribes, whose ferocity exceeded their valour, and their enormous frames, variety of military weapons, and machinery of war, joined to their daring when assailing the strongest ramparts or when fighting hand to hand on the battle-field, instilled terror into the hearts of the Saracens. Ships laden with soldiers came along the English Channel, furrowed the Bay of Biscay, and boarded Galicia, or entered the Tagus, and finally sailing along the coast, would cross the strait, and port in Italy. Hence, in order to effect a decisive

blow, it was necessary to employ simultaneously the forces by land and sea which the affairs in the East were drawing forth from all the European nations.

And while these expeditions were preparing, Sancho I. gathered together the warriors of Portugal, in order that, by employing diverse elements, he should extend the line of conquests commenced by his father.

In the spring of 1189 thirty-seven ships from Germany and Flanders entered into the English port of Sandwich, laden with Crusaders. The Germans were commanded by Ludwig, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and among the chiefs of the Flemish were Henry Count of Bar-Airard or Ailrad Count of Braine and many other illustrious knights. On quitting Sandwich, the ships from Flanders proceeded on their voyage, but the German fleet entered into Dartmouth, to take up many pilgrims from England, mostly burghers from London.

After some days' delay in the ports of Galicia, the Germans and the English arrived at Lisbon in the first week of July, where the Flemish ships had already ported. There were thirty-six ships in all, conveying 3500 soldiers, a force, it is true, much inferior to the former one, which had left a trail of blood in its passage along the coasts of modern Algarve, but the elements for continuing the war in that province with more important and permanent results had been planned.

The King of the Portuguese stood at the head of an army which was daily increasing, and the storming of Silves, the opulent capital of Chenchir, should it be crowned with success, would soon bring to subjection the castles and towns of lesser importance. Sancho I. conferred on this affair with the foreign captains, who bound themselves to assist him in the undertaking, on condition that the proceeds of the sacking of the city be given to them and theirs.

All preparations being now ready, the Portuguese fleet, composed of thirty-seven galleys and men of war, besides a great number of caravels which had returned from the expedition to Alvor, now joined the ships of Flanders and Germany, to which was added a galley from Ruas, in Galicia, and on the 16 of July they sailed together from the Tagus, and four days after anchored in the Bay of Portimão, distant two leagues from Silves, where they found encamped, a short distance from the shore, the vanguard of the armies which had, previously to the sailing of the fleet, departed by land.

The environs of Silves, fertile and well-cultivated fields, which extended to the margin of the river, had become deserted at the approach of the Christians. The country people had sought shelter within the walls of the capital. Hardly had the indomitable people of the North, in whom the spirit of rapine was greater than their religious sentiment and even the dictates of prudence, effected a landing, than they commenced to spread themselves inland, with the intention of sacking the abandoned habitations. Two of the soldiers of Braine who had separated from their comrades were found dead on the road, speared by some Almogaures who still wandered about, and perchance were held as martyrs according to the ideas of those times. After robbing the few effects which the rural population had been unable to save, the Crusaders retreated to their respective ships, after reducing to ashes the neighbouring villages.

At night a caravel from the Portuguese fleet was despatched up the river to the encampment of the army, which was pitched some four miles inland, with messages to the commander, who, on the following evening, came on board to confer with the foreign captains. He had meanwhile reconnoitred the fortifications of Silves, and considering the means at command, judged these were insufficient. He therefore proposed to attack the Castle of Gardea, whose situation is unknown in our days, but which necessarily was not far from the sea-shore. However, the hatred against the Saracens, and, what is no less probable, the hope of obtaining rich spoils, induced the captains of the Crusaders to follow a diverse course. At length, all being agreed, at daybreak the ships sailed up the river as far as the tide allowed them, while the troops on land marched along the shore, protecting the fleet.

After sailing for some time, that huge line of ships stopped. The river was no longer deep, and the city stood before the gaze of the Crusaders in all its vast and proud proportions, and they beheld for the first time a Mussalman capital, Silves being one of the most important towns of the Peninsula. The Almedina, or ancient city, was crowned with its kassba, or castle, which capped the mountain at whose base lay a plain along the right margin of the river, and where stood the largest portion of the city, the suburbs alone forming a large town. Compared with Lisbon, Silves was far more powerful and more important, on account of its opulence and sumptuous buildings. It possessed abundant markets, its environs covered with orchards and delightful gardens, while the elegance of the dwelling-houses equalled the cultured manners

of the dwellers. Its commerce principally consisted of timber felled in the magnificent forests which covered the adjacent mountains, and the figs of Chenchir, whose capital Silves was, were sought for all over the globe, as incomparable for their richness and sweetness. During the epoch of the Saracen colonisation that district was divided among the Arabs of the Yemen, a race to whom belonged not only the inhabitants of the city, but likewise the people of the *alcarias*, or adjoining villages. Even in the time of Edrisi this common origin was recognisable, because both in the city as in the country pure Arabic was spoken. The rural population was distinguished by a generous, hospitable character, and the dwellers of the towns by their eloquence, poetic genius, and a natural quickness of intelligence which rendered them ready merchants.

These and other circumstances, resulting from their situation, rendered that city one of the most important of Mussalman Spain. The Portuguese not only considered Silves as a most difficult place to assault, but as the very focus of resistance against the Christian conquest. And, in effect, the vestiges which still subsist of its ancient walls, and the contemporary memoirs which describe its grandeur, show us clearly the difficulties it offered, according to the military tactics of the time, to any who should attempt to take it by sheer force. The line of fortifications enclosed within its area all towns holding not less than twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. These were surrounded by an extensive wall, which included the suburb, and at a certain point connected with the Almedina and kassba by an embankment and a path which reached the tower of defence of the lower city, and which served as a watch-tower to the surrounding country. Any shots fired from this tower would fall on the coast, and defended any attack from that side. The embankment or earthworks sloped towards the river Drade, and was fortified by four towers, thus affording a safe passage to those who, residing in the Almedina and kassba, might descend to a well situated on the extreme end of that fortification. All the lines of walls were covered by towers, and the entrances were so winding and difficult to find that it was easier to effect an entrance by scaling the walls than attempt to enter the city by the doors.

Trusting to the strength of the fortifications, the defenders of Silves appeared to despise the storm which was about to burst over their heads. At nightfall the city was illuminated by a number of torches, and the fleets responded to this sign of fierce joy by lighting

many lanterns. At daybreak the Crusaders entered their boats and leaped on shore, where they were joined by the troops that had come overland, and encamped opposite the castle, and so close to it that the stones hurled by the war engines of the besieged fell into the camp. In that first assault some of the besiegers had an encounter with the Almogaures, who appeared to defy them, but were compelled to retire. The siege was then reduced to a narrower circle, and it was decided to attack the lower portion of the city on the following day (21 July), the besiegers raising the ladders and preparing for the combat.

Similarly to the superior portion of the city, access to the walls of this vast and powerful suburb, situated on the river shore, offered greater difficulties, because the moats or ditches around the walls were full of water. Religious excitement, joined to the greed of gaining the plunder enclosed in Silves, and emulation among that multitude of combatants of diverse races, roused up their fierce passions to the point of losing all control over them. The moats and ditches were crossed, notwithstanding the depth of water, and through a perfect storm of stones hurled from the towers, the Christians reached the fortified line. The daring with which they drew up the scaling-ladders to assault the castle produced a panic among the Saracens, and terror seized them, a terror which at times has seized brave and well-disciplined armies. Forsaking their posts, they fled to the Almedina, while the enemy, scaling the walls and gaining the battlements, pursued them on obtaining so easy a victory. But the damage done was not very considerable. Clad in heavy mail, the Christians could scarcely overtake the fugitive Saracens, who were lightly equipped, and to whom fear lent wings to their feet. The greater number who perished were those who, crowding at the door, blocked it up and fell victims. Having taken possession of the suburb, the conquerors remained within the city walls, the Portuguese and the foreign troops encamping separately. Irritated by the weakness of his own troops, the Kayid of Silves ordered the first who had fled and entered the upper city to be beheaded.

At daybreak the Christian troops marched to attack the higher fortifications, leaving the subordinates from the galleys to garrison the environs. But a more effectual resistance awaited them at the Almedina. Here the moats were perhaps not so full of water, but they were deeper and rugged, on account of the nature of the soil which descended to the valley.

The archers and crossbowmen covered the attack of the warriors,

who with great losses overstepped the moats, and for a long time laboured to raise their ladders. Over them rained shots and arrows, and although amply returned by the Christians, the constancy of the Saracens triumphed over the ardour and vehemence of the Christians. Repulsed on all sides, the Portuguese and the Crusaders turned to fly, resolving to abandon the position they had gained the previous evening. They set fire to the lower city, which, however, did not produce any considerable damage, owing to the system of Arab construction, most being mud walls, or formed of small stones and mortar, and lined outside with bricks, which prevented the conflagration from spreading. Some of the shipping of the besieged were reduced to ashes, as on the arrival of the fleet these craft had been brought to land and placed close up to the walls for shelter. After taking this vain revenge, they were able, in the midst of the reigning confusion and disorder, to return to their original battle-ground, and the Mussalmans recovered the ground they had lost almost without fighting.

However, discouragement did not last long among the besiegers, and the siege became strengthened. Great activity reigned throughout the camp; all kinds of machinery were prepared, wooden towers fitted up, catapults, ladders, and all manner of war materials for the attack. Meanwhile from the inland daily arrived fresh reinforcements, until at length the standard of the King appeared. It was Sancho I. who was arriving (29 July), the body of his army following more leisurely, owing to the heavy war implements and the supplies they were bringing to provide the campaign. The camp was swelling in numbers, and the circle of the siege was completed around Silves, when a lamentable occurrence took place, which goaded the troops, already impatient for the combat.

The deserted suburb was, it appears, a neutral ground for the combatants. The Christians had pitched their tents against the walls, while the Mussalmans occupied the two advanced fortifications—that is to say, the tower, with its covered way, which joined it to the Almedina, and the embankment which descended on the brow towards the Drade. On the eve of the arrival of the King, the English had slain one of the Saracens, inside the mosque, situated in the lower city. Perchance this individual was a priest or some person of note, and the blood spilt in the temple was nothing less than a sacrilege in the eyes of the Mussalmans. On the following Sunday they took revenge for this affront by suspending three Christians by their feet from the turret of the tower Al-

banan, and then were speared to death—a repugnant scene—thus taking retribution on the day held sacred to God, which clearly proved this revenge to be due to fanaticism. The spectacle aroused the fury of the besiegers, and they clamoured to go to the combat. The Germans advanced with a certain machine known by the name of *ouriço*, with which they assumed to destroy the battlements between two of the towers. The Saracens used every effort to set fire to it by flinging upon it tow steeped in oil, and the solidity of the construction facilitated their project, because its weight was such that it was difficult to turn it back. The attempt was unsuccessful, and the Crusaders were constrained to retire. These were people gathered from all parts, many without any practice in warfare, and, as a consequence, little accustomed to conform to the various and tedious phases of a siege, and they became discouraged at this failure. There were already cries of raising the siege, the Flemish being those who most desired it. Others held the contrary opinion, and these latter conquered. The machine was repaired, and they battered the wall on the following day with greater success, and part of a tower fell to the ground.

Sancho I. meanwhile ordered two trains, or catapults, to be laid, and which, although of lesser size than the *ouriço*, effected great damage among the besieged. Terror began to take possession of some of the defenders of Silves, because during the night a deserter presented himself before the King, bringing two rich standards, and asserting that, on taking the fortification of the declivity, the city would surrender. This news enkindled fresh hopes and spirit in the camp; moreover, excited by the deed of a certain knight of Galicia, who had fearlessly approached the wall broken by the German machine, wrenched a corner-stone and safely returned. Carried away by the impulse of emulation, the Crusaders began to mine the tower, in which, to the surprise of the Christians, the Saracens continued immovable, notwithstanding that thousands of arrows were flying over them, and the danger they ran of being buried beneath the ruins. The besiegers did not desist from working the mine, but during the night they heard the Saracens speaking, and believing that they were also springing a mine on their side, they were stricken with sudden fright and fled. The illusion was dispelled when daylight came, and setting fire to the props which supported the mine, the superior part of the tower fell. The fire being extinguished, they proceeded farther, and by this means more of the wall fell. The large breach effected rendered the assault

on that side, an easy one; and setting up a ladder, they commenced, one by one, to ascend. The number of Saracens who opposed the entry was very considerable, but the very ones who had manifested such extreme perseverance when a danger stood before them which no human power could save them from now vacillated, and trembled at a hand-to-hand combat with men over which they had the advantage of numbers and situation. The flight of the first was the signal for the rest, and flinging down their weapons in order to be more free, they not only abandoned the wrecked and broken tower, but likewise the three which defended the declivity. The retreat, however, did not assume the proportions of a complete flight until a sufficient number of Christians ascended above, and compelled them to take refuge in the Almedina. The first act of the conquerors was to stop up the well defended by the tower, thus cutting off the supply of water to the besieged, and rendering useless that line of fortifications. After this the men, worn out from fatigue, returned with the wounded, to repose in their camps.

The environs and the line of the cliff being now despoiled of Moors, on the following day and night were continued the preparations for combating the higher portion of the city, the last refuge of the besieged. Two mines were commenced in the lower part of the town, and concealed by the buildings under which the besiegers carried on the works. The enemy understood the project of the invaders, and on the following morning they made an unexpected sortie, setting fire to the houses beneath which the works were carried on. The fire caught the props and woodwork which supported the excavation, and compelled them to abandon the scheme, but not before the archers had effected much damage among the Saracens. The besiegers attempted a new road, the Flemish beginning by breaking down a wall of the suburb which had an interior communication with a tower of the Almedina, in the supposition that by this means it could be reached; but the Mussalmans were alert, and marching along the subterranean passage, expelled them, and effecting a breach, divided the tower from the wall of communication.

Meanwhile there daily appeared deserters from the city, who, losing all hopes, sought by this means to save their lives. The Christians would receive them kindly, in order to incite others to imitate them. On the 14th of August, when the Saracens came out to skirmish the besiegers, one of those who had remained in the Almedina leaped

down the wall and delivered himself up to the enemy. He was treated with kindness, and the first thing he asked for was water, which he drank with extraordinary avidity. The worst of all evils, thirst, was afflicting Silves; many had already perished from want of water, because all the water which they had in the cisterns or wells was but little and brackish. These and other motives of discouragement induced the invaders to make a decisive attack, and it was decided to effect it on the 18th. The Christian forces ascended the declivity, and approaching the walls, judged they could scale the castle. The troops who advanced on the north side (probably Portuguese) attained to fill up the moat with fascines, but the besieged, casting firebrands from the turrets, set fire to them. The ruggedness of the ascent on this side increased the difficulties which the desperate resistance of the Mussalmans offered, while on the other side the foreign troops, who advanced by the suburbs, driven between clusters of dwellings, could not very well turn or keep in order; at least, it was these excuses the Christians advanced, and with which they tried to console themselves after they were repulsed. It is certain that the Mussalmans, in spite of their sad position, defended themselves like lions, and that the Christians retired from the assault with great losses.

Part of the army, broken down in spirit, were in favour of retiring, on the plea that provisions were getting short, and also fodder for the cavalry. The King of Portugal hesitated; and if we credit the anonymous narrative of one of the Crusaders, it was due to the latter that the King of Portugal eventually decided to continue the siege. New mines were sprung at a farther distance from the walls, meanwhile that on the north side three trains of engines of the Portuguese and foreigners were acting against corresponding ones placed by the Saracens to defend themselves.

The situation of the besieged was becoming truly intolerable. The small portion of water which remained to them was most economically doled out to that multitude of people clustered together in Silves. Provisions were still sufficiently abundant, but could not be cooked, owing to want of water; even bread ceased to be made, and they subsisted principally on figs. The Christian captives, to the number of 400, were compelled to fight against their co-religionists, in return for their allowance of water, which was doled out to them as to the Mussalmans. Women and children chewed clay in order to appease their thirst. This enforced state was further aggravated by increasing illness, and the

streets were full of dead and dying. Yet the persistence, under these conditions, of the Saracens who defended the city was one of the most memorable instances on record of human energy and endurance.

On perceiving that the Christians were again attempting to undermine the walls, they made a sortie to destroy the work, but the besiegers were forewarned, and after a useless combat and considerable losses, the Mussâlmans were obliged to retreat within the walls. The attempt was renewed the following day at daybreak, when the Christians were unprepared, but they were very quickly attacked by a small force, which drove the Saracens back to the entrance of the Almedina, where the Christians would have eventually effected an entrance had their forces been more numerous.

At this juncture, whether owing to a false report that the chief of Andaluz was sending succour to Silves, or whether discouragement caused by the persistence of the Saracens, or, what it is more probable, the want of provisions and fodder to continue the siege, or for some other reasons the King of Portugal desired to raise the siege. The Crusaders, however, who feared to lose the plunder, induced Sancho to delay the retreat for four days, during which every effort was made to reduce the city. A mine was opened near the wall, commencing at one of the *matmoras*, or subterranean granaries, and in a short time reached the foundations of the wall. The heroic defenders of Silves, no longer strong enough to come out on the field where they had been twice repulsed by the enemy with great losses, were endeavouring to offer a more proportionate resistance. They sprang a mine within, to correspond to the one opened on the outside, and the two underground passages being opened, the belligerents met, and a terrible fight ensued, lit up by the lurid glare of torches in those extensive subterranean galleries. The Saracens had prepared inflammable materials, and when they perceived that it was no longer possible to repress the soldiers of the King of Portugal, they set fire to the combustibles, and a river of fire rushed against their fierce enemies. In face of such a fearful adversary, against which no effort or skill could avail, the Christians retreated, and they were for abandoning the enterprise, because the Saracens followed them and destroyed all that the Christians were effecting.

But these daily combats, these vain efforts of the brave Saracen garrison to save the capital of Chenchir, were the last brilliant flickers of the expiring lamp. To surrender, or perish from want of water with

all the inhabitants—this was their alternative. They elected to surrender, and on the 1st of September the Saracens began to summon from the ramparts and towers some of the officers of the King of Portugal to propose conditions. These conditions were, to be allowed to quit, taking what movable goods they could, and deliver up to the conquerors the ruined Almedina and Alcaçova. Sancho I. acceded to the proposal, but the deserters of the city were becoming numerous, and described so vividly the agonies they were enduring from thirst, and the terror they were in from the falling ruins, and the desperate state of the inhabitants, that the Crusaders, in spite of the efforts of the King, refused to agree to the stipulation. This refusal, coming from Christians, who were supposed to combat for the glory and advancement of their religion, and this resistance on the part of foreigners, which only prolonged the horrors of war, was a detestable piece of covetousness. However, considered as mercenaries, who were selling their blood and lives to satisfy the greed of rapine, it was just they should receive their due. It was, therefore, in this light that Sancho I. viewed the case. Ever generous towards the vanquished, he attempted to redeem the spoliation of Silves by offering the Crusaders 10,000 *morabitanos*, or *aureos*, a sum which finally was raised to 20,000. This was, however, pertinaciously refused, on the plea that it would be needful to proceed to Coimbra, or at least Evora, to obtain the money, and this would greatly retard their voyage to the East. Constrained by the promises he had made in Lisbon to his allies, the King yielded, and only conceded to the inhabitants of Silves that they should leave, with their lives, it is true, but bereft of everything. On the 3rd of September, at length, the doors were opened of the surrendered city, and the besiegers beheld with their own eyes the fearful state of the besieged. The Saracen chief, who probably was the Kayid Abdullah, son or grandson of a former Wali of Silves, quitted the city, riding on horseback at the head of a large number of Mussalmans, who were barely covered with rags, which indicated sorrow and captivity, and proceeded like pilgrims, seeking an asylum within the walls of Seville. The respect due towards fallen valour was unable to restrain the ferocious brutality of the Crusaders, who even in that hour of anguish would strike the conquered, and despoil them of their garments. Irritated by the covetousness of the foreigners, the King of Portugal grew wrathful in view of that spectacle, and the Portuguese were very nearly coming to blows with their allies. When night came the

Portuguese alone occupied the interior of the city, closing the doors, in order that no inhabitant should venture out in the darkness. The scenes which took place that night may be easily imagined. The Mussalmans remained enclosed within their dwellings, and many, despite the most solemn promises, were tortured, in order that they should confess where treasures were concealed. The light of day revealed who had been the victims of their barbarity. People half-dead, and scarcely able to stand, were creeping along as best they could. Along the streets lay a great number of persons, and the stench from the dead and of animals was truly unbearable. Of the Christian prisoners, who numbered over four hundred, only two hundred were found, and these were in the throes of death. In a word, out of the numerous population of Silves, scarcely sixteen thousand souls survived.

The painful scene laid before their eyes at length touched the hearts of those hard men. They conducted the rest of the inhabitants outside the doors, and the Crusaders abstained from further violence. The fear of encountering the wrath of the King of Portugal, already sufficiently enkindled against them, contributed, no doubt, to render them more moderate, but the disagreement between the Portuguese and the foreigners increased nevertheless, owing to another reason. During the siege, it appears, the Portuguese troops, whose constancy was certainly not due to any expectations of pillage, had desired the siege to be raised, as also did some of the Crusaders when losing hope. To restrain the troops, therefore, the soldiers had been promised a certain portion of the booty, and in this case the foreign troops yielded up some from their former bargain. We have seen that the King himself was constrained, through want of victuals, to yield up the project, and when arranging the division of the spoils he chose for his own the provisions, of which there was still a considerable quantity in the forsaken city. As the Crusaders had quartered within the walls, and knew that food did not fall to their lot, they began to rob them, and to sell secretly to the Portuguese camp. The King complained very strongly of this proceeding, because, should the provisions in this manner be dispersed, he saw himself in the hard necessity of abandoning the place he had conquered at such a high price. But far from the complaints of the King restraining them, that unbridled horde proceeded to sack the city, without awaiting orders from their commanders. It was a veritable anarchy, and Sancho I., whose indignation

had now reached its height, put a term to this, by ordering Silves to be occupied by the Portuguese troops, and the Crusaders expelled, who, discontented, returned to their fleet, and descending the river, anchored near the bar. There they arranged their ships, and divided the result of three days' sacking, while they attempted to obtain something more from their ally, either by appealing to his generosity or to his piety; but they were unable to obtain anything. The affair had nearly reached its culminating-point, and it is only probable that Sancho I. passed the limits of moderation; and although on one side there had been violence and rapine, yet on the other hand their proceeding was not altogether worthy of praise.

However, after twelve days the Crusaders quitted the port of Silves, accusing Sancho and the Portuguese of not fighting or working during the siege, and of defrauding them of what really belonged to them. These accusations, the first of which was repeated in Europe, are belied by the narrative of one of themselves, who, convinced of its falsehood, or at least of exaggerating the complaints against Sancho of avarice and disloyalty in view of the amount of spoils which the foreigners carried away with them. These spoils tended to cool down their ardour for liberating the Holy Places, many of them being induced to return to their mother-country, and enjoy the fruits of the expeditions against the Saracens of Spain.

The formidable fortifications of Silves had remained partly ruined, and some portions of the tower of the Almedina fell a week after the sacking of the city. Wishing to repair these ruins, Sancho I. marched from Silves with the strength of his army before the departure of the Crusaders, leaving as Alcaide with a considerable number of men the same officer he had elected to lead the vanguard of the army. If the traditions of our historians be true, it was the Count D. Mendo, or Sousão (Mem Gonçalves de Sousa), the most renowned peer of Portugal and Master of the Household, he who commenced the siege, and who took upon himself to defend Silves and establish the Portuguese dominion in Chenchir. We know for certain that a few months after this event Silves was governed by one Rodrigo Sanches up to 1195, when this warrior perished in the battle of Alarcos.

The fall of the capital of Al-faghar occasioned the loss to the Saracens of the whole portion of modern Algarve west of the cordilleras which run north to south from the serra of Monchique and Caldeirão to the seaport of Albufeira. Beyond these cordilleras, Sancta Maria de

Faron, Hayrun or Pharum was the most important town on this side of the Guadiana. With the troops which Sancho had left in Silves, the governor at once attempted to attack it, calculating upon the assistance of the Crusaders, who, it is said, still lingered in port. These were, however, too irritated against the Portuguese for not acceding to their demands, and although the pleadings of Nicholas, a Flemish ecclesiastic who was elected bishop of Silves, was added to those of the governor, they obstinately refused to associate themselves to this project.

The surprise which the taking of Silves, the capital of the province, produced among the Mussalmans was such that it caused the Castle of Alboheira (Albufeira) to surrender before it was assailed, and the same, probably, was the case with those of Lagos, Portimão, Monchique, Messines, Paderne, and all others to the north and west of Silves, which we know were delivered up to the Christians at that juncture.

But why did Sancho I. so speedily depart from the newly acquired capital without first invading the eastern territories up to the Guadiana? If we topographically examine the two modern provinces of Alemtejo and Algarve, we shall easily find an explanation. Evora was, so to say, insulated on the frontier, having on the north various deserted territories, and towards the south castles which were taken by Alfonso I., but which soon after fell again into the power of the Almohades.

Silves now being reduced, this city and Evora might be considered as the two extremes of a new line of frontiers from north-east to south-east, and whose centre was Beja, its most notable place. Beja, if once conquered, all the castles situated between these three principal stations, or to the north-west of them, would be abandoned by the Saracens, as was soon proved to the south of the serras of Monchique. These considerations most certainly moved the King of Portugal to traverse the mountains and march towards Beja, which we know submitted to the Christians. We possess no details of that campaign, but it appears the conquest was quickly effected, because the Portuguese army quitted Silves about the middle of September, and we find Sancho I. in Coimbra in the month of December, 1189.

And while the Portuguese prince was thus extending his States to the south, Alfonso VIII. of Castille was invading the Mussalman territories, and taking possession of Reyna, Magacela, Baños, and

Calasparra, crossing the Andaluz to the sea-coasts, and the Christian troops, advancing to the environs of Seville, broke up the Almohade troops. The news of these disasters soon reached Morocco. Yacub, full of wrath, after bitterly upbraiding the chieftains of Mussalman Spain with negligence in repelling the aggressions of the infidels, ordered them to prepare for war, because he would not fail to take retribution for the injuries they had sustained. At the time the Wali of Cordova and head of the Almohades of the Peninsula was Mohammed Ibn Yūsuf, brother to Yacub Al-Manssor. It appears it was he who was charged with collecting the Saracen forces on this side of the sea. While this was done the Emperor crossing the strait in the spring of 1190, with a numerous troop, disembarked in Tarifa, and proceeded at once in forced marches towards Silves, close to which he joined the army of Andaluz. Leaving him to continue the siege, Al-Manssor, with the Africans, crossed the Serras, resolved upon penctrating into the States of Sancho, and visiting with equal calamities as the Mussalmans of Chenchir had experienced the subjects of his adversary. An English vessel with 100 soldiers on board was proceeding to Syria from London, and ported at Silves.

Induced by Nicholas, the English, who were young and brave, joined willingly the Portuguese to assist them in the dangers which the preparations of the prince of the Almohades led them to consider as grave and imminent. In order to understand the reason for this unexpected arrival of Crusaders, and in part illustrate subsequent events, we shall give a brief outline of them, which, although they may appear at first sight to be foreign to our history, nevertheless bear an intimate connection.

Richard I. of England, called Cœur de Lion, who succeeded his father, Henry II., had allied himself to Philip Augustus, King of France, for the Crusade. Joining together their respective armies, they descended along the Rhone. Philip Augustus proceeded towards Geneva, and Richard to Marseilles, where it was his intention to embark with the people of Great Britain, and from the vast states he possessed in France. The rest of the troops were to proceed in a fleet from various ports of England and Normandy, and await his arrival in Messina, or, as some say, take him on board in Marseilles. The admirals or chiefs charged with conducting this fleet were Richard of Camwill, Robert of Sabloil, William de Forz, and the Bishops of Auch and Bayeux. The fleet was composed of over 100 ships between galleys, store ships, and

other craft, and which, in proportion as they were fitted out, would leave in squadrons from Normandy, Brittany, and England : these squadrons, after navigating around the Peninsula up to the strait, were to join one another in the Mediterranean. The first, composed of ten ships, departed from Dartmouth, proceeding to Lisbon, there, as usual, to take provisions for the voyage; but on entering the Bay of Biscay a tremendous storm arose, with a such a heavy sea that the fleet became dispersed, and had to seek shelter along the coasts of Spain. When the storm subsided nine of these ships proceeded towards the Tagus, and one which doubled Cape St. Vincent, driven by the wind, entered the Bay of Silves, on being assured that she had not gone beyond the limits of the Christian States. It was the aid of these Crusaders that the Bishop of Silves invoked. They agreed to participate in the fate of their co-religionists, and assist to garrison the ramparts, while the ship was broken up to afford materials for repairing the fortifications and defend the city, the Portuguese binding themselves, in the name of Sancho I., to indemnify them for the delay by giving them a new ship in place of the one they had used—promises which, later on, the King of Portugal religiously fulfilled.

Not having succeeded in reducing Silves at the first attack, Yacub marched, as we said, across modern Alemtejo, and leaving Evora on the right, approached the shores of the Tagus. Crossing the river above Santarem, the Mussalman army attacked the Castle of Torres-Novas, which was taken after four days of useless resistance. The Saracens then proceeded against Thomar. This castle was one of the most powerful of Portugal, and probably the best defended, because it was guarded by the Templars, who had made it the central establishment of their order, and capitular house. Gualdim Paes, one of the first Portuguese affiliated to that order, and one of its most illustrious members, on account of his prowess in the East and in Spain, was then Master, or Procurator, of the Temple in Portugal. In the midst of those walls which he himself had helped to join together with the broken boulders of the rocky mountain, the stern veteran awaited with his knight monks the fury of the Pagans, as, in their simple ignorance, our forefathers denominated the Mussalmans. These were not long in coming; and devastating the environs, the Emperor laid siege to the castle, destroying all the habitations which were beginning to cluster together around the almost inaccessible walls.

The rapid march of Yacub, penetrating into the centre of the

States of Sancho I., proved to him that he had a skilful adversary to contend against. Convinced that Yacub was proceeding against Santarem to avenge the death of his father, Sancho, with the few knights and men-at-arms of his suite, cast themselves into the town. The march of the enemy on the north side of Estremadura, far from diminishing his fears, increased them. Attacked by the Almohades in Santarem, he might possibly engage them until troops from Beira and beyond the Douro should arrive; but now the difficulty of aid was rendered more patent, for two reasons—because the invaders would intercept communications by entering the territories between Alcobaça and Leiria, and it would be a grave imprudence to remove the garrison of Coimbra, the centre and capital of the monarchy, as up to its environs the Almohade troops had reached after destroying Leiria, putting all to fire and to the sword. The situation of the King of Portugal was indeed a critical one; but once more Providence permitted an unexpected succour to come, through the intervention of the Crusaders.

We said that nine ships of the first Anglo-Norman squadron, which had sailed from Dartmouth, had taken refuge from the storm they encountered in the Bay of Biscay, and had come afterwards to meet together in the Tagus. Al-Manssor had a few days previously passed up the river to Santarem. Sancho sent messages to the admirals of the fleet describing the state of affairs, and they at once sent up the river five hundred picked men, who had volunteered to strengthen the garrison of Coimbra. On arriving, the English perceived how necessary their presence was. The forces the King had with him were small, and the inhabitants also few and insufficiently armed; moreover, Yacub had already taken Torres-Novas and besieged Thomar, hence this aid rendered the defence of Santarem more hopeful.

The season in which the invaders had reached the Tagus, and the fevers which usually visit Estremadura during the heat of summer, explain the reason why Yacub sent proposals of peace to the enemy. He demanded the restoration of Silves, offering to retire, and restore, on his part, Torres-Novas, and allowing a truce of hostilities for seven years. Sancho I., however, was firm in refusing to deliver up the capital of Chenchir, a surrender which would virtually mean the loss of his last conquests. On receiving this reply, Yacub sent anew messengers to the King of Portugal, threatening on the following day to come and break down the doors of Santarem. The threat was taken in earnest. The

walls and towers were garrisoned by the five hundred English, who selected the most dangerous places. The night passed, and in the early morning the report was circulated that the Saracens had been sighted; but soon after the outposts returned to say that Yacub had died three days previously, and that the Saracen army was retiring in disorder, and hence that the proposals and the threats were all false. This news was repeated by others who successively arrived. In part it was true. Yacub was not dead, but the siege of Thomar had been raised on the 11th July, after barely lasting six days. The Almohade troops once more crossed the Tagus, and retreating to the south, proceeded to Seville.

Thus terminated an invasion which promised to prove so deadly to the country, and Sancho bade farewell to the allies, at the same time promising that he would not prove ungrateful for their proffered services. Meanwhile the two principal heads of the fleet of the King of England, Robert de Sabloil and Richard de Camwill, had entered the bar of Lisbon with sixty-three vessels. The people who came with these ships were, it appears, a rude, unbridled mob, and in order to keep them under control, Richard I. had been compelled to decree some atrocious conditions for the police of the fleet. Hardly had they entered the port than the Crusaders leaped on shore, and began to treat the inhabitants of Lisbon as though the city had been taken by assault. Running along the streets and market-places, they attacked every one they met, violating brutally the wives and daughters of the burghers. The fury and perversity of that troop of scoundrels were especially directed against the Jewish families and the Saracens who, at the time of the conquest, not wishing to abandon their homes, had been admitted as vassals by Alfonso I. By sheer force these were expelled out of their houses, and the English robbed them of all they possessed, and then set fire to their dwellings. The damage they did in the neighbouring fields was no less. This unbearable behaviour and contempt for all the laws of hospitality and Christianity lasted long enough for the news to reach Santarem. Sancho I. at once marched to Lisbon with forces, but on reaching the city he disguised his indignation, and pretended to forgive the injuries received, treating them with great moderation promising not to take revenge for the unworthy behaviour of the Crusaders. In this way he obtained from Robert de Sabloil and Richard de Camwill the promise that they would compel these brutemen to keep inviolably towards the Portuguese the regulations concerning the police which Richard I. had given.

Peace lasted three days: the irritation of the burghers and the violence of the passions of the Crusaders did not allow a longer term. The captains of the fleet committed the error of allowing the men to go on land, and the past disorders were incentives for the renewal of more serious quarrels. The Portuguese were forewarned, and a fearful strife commenced. Blood flowed, and the slain on both sides covered the streets and market-places. The noise of the strife reached the ears of Sancho, who at once ordered the city gates to be closed, in order that the Crusaders should not leave the city. The soldiers then descended from the Alcaçova, and arresting all they met, flung them into the *masmorras*, or dungeons, to the number of seven hundred. Sancho no longer followed the system of moderation which he had pursued in the former strife, since he found it useless. The prisoners he had in his power were secure pledges against any other attempt of the fleet; hence he dictated to the Crusaders what conditions he desired to quell the discord. It was finally arranged to condone the evils received, in return for the mutual restitution of all the arms and robberies effected, and finally that the Crusaders should respect all Portuguese subjects and their property, at whatever port they might touch, the King in return pledging that they should receive a peaceful reception throughout the maritime ports of his States. The prisoners were then released, and the fleet soon after weighed anchor opposite Lisbon, approaching the bar on the 24th of July, when the fleet of William of Forz arrived, consisting of thirty ships. The three admirals being now together, the fleet of the King of England, which numbered one hundred and six men-of-war, set sail to continue their voyage towards the Mediterranean.

But notwithstanding the retreat of Yacub to Seville, the war with the Saracens had not entirely ceased. The Andalusian Alcaides were scouring the fields of Al-faghar, and Silves was continually combated, or at least threatened; but the garrison of that city, as well as of the castles to the west of Faro, the last point of the Mussalman frontiers, maintained the conquests of the preceding year. Time has destroyed the memoirs of these strifes, but many a noble knight of Portugal no doubt lost his life, although it appears that these strifes did not assume sufficient proportions to absorb the whole energy of Sancho I., who was meanwhile dedicating his time to other affairs of the political order. One of his first cares was to obtain from Clement III. the confirmation of his crown, which was conceded to him by a bull in

every way similar to the one directed to his father by Alexander III. in 1179. Another no less grave affair also attracted his attention, and which had reference to what passed in the two neighbouring kingdoms. Alfonso IX. had received the investiture of knighthood at the hands of Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and had kissed hands in the public and solemn assembly of Carrion ; a sign of respect which, in the opinion of many, was equivalent to a confession of inferiority, and perchance of subjection. This thorn was bitterly wounding the spirit of the youthful King of Leon. His favourites fostered this irritation, either from pride or a desire for war. It is said that the motive for a rupture between the cousins was the foundation of Placencia, which Alfonso VIII. had established on territory which belonged to the Leonese Bishopric of Coria. In order to resist his cousin, the King of Leon sought to ally himself to Portugal, and to render it sincere and firm, the two princes resolved to form a family alliance, Alfonso IX. taking to wife Theresa, the eldest daughter of Sancho. The latter proceeded to Guimarães, where he met his future son-in-law, and the marriage was there solemnised in the spring of 1191, the bride Queen receiving as dowry a part of the rents accruing from the various lands and castles of Leon. This marriage, arranged through political motives, became converted into a union of affection, and, as we shall see further on, survived the separation of the consorts imposed upon them by the discipline of the Church and the unyielding spirit of Celestine III.

The treaty between Portugal and Aragon which had been put aside three years previously, owing to the persistence of Sancho I. to exclude from it his nephew, was now concluded, both defensive and offensive, between the three States, and signed at Huesca in May, 1191.

Meanwhile, the Amir-al-Mumenin, who had not derived any advantage from his last invasion in Portugal, except to devastate the enemy's territory at the expense of his own forces, was contemplating a fresh *gaswat* against the infidel King of the West, by commencing to recover the lost districts beyond the Tagus, and perchance afterwards attack the central States of Sancho, invading the northern borders of the province of Belatha, which for so many years had divided on the west the dominions of the Saracens from those of the Christians. Having strengthened his army, Yacub came with forced marches to besiege Silves. The details of this siege are not known, nor how long the city resisted, or under what conditions it surrendered. What is

conjectured is, that the garrison troops defended the city for a long time, and that, either through some convention or otherwise, they escaped the sad fate of captivity.

During the siege the Kayid Abu Abdullah Ibn Wasir, who, it is supposed, was the same who maintained the heroic resistance of the capital of Chenchir against Sancho and the Crusaders, and who was, moreover, the leader of the vanguard of the Saracens, entered by another side into the disputed territory, and after subduing a stronghold (probably Béja), came to join the body of the army of Al-Manssor close to the walls of Silves. After Silves surrendered, the conquerors marched to the north, and traversing Southern Alemtejo, successively reduced Alcacer, Palmella, and Almada, and thus not only regained for the Mussalman monarchy the recent conquests of Sancho, but likewise deprived him of a part of the dominions which his father had bequeathed to him. Of the whole province of Al-Kassr, scarcely Evora resisted the invasion, or was not assaulted. Satisfied with the results of this brilliant campaign, the Amir, after garrisoning the frontiers of the Gharb, retired to his States in Africa.

Al-Manssor was invading the territories beyond the Tagus with such superior forces that the King of Portugal did not feel equal to resisting the torrent, which seemed to be adverse to him. Yacub, who was a man of extraordinary political and military talents, and superior in intellectual culture to the reigning princes of the Peninsula, now dominated without contradiction the whole of Andaluz, excepting the Balearic Islands, where a few Almoravides still preserved themselves independent, and he was likewise absolute lord of the empire of Morocco, where he was highly esteemed for his love of letters, his religious character, and the firmness with which he administered the State, and it was even said that any caravan might safely traverse the empire from the deserts of Barca to the most eastern shores of Africa without incurring any risk.

Sancho, however, although a brave soldier, did not equal his predecessor in military talent, since men like Alfonso I. are rare to find, nor did he supply this deficiency of genius by superior intellectual culture. This inequality of talents and resources between the Mussalman Emperor and the Portuguese King had hitherto been counterbalanced by the perturbations of the Moghreb, which had almost entirely diverted the attention of the Ameer during the first years of his government, by the valuable assistance afforded by the Crusaders and their fleets,

by the traditions of prowess which Alfonso had bequeathed to the warriors of his son, and, in a word, by his own personal valour. But now that the dominion of Yacub was generally established in Africa and in Spain, and, moreover, foreign aid was not at hand, the conquest of Al-faghar demanded an enormous amount of money and lives, while the invasion of the Almohades, besides spreading terror and devastation over part of Portuguese territory, produced distress and despondency; and finally the intimate alliance contracted by Sancho with the King of Leon, while bringing him a powerful ally, naturally caused jealousy to Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and converted him into an enemy worthy of dread, since he was the most powerful and most skilful among the Christian princes of Spain. There was still left to the King of Portugal his own prowess and energy and that of his own soldiers; but these were insufficient to compensate for the disadvantages of the situation. Hence the passiveness evinced by Sancho at the loss of his conquests, and of a part of those obtained by his father, was evidently due to the necessity he was under of employing what forces he had in defending his dominions on the north-west of the Tagus.

When assuming the crown, Sancho I. had employed in his decrees sometimes the title of King of Portugal, at others King of Portugalense or of the Portuguese, in the same way as had been used by Alfonso I. After the conquest of Silves, and of the province of which Silves was the capital, he assumed the additional title of King of Silves and Algarve, or only the last. And in effect this was quite proper, since he was lord of nearly all the territories which formerly composed the great division of Mussalman Spain, and which the Arabs usually designated by the name of the West (Ghrab or Al-Gharb). But now that the fate of arms scarcely allowed him one of the three provinces which constituted that division, with a stronghold in the midst of Al-Kassr, and with little hope of restoring the lost conquests, it would be but sheer vanity, and a subject of bitter memories, to retain a title to which there was no reality. Sancho therefore abandoned the latter title, and only retained the former one, meanwhile that he directed his attention towards strengthening and organising his exhausted and retrenched dominions.

According to the custom of historians of that epoch, the four years which followed the retreat of Yacub to Africa were cast into oblivion as regards the reign of Sancho, because during this term there were no wars or sieges to describe. Yet there are documents

which show us that the activity of this prince was not lessened during that enforced peace. He feared, and with reason, the renewal of attempts against Portugal by the Almohades, attempts which, judging from former experience, might bring desolation into the interior of the country; therefore it was necessary to multiply the strongholds, strengthen the frontiers with warriors, and gather together every resource to repel the enemy. Hence new preceptories or monasteries of military orders were established in the most important towns on the right margin of the Tagus, and many endowments of various castles or vast portions of land were made under condition that monasteries be founded there. The town of Lower Beira also merited serious attention, and ancient Egitania (Idanha) commenced to rise from its ruins. The foreign colonies which in the time of Alfonso I. had come to populate Estremadura having prospered, the territories were increased, Pontevel and its borders being given to them, near the margins of the Tagus. Leiria was repeopled, and municipal institutions were established. The founding of various other castles and villages at this period proves to us the activity of the king in restoring the internal life of the monarchy.

The misfortunes, however, of Sancho were not limited to the evils he sought now to redress, and as though Providence had accorded him these four years of peace solely to strengthen him and his nation for bearing other and greater calamities, the King of Portugal speedily found himself compelled to wrestle with more than one disaster. In the marriage of the Infanta D. Theresa with the King of Leon, there was a circumstance which in all analogous marriages between the princes of Europe induced, sooner or later, grave perturbations. These consorts were cousins, and Celestine III. ruled then the Catholic Church. As soon as the fact was proved, or the pressure of other affairs allowed him, he publicly condemned this union prohibited by ecclesiastical laws, and as neither the King of Leon nor his father-in-law in Portugal manifested any inclination to yield to his threats, the Pope, or his delegate, fulminated against either monarch sentence of excommunication. This was insufficient to separate the two spouses, who sincerely loved each other; but, as generally happened, the Pope triumphed, and Sancho had to endure the bitter affront of seeing his daughter repudiated.

A contemporary writer tells us that Alfonso VIII. of Castille was not altogether averse to this event, and policy imparted to the fulmina-

tions of Rome an efficacy which during four years they had been unable to obtain. It is certain, however, that if the Castillian king had in view the severance by this means of the alliance of Leon and Portugal, it does not appear probable that at this very juncture he should already treat upon substituting his daughter for the repudiated princess, because the union of Alfonso IX. with Berengaria was effected two years later, after the active war which the Leonese and Castillian kings had for a long time sustained between themselves.

The family bonds which united Sancho to Alfonso IX. being now severed, it was but natural, in view of the violent character of Sancho, that any spark of discord between their respective States should produce a conflagration. At the moment a grave event effected this. It was a new incursion of Yacub from Africa into Spain, a terrible impetuous wave which flowed into and along the Christian territories, making the throne of Castille totter ere it returned to its source. A long illness and affairs of State had kept Al-Manssor in Morocco between three and four years. Meanwhile Alfonso VIII., taking advantage of the absence of the Ameer, ravaged the lands of the Saracens, and the Archbishop of Toledo, crossing the Guadalquivir, carried fire and sword into the heart of Andalusia. The Castillian troops reached as far as Algesiras, where, according to Arab memoirs, Alfonso VIII. sent to the Emperor of Morocco an insolent cartel or letter of defiance. Yacub accepted the challenge, and mustering his troops, he summoned to a holy war all the tribes of the empire, and passed over to Spain with one of the most numerous armies which at any time have crossed the strait. The news of the arrival of the Almohades reached the King of Castille, and invoking the aid of the other Christian princes of the Peninsula, he immediately marched with all the forces he could collect to meet Al-Manssor. The Kings of Leon and Navarre in effect moved their troops, but they either could not reach in time, or, as the Archbishop of Toledo affirmed, their aid was only simulated, and therefore none joined the Castillian army but a few from Portugal, among whose leaders were the Master of the Order of Evora, Gonçalo Viegas, and the former Alcaide of Silves, Rodrigo Sanches, who, perchance, sought to avenge the taking of that city by the Saracens.

Proceeding to Seville, Yacub quitted it for Cordova, and from Cordova, crossing Sierra Morena, he descended to the plains of Mancha. Alfonso VIII. was marching to meet him, and the two armies sighted each other (August, 1195) near the town of Alarcos, Alarcur, or Hacen

Al-arak, of which scarcely any vestige remained at the end of the sixteenth century. A battle was fought, which was long disputed and bloody, but at length the Christians were defeated with frightful losses, and Alfonso VIII. barely escaped with the remnants of his army, leaving on the battle-field many illustrious knights, among them the Master of the Order of Evora and Rodrigo Sanches. The Almohades, whose losses were likewise considerable, retired to Seville loaded with spoils.

Notwithstanding the victory of the Almohades, and the perilous situation of the diverse monarchies of Spain, hatred and ambition among its princes were more powerful than all other considerations which might move them to preserve peace between them. It is true that the dissensions of the two cousins reigning in Castille and Leon had somewhat subsided with the coming of Yacub. Alfonso IX., whose delay, as well as that of Sancho of Navarre, many imputed to the routing of Alarcos, proceeded to Toledo, where he resided for some length of time with Alfonso VIII. after this disaster. On the return of the youthful Leonese King to his States tranquillity reigned for a time, but this peace only served to afford breathing-time to the contenders, and enable them to prepare for a new wrestling. Why and how Portugal took a part in these we shall endeavour to prove as far as it is possible, showing the secret means by which, in our opinion, long and sanguinary wars were prepared.

The Infante Pedro, heir to the throne of Aragon, was extremely attached to the King of Castille, his cousin. Nothing was more natural than that Alfonso VIII. should seek an alliance with Sancho I., knowing how deeply the repudiation of D. Theresa must wound the pride of a violent man like the King of Portugal. A chronicler of those times tells us that in February, 1196, the King of Aragon came to Coimbra to establish peace among the Christians. It is our belief that this King was Pedro II., then Infante, and who was called two months later to ascend the throne at the death of Alfonso II., who died in April of that year, and his mission, no doubt, was the union of the King of Castille and of Portugal, in view that the latter was separated from that of Leon, with whom, it is said, he was leagued against Alfonso VIII.

This hypothesis springs logically from the preceding events, and in a certain sense illustrates the subsequent ones—above all, the alliance of the Leonese King with the Almohade Emperor. It was not uncom-

mon at that epoch to see many illustrious knights of the Cross combating under the standard of Islam, and *vice versâ*, Saracen chiefs offering the help of their soldiers to the Christian princes. Public calamities and the impulses of passion, joined to the frequent revolts and changes in the diverse States of the Peninsula, were the principal causes of these events, incompatible with the creeds and lively faith of those times. Pedro Fernandes de Castro, one of the most powerful Castillian noblemen, passed on to the service of the Ameer of Morocco, on account of discords with Alfonso VIII., and in the battle of Alarcos he contributed in a great measure to the victory. Through his intervention, about the year 1196, the King of Leon and Al-Manssor made a treaty between them, the conditions of which are not known, but in which Alfonso IX. forewarned the other, and, as we said, was probably already made between Portugal, Castille, and Aragon. Sancho VII. of Navarre associated himself also with the Leonese King against the Castillian, both parties by this means being equally divided.

But still among the Christian princes continued this simulated good-feeling. The storm, however, which was gathering, broke out in that same year. Al-Manssor departed for Seville with his army, and, crossing to the north of Merida, successively took Montanches, Santa-Cruz, Truxillo, and Placencia. From thence turning towards the east, passing beyond Talavera, he desolated the territories to the north-west of the capital. Having vainly attacked Maqueda, he marched against the city itself of Toledo, which he besieged for ten days, the environs of which he devastated (June, 1196). He then returned to his States, and retired to Seville.

It was at this juncture that the Navarrese and Leonese Kings declared themselves. Taking advantage of the weakness of Castille, by reason of the Mohammedan invasion, Alfonso IX., assisted by Saracen troops, while Sancho VII., King of Navarre, was desolating the territories of Soria and Almazan, advanced towards Terra-de-Campos, threatening the States of Castille by the north-east. But Alfonso VIII. and his allies, taking advantage of the circumstance that the King of Leon had confederated with the infidels, obtained from Pope Celestine III. a bull in which the Pontiff excommunicated Alfonso IX. and Pedro Fernandes for this criminal proceeding, making general the indulgences granted equally to those who should combat the Leonese Prince, or made war against the Mussalmans of Spain, or

enlisted in the Crusades to Palestine. Besides this, the Pope absolved the subjects of that monarch, should he persist in introducing the Saracens into his dominions from the obedience due to him; and in the bull especially directed to Sancho I. he permitted him to incorporate with his crown all that he should withdraw from the King of Leon by whatever means, and without his having any right to claim it again. In this way the Kings of Castille, Portugal, and Aragon attained to counteract by moral force the material forces which the dreaded alliance with Al-Manssor had invested their adversary, and which, perchance, was no less efficacious than resulted from the fulminating declarations of Rome.

Between Sancho I. and Alfonso IX. hostilities had already broken out in August, 1196, the former marching to the districts of Alemdouro, to strengthen newly established municipalities, and otherwise prepare himself to invade the territories of his adversary, and annex to his own dominions a portion of his, warranted by the concessions of Celestine III., which he had previously obtained. The war became more violent during the following year, probably when the terrible sentence arrived from the Pope which separated the Leonese King from the communion of the faithful, and incited his subjects to disobedience.

Sancho I., who had returned to the capital, again quitted Coimbra for the north, and besieged Tuy, which surrendered, whether from the effects of this conquest or from the impression which the bull of Celestine produced; but there were some in Galicia who broke their oaths of allegiance to Alfonso IX.; and if we credit the chronicles of the nation, the Portuguese invasion extended far beyond Tuy, the towns of Sampaio, Lobios, and Pontevedra being reduced to submission. Authentic memoirs are wanting to confirm this, but it is in every way probable if we consider that the King of Leon could ill afford to resist Sancho I. when he was at open war with the armies of Aragon and Castille, which, penetrating the eastern frontiers, took many important places, in spite of the auxiliary troops sent by Al-Manssor, and which were broken up.

Meanwhile Yacub returned to invade the provinces of Castille, and after a new attempt against Toledo, and destroying various towns and castles, and otherwise effecting incalculable devastations, he retired to Seville, loaded with spoils. According to Ibn Khaldun, the Christian princes then sent him proposals for a truce, which he accepted, delivering up to Abu Rabi and to Abu Abdullah, sons of his brother Abul

Hafss, the government of Badajoz and of the Gharb. He departed to Africa in 1198, where he died the following year.

The narrative of the African historian is confirmed by the Christian memoirs. As a fact, we know that Alfonso VIII. of Castille effected a suspension of hostilities with Al-Manssor, in order to employ all his forces against the Leonese and the Navarrese; but these truces, which, to all appearance, ought to have induced an increase of violence in the deplorable wrestling of the Christian princes, produced, on the contrary, a momentary peace between them. Deprived of the co-operation of the Saracens, Alfonso IX., who saw himself attacked on the west by the Portuguese, and on the south and east by the united forces of Castillians and Aragonese, proposed to marry the Infanta Berengaria, daughter of the King of Castille. The prince refused, but eventually yielded through the intervention of the Queen D. Leonor, his wife. The marriage was celebrated in 1197, at Valladolid, and Alfonso VIII. restored to his relative all the places he had conquered.

This treaty of pacification included the King of Portugal and the rest of the belligerent princes, but Alfonso VIII. soon broke it as regards the King of Navarre. Leagued with the King of Aragon, both entered into the dominions of Sancho VII., devastating and taking possession of many places. In consequence of this, or from some other motive unknown to us, war was kindled between the Leonese and Castillian princes, whose mutual ill-will was barely disguised in the family treaty entered into a few months previously. Alfonso VIII. passed the frontiers of Léon, and took several castles; but Alfonso IX. was proceeding against his father-in-law with a powerful army, when Pedro Fernandes de Castro and other noblemen endeavoured, and finally obtained, to make peace between them, and thus avoid a war which would have been fatal, not only to them, but likewise for Christian Spain.

While these events were going on, the Saracens, notwithstanding the victories of Al-Manssor, were not calm observers of the spectacle, so pleasing to them, which the wrestling of the Christians offered. A fleet bearing various princes and prelates from Germany entered into Lisbon on their way to Palestine. Among these distinguished men were the Duke of Lower Lorena (Lothier) and Hartwic, Archbishop of Bremen. The Crusaders were warmly received into the city, Hartwic meeting with a most generous hospitality, and every demonstration of esteem from the Bishop D. Sueiro.

Probably the German Crusaders, on learning the deplorable events of the two previous years, resolved to avenge in part the evils endured by their co-religionists. Leaving Lisbon, and sailing towards the strait, they entered the port of Silves, when the German troops unexpectedly attacked the city and entered in. Convinced that Sancho I. had no means at command to uphold the city, they contented themselves by dismantling it, and re-embarked to proceed to Syria.

The silence maintained by all memoirs and national documents respecting the relations between Portugal and Leon at the end of 1197 is explained by the general events which were taking place in the Peninsula, but whether Sancho I. retained possession of Tuy and other places is not known. In 1198 discords began to rise up anew. Celestine III. died in January, and Innocent III., an individual possessing an indomitable character, ascended the Papal throne. From one of his letters, addressed to the Legate Raynerio, is deduced that Rome already knew in May that the dissensions of the princes were again springing up. The Pontiff, who enjoined him to dissolve the bonds which united the two contending parties, and compel Leon, Portugal, and Castille to come to peace, even by employing the most extreme moral means, yet in this same letter casts the seeds of hatred between the Leonese King and the Castillian. Berengaria, the second wife of Alfonso IX., was, like the first, related to that monarch, although in a lesser degree of consanguinity than D. Theresa. Celestine III. had not opposed the union, or else only did so faintly, but Innocent now exacted a separation in a terminating manner and under the severest penalties. Should the King of Leon yield to the threats of the Legate, and repudiate Berengaria, the quarrels between the two cousins, far from becoming pacified, as the Pope appeared to wish, would, on the contrary, become more violent.

It is needless to enter here into the details of the resistance of Alfonso IX. to the resolutions of the Pope, and what followed, since we do not deem them necessary to illustrate the events which took place in Portugal at that juncture. It suffices to know that the King of Castille acceded, or pretended to accede, to the decisions of the Pontiff, by declaring that he should receive back his daughter in the event of her husband repudiating her, and that the latter absolutely refused to separate himself from his wife. Political motives influenced this resistance. By the marriage settlement the castles which Alfonso IX. had dowered his Queen with would remain as hers, hence were virtually

united to the crown of Castille; and although the Pope might render null and void the contract, and in the event of a divorce the King of Leon should resume dominion over these castles, yet Alfonso VIII. was not the prince who would permit Berengaria to be expelled from the throne, and at the same time be deprived of the dowry she had received.

We do not know whether it was owing to the efforts of Pedro Fernandes de Castro and the barons of Leon and Castille, or the admonitions and threats of the Legate Raynerio, or, again, the influence of D. Berengaria—whose political capacity was proved later on—that the tempers of the two princes, who up to that time had been enemies, were kept under control, and peace existed between them. But not so Sancho I. Although we have no records of raids effected or wars fought between the Portuguese and Leonese during the year 1198, yet the internal movements of the country and the certainty of war being declared with Leon in 1199 are evident signs that the union of Sancho in the general peace was very short, and that he expected hostilities to be renewed. And, in effect, various decrees of that year reveal to us the apprehensions of the King of Portugal, and that he was striving actively to strengthen the defences of his States. Pope Innocent took advantage of the difficulties of the King of Portugal to bring forward an affair which Pope Celestine III. had vainly endeavoured to effect. This was the question of tributes to the Apostolic See. Accepting, in presence of the Legate Raynerio, the fact admitted by his father in 1143, Sancho enjoined the Master of the Hospital to forward to the Pope, by the hands of two of their knights who were proceeding to Rome, 504 *morabitinos*, which represented, at the rate of four ounces (*onças*), the tributes due from the date of the third Lateran Council.

In the midst of these negotiations, which assured him the protection of Rome, Sancho I. actively proceeded with the defence of his kingdom. He had already given in 1197 Idanha and its district to the Templars. In this year, however, he assigned to them the gift of Açafa, a vast territory which extended along the right margin of the Tagus from the district of Idanha (already assigned to them) to the west up to the Castle of Belver, which belonged to the Hospitalliers. In this donation of Açafa was also comprehended an extensive portion of Alto Alemtejo, which, it appears, the Christians were gradually peopling. He then departed for Tras-os-Montes, whose frontiers it is very probable he was

endeavouring to fortify, when a domestic sorrow fell upon him which for a time withdrew him from the cares of war and of political affairs. The Queen D. Dulce died on the 1st of September, 1198. By her the King of Portugal had issue the Prince D. Alfonso, who succeeded him, and the two Infantes D. Pedro and D. Fernando, both celebrated in Spain and abroad for their restless, warlike character; and the Infanta D. Theresa, Queen of Leon; D. Sancha, and D. Mafalda, who afterwards married Henry I. of Castille; D. Branca, and D. Berengaria, besides others who died in infancy. Concubinage was a common vice of that time, common among princes as among the nobles, and history preserves the names of two mistresses of the King of Portugal, D. Maria Ayres de Fornellos and D. Maria Paes Ribeira. Martin Sanches, who played so conspicuous a part in the discords between Alfonso II. with Leon, was son of the first; and from the second he had five sons, one of whom, Rodrigo Sanches, also belongs to history. From these and others are descended many a noble family of Spain.

The war with Leon, which about the end of 1198 or beginning of 1199 broke out, clearly proved that the previsions of Sancho I. were not vain. Existing documents afford us but very scarce information as to the cause of this outbreak, but we know for certain that Christian blood was spilt by Christians. Alfonso IX. entered in the spring of 1199 with his troops into Portugal, to besiege Bragança, and Sancho marched against him. Whether defeated in some combat or not daring to accept it, the invaders retired. It is probable that the Leonese endeavoured about this time to rescue Tuy, which had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, while the negotiations of Sancho I. with the Apostolic See, and the right which Innocent III. invested him with, to despoil in every possible way the King of Leon, induce us to believe that it was not restored by Portugal. Moreover, we ascribe the renewal of hostilities to this cause, although this is only a conjecture, as also that of Alfonso IX. having recovered Tuy, either by his own hand or by those of his captains.

Some vestiges are found in ancient memoirs of a battle which took place near the shores of Pinhel, on the plains called Hervas-tenras, where some illustrious knights of Portugal perished. But neither date nor details have been transmitted to us. Portuguese historians ascribe this event to the discords among the Portuguese noblemen, but it is our opinion that it had its origin with the Leonese. We know that Sancho had crossed the Coa about the middle of 1199, and attacked

Ciudad-Rodrigo, where perished by his side Lopo Fernandes, Commander of the Temple in Portugal, and another celebrated knight, Nuno Fafes. Was the battle of Hervas-tenras fought before or after the entry of Sancho? We know not. Amid so many conflicting memoirs, we can only affirm that war raged between the two States during this year.

In order to understand the simultaneous events which subsequently took place, we must needs turn our eyes towards other nations, outside the Peninsula. Richard Cœur de Lion died in France during the assault of the Castle of Chalus (April, 1199), and his brother, Count de Mortain, known under the appellation of João Sem Terra, succeeded him. By right of representation, the existence of a nephew, Arthur, Duke of Brittany, son of an elder brother, rendered his legitimacy doubtful. To the King of England belonged, in those days, Normandy and Guienne, Poitou, Maine, Anjou, and Turraine, besides other territories. The barons of the three last provinces declared for Arthur, while Philip Augustus fanned the discord. From this proceeded a warfare which was terminated by Arthur acknowledging the sovereignty of his uncle, and by a treaty of peace entered into by the two monarchs of France and England (1200). By this treaty Blanca, the daughter of Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and niece of the King of England on his mother's side, was to wed, as she actually did, the heir to the crown of France, Prince Louis. These pacific arrangements, however, did not prevent discords from arising anew between the two nations.

The marriage of the Castillian Infanta, which was offered by the King of England as a condition to a treaty entirely foreign to the affairs of the Peninsula, might appear sufficiently strange did not some circumstances concur to somewhat explain the fact.

In the war of Portugal with Leon, Alfonso VIII. continued neutral, as we find no memoir to show us that he intervened in the wrestling between the two princes. We have ample proofs that he was at peace with his son-in-law about the year 1200, and it was only natural that he should endeavour to establish harmony with Sancho I. Meanwhile, no sooner was the death of Richard known, and that Count de Mortain was ascending the throne, than, by mutual accord, it appears, he and the King of Portugal sent ambassadors to the new monarch. The object of the messengers is not transmitted to us, but it is known that João Sem Terra delegated three persons to confer with the messengers of the King of Castille, at the same time that he wrote

to all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of his kingdom, advising them of the arrival of the Portuguese ambassadors, and enjoining them to receive them with the greatest demonstrations of welcome, supplying them with all they might require. This took place in June, 1199, and in the same month of the following year Prince Louis of France was to marry D. Blanca of Castille. In these facts may be traced a mutual relation; but the co-operation of Sancho in these events would be inexplicable did not Radulf of Diceto, a contemporary chronicler and a political individual who more than once mediated in the public affairs of his time, throw some light upon these events. It appears that the King of England being in Rouen arranging peace terms with Philip Augustus, the Bishop of Lisieux, William d'Estang, Radulph of Ardennes, Robert Burch, and other Norman and English noblemen were delegated to Portugal to demand in marriage for their sovereign from Sancho I. the hand of one of the Portuguese Infantas, whose fame had come to the ears of João Sem Terra.

When elevated to the throne, Count de Mortain resolved to repudiate his wife Hawista, daughter of the Count of Gloucester, and in effect obtained the decree of divorce from the condescending prelates of English France; but being a man of changeable character, self-willed and weak, he took to wife Isabel, only daughter and heiress of the Count d'Angouleme, who was betrothed to Count de la Marche, without apprising the legates sent to Portugal, thus exposing them to be made victims of the violent character of the King when he should know that he had been treated thus. In view of these facts, we can safely conjecture that either Alfonso VIII., whose talents and political genius are indisputable, or João Sem Terra himself, had conceived the design of uniting all the princes of Southern and Central Europe into a vast family alliance, and thus be the instrument for the political alliance of the respective monarchies, torn asunder by incessant wars. From these facts may likewise be deduced that, in spite of his ambition and of his aversions, the King of Portugal seconded this thought, which, as there exist no proofs to attribute to him meaner motives, we may justly call generous.

The activity of Sancho I., or rather that of his able Chancellor Julian, is, in truth, admirable when we behold the multiplied objects which at that epoch he attended to. In the midst of a violent war with Leon, he entertained grave political questions, and while promoting the foundation of towns on either side of the Tagus by delivering

up to the military orders, especially the Templars, vast territories wherein these powerful corporations were gradually establishing villages and granges, and making allotments of land for agricultural purposes, agents departed from Portugal, charged to proceed to the central regions of Europe, and bring new colonies to supply the dearth of population in the northern provinces of the kingdom. This charge must preferably be entrusted to foreigners already established in the country, and whose relations with their own native land would naturally enable them to attract new migrations to their adopted land. The donation of Pontevel, made in 1195 to the ancient colonies of Lourinhan and Villaverde, presupposes an increase of population which was more rapid than could be due to natural development; hence we believe that these municipalities had augmented with the adventurers who came seeking their fortunes in the hospitable country. Among the provisions made in 1198 with the object of rendering the southern provinces, which had been devastated by the long and varied wrestlings of the Almohades during their recent invasions, less deserted, was the important one of inducing new colonies to come to the country. By offering these colonists advantages, two results accrued—first, they not only reclaimed the land, and rendered it fit for cultivation, but they likewise peopled it, and trained hardy men to become, later on, brave soldiers to defend the country. William, the Dean of Silves, who, it appears, remained with the Bishop Nicholas when the city was taken from the Mussalmans, and later on was expelled on the occasion of the terrible return of Yacub, passed over to Flanders, from whence he returned with a number of followers, besides others which he had enlisted, who came in the following year.

The chief or leader of this Flemish colony was Raolino (Raulin?). This colony was established on a portion of land assigned to them, which extended from Santarem to Alemquer, the limits being the fields or arable land which is fertilised by the rising of the Tagus, and known by the name of Leziras. They then founded the *villa-dos-francos* (Villa-franca), a name which was afterwards altered to Azambuja.

Raolino was appointed head alcaide, or mayor, of the new municipality, and this man, who in his own native country was poor and obscure, became honoured and enriched by the Portuguese prince, and during his long term of life he attained to see that new State which he had raised in a strange but friendly land prosperous and thriving.

When in 1191 Yacub for the second time attacked the King of

Portugal, the Saracens advanced up to the mouth of the Tagus, along the left shore, expelling the Christians out of all that district; but instead of garrisoning the castles which stood there, they only fortified Alcacer, which therefore became the frontier and bulwark against their adversaries. The Portuguese were not long before they occupied the territory between the two deep bays of the Tagus and of the Sado, and, at least, from this resulted the re-establishment of the Friars of Santiago, in the Castle of Palmella, in the year 1210, a most important spot, on account of its military position, and the residence of the colonies of Franks brought into Portugal at the end of the twelfth century. One of these colonies peopled the place called Cezimbra, near the mouth of the Sado; but the greater number were sent to the wastes between the Tagus and the Ervedal, the centre of the municipality being in a place called Montalvo de Sor, and probably the same now called Ponte de Sor. The want of inhabitants constituted these solitudes the limits of the three important councils, or municipalities, of Santarem, Alemquer, and Lisbon, because it was to their magistrates that Sancho entrusted the distribution of sufficient land, to enable the foreigners who had come and those who were to arrive to live and maintain themselves abundantly. The wish of the King of Portugal that the colonists should be satisfied, as an incentive for other colonists and new immigrations to come, is clearly seen in his letters addressed to the three councils. He tells them that he would esteem as done to himself all the good they should do to the new-comers, and that should any aggrievance be done to any of them he would visit them with the extraordinary penalty of 6,000 *soldos*.* Besides this, he declared them exempted from paying dues throughout the kingdom, under penalty of 500 *maravedis*, to any who should exact it; the infringer to be considered a personal enemy of the King.

After the military events above related, which are entwined in the history of the foreign colonisation, the vestiges of war with Leon disappeared. Time had, in a certain sense, modified the wrath of Sancho, enkindled by the repudiation of his daughter, and perchance the fate of arms was not favourable to him. We know that in 1200 Alfonso VIII. invaded Navarre, and that his son-in-law accompanied him in this expedition with his army, from which may be concluded that hostilities had ceased between the two Kings, Leonese and Portu

* Ancient Portuguese coin.

guese, probably through the intervention of Castille. From this epoch Sancho, although in the prime of life, turned his attention towards the internal affairs of the monarchy. It is said that a great change came over the spirit of the son of Alfonso Henry, and that fatigue and weariness were withdrawing him from the battle-field, where once he took such delight. But those who have followed the extraordinary efforts made to attract people from other lands to the country will perceive that this existence of almost incessant combats, this war-fever of three successive generations, induced by the needs of the situation and the ferocity of the times, had devoured, if not all moral energy, at least the material strength of the nation.

On the same occasion (1199), when to the Templars were distributed the vast seigniories above mentioned, on the extreme end to the east was founded an important town, not only on account of its size, but for its situation. We refer to the foundation of Guarda, which continued towards the south its line of strongholds from the western frontiers of Leonese Estremadura. This was a haughty bulwark against the enemy, whether Christian or Mussalman. Founded on one of the mountains of the Serra da Estrella, it stood forth, overlooking on all sides an extension of from fifteen to twenty leagues. Hence its position, difficult to assail, on account of its rough and rugged site, commanding the fields and valleys around it, was at the same time a watch-tower and citadel of defence. The Goths and other races which passed through the Peninsula had comprehended the military importance of that point. The name of Guarda (Ward Gard), of Teutonic origin, at once indicates that there was here a castle, or Gothic fortress, the memory of which had been preserved at the epoch of the new foundation. The limits of the territories of this town, or rather, we should say, deserts, were no less extensive than those above stated belonging to Santarem, Alemquer, and Lisbon, because while on the north-west and west it was encircled by the most ancient councils of Celorico, Linhares, Valelhas, and Covilhan, and towards the east the frontier of the Coa (*alias* river Pinhel), it was joined by the narrow strip of land which, extending towards the south, passed between the confines of Leonese Estremadura and Idanha and Açafa, until it finished in the Tagus along the Elga. The vast dimensions assigned to the new city, in harmony with the result of its charter, reveal at once that the foundation of Guarda preceded the idea of converting it into the centre of a military district, as it became of

a diocese transferred to it from the ancient See of Egitania, or Idanha.

And while thus actively the scheme was carried out of attracting dwellers to the wilds of Beira-Baixa, the military orders, founding new towns beyond the Tagus upon territories dowered to them, joined their efforts to those of the King to acquire, under the shadow of the truce made with the Saracens in 1107, the north and west of Alemtejo, which Sancho I. had lost during the invasion of Yacub, not because the Almohades had taken possession of the land, since they barely preserved Alcaçer, on the south, to cover the province of Al-faghar, but because the scythe of devastation had razed to the ground the castles and places which had begun to rise up. Benavente was peopled at this epoch (May, 1200) by the order of Evora or Calatrava, and in the following year the foreign colonisation, and perchance the Portuguese one, to the length of the bay of the Sado, had increased to the point of municipal rights being conceded to Cezimbra.

This policy, far more prudent and enlightened than might be expected from men in that age, was, however, counterbalanced by a calamity which afflicted various regions of Europe, and which fell heavily on France and the southern peninsulas of Italy and Spain. The irregularity of the seasons in an epoch of agricultural ignorance, of continual and desolating wars, of difficulty of communication, frequently produced extraordinary seasons of famine. The people died from want and exposure; then followed epidemics and contagion, which were more destructive even than famine. At every turn we find contemporary memoirs recording the sad effects of the ruin and desolation caused by these scourgings, which were repeated frequently towards the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth. In the year 1202, however, the want of provisions was extreme. A contemporary writer informs us that famine spread all over the globe, and desolated France, Italy, and Spain. National memoirs record with horror this terrible scourge of God, assuring us that it exceeded the greatest ever witnessed. Wailing and lamentation rose up on every side, and death furiously claimed men and beasts. To the incessant wars with diverse nations, the deficiency of population, and the devastations of the Saracens was added this terrible and irremediable event, to further cut down the inhabitants of the Peninsula.

Had not national monuments preserved the remembrance of this great calamity, it would be less easy to explain the long spell of tran-

quillity enjoyed by Portugal in relation to the border counties, and the increasing energy manifested for filling in the spaces left void by the decrease of population. The country, already sufficiently exhausted, must have remained, after the famine, fearfully barren. From thence to 1208, efforts were redoubled to continue the work commenced, and Sancho went from province to province, through the whole of his kingdom. While he distributed lands to those who had served him well, the properties of the various monasteries were extended, although not so generously as his father had done. In some parts the noblemen and prelates were charged to found new towns in the interior of the country, or to repair the castles on the frontiers, while, on the other hand, the King was giving charters to the newly established councils, not only on the south, but also to the provinces of the north. Along the rugged declivities of the Mountains of Hermio, or Serra da Estrella, up to the Tagus, the preponderance of the Templars increased, and Sancho, when founding Idanha Nova, in 1205 or 1206, delivered up to them the seigniority of the rising colony. The establishment of foreigners to the north-west, and of the Templars to the north of Alemtejo, facilitated the pacific conquest of the northern line of that province—territories which the Mussalmans evidently had totally abandoned, contented to possess the districts to the south of Evora, better populated, and protected by the fortress of Alcaçer. Hence the walls of Montemor-Novo commenced to rise up (1203), while Pedro Alfonso, half-brother to the King, and whose friendship had been unalterable, received from the Crown (1200) the seigniority of the lands bathed by the Zezere, which had its rise on the west and south-west, with the preceptories of Pombal and Thomar, and where the royal castle of Monfalude was situated, established successively the councils of Arega (1201), Figueiró (1204), and Pedrogam (1206). In the fields of the ancient Belatha (Lower Estremadura), covered by foreign colonies, were laid the foundations of Alhandra, by the efforts of Bishop Sueiro of Lisbon (1203), and the King endeavoured to mix the Franks with the Portuguese, by establishing between Portevel and Azambuja the municipality of Aveiras (1207). Wandering constantly through the various provinces of Portugal, this prince, who formerly had carried death and devastation with him, now strove only to raise up villages, towns, and castles. During the latter years of his reign, in which history almost forgets him, because he had made the roar of battle and the drama of political strifes to cease, it is that existing documents speak

more highly in favour of Sancho I.; and whether through him or through the superior intelligence of his counsellors, a greater impulse is given to the energetic development of national material forces. Charters are multiplied in *reguengos* (royal patrimonies), as well as in the Crown lands already permanently colonised without municipal institutions, and subject to the authority of noblemen (*ricos-homens*), of the military orders, and prelates. These bulwarks of popular liberty, beneath whose shadow rose up, from the ruins of former and abandoned towns, flourishing ones, and human life broke the saddened silence of deserts, are far more glorious to the successor of Alfonso I. than the roar of past wars, the motives for which do not always appear to us justifiable or legitimate.

Fortunately, external circumstances favoured the realisation of the thought which pervaded Portugal in those days. The Almohades had respected the truce offered by the Christian kings to Yacub; and if a few encounters did take place in Alemtejo, between the border Mussalmans and the Portuguese, they were so insignificant that no vestiges remain. What passed in Africa also prevented fresh troops from coming to Spain, as the only means of exciting new energies in the Andalusian Saracens, whose political decadence was as rapid as the increase of Christians was great. But in spite of this decadence on one side, and the increase on the other, if discords were weakening the Mussalmans, hâtreds and civic quarrels rose up constantly amid the nations of Gothic origin; and if the aid of the Franks beyond the Pyrenees contributed to their conquests, it can be said of Portugal that the auxiliary troops sent from Africa, of well-disciplined men, to the Mussalmans were of greater value to them. Hence it was only the increase of internal energy and vigour instilled into Christian society, and the moral degeneracy of Mussalman society, that can explain the final result of that terrible strife, sustained for more than four centuries, between the sectaries of two inimical religions, which disputed the exclusive dominion of the Peninsula.

But the peaceful occupations of Sancho I. were soon broken by cares of a different kind, which covered with sorrow the declining days of his life, and perchance even shortened them. His eldest son and heir to the throne had attained the age of twenty-two, and Sancho, worn out by a life of continual agitation and perils of war, felt probably that within him had commenced the long illness which a few years later deprived him of life. The King of Castille, united to him by the bonds of a long, faithful friendship, had by his wife D. Leonor

of England three daughters—D. Berengaria, married to the King of Leon, and now divorced; D. Urraca, and D. Blanca, who married in 1200 Prince Louis of France. D. Urraca was still unmarried, and D. Sancho endeavoured to bind still closer his friendship with Alfonso VIII. by a family alliance. D. Urraca was selected for the consort of the heir to the Portuguese throne, and the betrothal was celebrated at the end of 1208 or commencement of 1209. This event, which seemed to be a new pledge of tranquillity for Portugal, was, on the contrary, an occasion, or pretext, for violent civil discords, which embittered, in course of time, different parties, and proved the first link in the chain of combats between royal authority and the clergy, the most powerful class of the State — combats in which neither of the contenders gained much, but which retarded the moral and material progress of the country. For two years this discord continued, from 1208 to 1210, which affords little interest, and is greatly involved by diverse opinions.

Meanwhile, Alfonso IX., following the policy of Sancho, was covering the territories along the shores of the Coa with castellated towns. Of all the frontiers between Portugal and Leon, the least populated portion, and, as a consequence, the weakest, was from the confluence of Agueda with the Douro towards the south, down to the mouth of the Elga. Invasions were rendered easy for both nations along that frontier, because the want of castles, the solitude of those vast wastes, favoured unexpected raids to the Portuguese in the districts of Salamanca as in Upper Estremadura, and to the Leonese in Beira. From this dates the municipal charters of Castello-Rodrigo and of Castello-melhor, and about the same epoch were also founded the councils of Almeida, Villar maior, Castello-bom, and other places called Cima-Coa to Sabugal and Alfayates, where the sources of the Coa and of Elga descend, the first towards the north, and the second to the south, and nearly unites the frontiers. Sancho, however, notwithstanding domestic disturbances, continued to raise fresh bulwarks against the recent line of Leonese castles. In this way he erected the walls of Pinhel in the north, and Penamacor and Sortelha towards the south, opposite his adversaries. These towns, side by side of Guarda, formed on the line a species of vanguard to the castles which on the interior defended Beira. Such are Numão, Longroiva, Marialva, Trancoso, Celorico, Linhares, Gouveia, Covilhan, and, descending to the Tagus, the powerful preceptories of the Temple.

The Bishop of Oporto was endeavouring to obtain the terrible weapons of the Church from the Roman Curia, in order to combat the King of Portugal, Sancho I., who, worn out by the discords with the clergy in the person of Martinho Rodrigues, by his political cares and extreme anxiety to further and strengthen the development of the country, was now verging towards the grave ere he had turned into old age. His chronic infirmities were increasing to the point that all hope of a cure had disappeared. In this extremity, Sancho, who, in spite of his corporeal strength failing him, was still energetic in spirit, looking into the future, viewed with dread the domestic perturbations which he was bequeathing to the heir of the throne. To these considerations, and no less to the terrors of a future life, may be attributed the acts he performed at this juncture. On making his testamentary dispositions in view of death, he expressly declares his successor to be the Infante Alfonso, and distributes among his sons and daughters the large wealth he had amassed, dowering above this, in a more solemn manner, to the repudiated Queen of Leon, D. Theresa, the seigniory of Montemor-Velho and Esgueira, to D. Sancha Alemquer, and to D. Mafalda the two monasteries of Arouca and Bouças, with various lands in Seia, whose rents, it appears, his daughters already enjoyed. Besides the immense donations already assigned to the military orders, he did not forget those illustrious corporations which had rendered to him so many loyal services. With the intention of calming the excited spirit of the clergy, towards whom he had never shown himself over-favourable, and to whom the fate of the Bishop of Oporto could not be indifferent, Sancho distributed with profuse hand nearly all the large sums remaining in the treasury. Beseeching the Pope to confirm his will, he left him a legacy of 100 marks of gold, a goodly sum, which proves how greatly he valued the force ascribed to the Apostolic confirmation. The Archbishop elect of Braga, Peter, who was promoted from the See of Lamego to the metropolitan one of Galliza, on the death of Martinho Pires, the Abbots of Sancto Thyrso and Alcobaça, the Prior of Sancta Cruz, the Master of the Temple, the Prior of the Hospital, and various noblemen named executors of the will, swore to fulfil literally the dispositions therein contained. Sancho also summoned the Prince, and in his presence and that of the Archbishop D. Pedro, the Bishop of Coimbra, and the Abbot of Alcobaça, bade him take the oath. The King of Portugal seemed to mistrust the sincerity of his successor, and time proved that these suspicions were not altogether unfounded.

This act was celebrated in October, 1209, at the juncture when the Bishop of Oporto, banished from Spain and Italy, was working to obtain means to avenge his injury. In the spring of 1210 Martinho Rodrigues returned from Rome with letters from the Pope, directed to the Bishop and others, in order to settle disputes. Sancho, already despairing of life, and his former energy weakened by suffering, bowed down his head to the storm which Rome might break over his well-nigh expiring form. The fierce and hard character which had hitherto distinguished him was giving way in view of the grave, and the most influential members of the Church watched and hovered around his dying bed. His sincere friend the Archbishop elect of Braga, who, nevertheless, did not abandon the cause of the clergy, the Bishop of Coimbra, the Abbot of Alcobaça, and the Prior of Sancta Cruz surrounded him, and daily obtained new concessions and privileges for the ecclesiastics of all hierarchies. As though wishful to escape from death, Sancho abandoned his capital, Coimbra, and went to reside a few days with the monks of Alcobaça, from whence he besought the vassals and burghers, not to fight battles, nor gold to enrich himself, but prayers and supplications. The violence of his temper disappeared. He had resolved to humble himself, and reply benignly to the banished Bishop, who addressed him a letter, along with others from the apostolic judges. In reply, the King of Portugal related the concessions made to the clergy in general, exempting its members from all military service excepting in the event of a Saracen invasion, and subjecting them solely to the payment of a tribute called *colheta (collecta)* once a year, and even so only when he should pass through their respective places. Besides this, he submitted to all the delegates might judge proper, and to do all that the Portuguese prelate should counsel him. It would be long and wearisome to follow all the intrigues and dissensions of the clergy at the time, which would alone fill a volume.

Towards the end of March, 1211, Sancho I., at the age of fifty-seven years, succumbed to the internal complaint which afflicted him. He was laid to rest beneath the vaults of Sancta Cruz, of Coimbra. The historic value of the reign of the son of Alfonso I., which lasted twenty-six years, perchance is not less than the lengthened government of his predecessor, but the characteristics of the two epochs are as different as were the gifts and tempers of the two princes. A less skilful commander than his father, without that superiority

of genius and daring which incited the founder of the monarchy to undertake great projects, Sancho I. was far from obtaining equal renown as a conqueror, although he consumed in wars of little glory and often useless the best years of his manhood. On this head neither of the kings, or the two epochs, bear comparison. At sight of the sword of Alfonso, Saracens and Christians retired in terror, the cities and castles flung open their doors, the limits of the country became widened, and the basis of the existence of Portugal, cemented with torrents of blood, becomes established firmly in the west of Spain. Sancho I., after a conquest which he soon lost, engages in barren strifes for years with Leon, and restores a portion of the north and west of Alemtejo, because the Almohades, whose decadence is already taking place, and no longer possess forces sufficient to maintain an almost useless dominion in those inhospitable barren lands, abandon them, and the Christians, principally the military orders, commence to reclaim and construct upon them castles and preceptories. But if we withdraw our eyes from the line of frontiers and behold what is done in the interior of the country, we shall find that the renown of Sancho I. is not less glorious than that of Alfonso I., and his reign stands before us as a complement to the former one. Fertilised by the ashes of the martyrs to the Gospel and the Koran, furrowed and ploughed by the steel of the combatants and the turmoil of warfare, the land of Portugal receives at the hands of Sancho the seeds of greatness and regal force in those councils which were everywhere established, in those granges and villages which were spread over districts less subject to invasions and raids, in those castles on the frontiers crowned with turrets and filled with weapons of war. The bravery which scorns death was in those days held as a trivial virtue. Without the grand thought which directed all his conquests, without the military skill and extraordinary military genius with which he supplied the deficiency of forces and resources of the monarchy he was founding, Alfonso I., in spite of all his prowess and activity, should not be considered otherwise than a fortunate knight. His son, as far as this is concerned, was not over-much favoured by fortune. He nobly avenged it, however, by labouring to acquire, and meriting as a fact, the title of Populator. History, so prone to appraise the barren crown of laurel as far more beautiful than the fertile branch of the olive-tree, treated with contempt the last years of the reign of Sancho, because this prince sought to substitute towns for deserts, and

cultivated fields in place of wilderness—in a word, life instead of death.

The energy with which he continued this project has been already narrated, and his highest eulogium is found in the bulk of the monuments which prove his activity, and which, perchance, are only a limited portion of those which formerly existed. Whether owing to the weakened state of the country, in consequence of nearly a whole century of incessant combats, or whether from the knowledge of his own deficiency of military skill to compensate for the want of resources of Portugal against the superior forces of the Mussalmans and the Leonese, or through his own inspiration, or counselled by his favourites, among whom rises up, vaguely and dimly, the sagacious form of the Chancellor Julian—one thing is certain, that this monarch sincerely followed the system which the internal state of the country advised him, and he enabled his successors to be, if not more valiant, at least more fortunate soldiers.

Such is the just estimate due to Sancho I. as a sovereign. As an individual his moral character was not relatively bad: he was vulgar—that is to say, he had defects which were common to princes and barons at that epoch. Ignorant and credulous, because science was then supposed to be made for poor spirits; violent and irascible, because moderation is not learnt in the battle-field, where his father educated him, although he was inclined to deeds of gallantry and the pastimes of hunting. Certain facts also of his life cast over him the suspicion of covetousness, and of having amassed considerable sums by means which grieved the nation.

In effect, even supposing that he drew such spoils from the transitory conquests of Al-faghar and other entries into Leon, it is certain that these conquests entailed unavoidable expenses. If we reflect on the devastations of the territories by the enemies, the famine which destroyed the population, and the erection of so many castles, with their expenses, and the contribution to the paid municipalities, any one will be convinced that not only the nation, but the prince, must be impoverished. Sancho I. himself assures us that oftentimes the defenders of the State were themselves needing the bare necessaries of life, yet he willed nearly one million of *morabitinos*, nearly all in gold coin—that is to say, more than three million *cruzados* of actual coinage, a sum which appears well-nigh incredible when we take into account the scarcity of precious metals at that epoch.

Wealth like this presupposes frequent rapines, or a too violent tributary system. In effect, in a law of Alfonso II. are found proofs that the King, as well as his barons, obtained at a low price the most necessary requirements of life—monstrous imposts, which may afford us an idea of other fiscal exactions. This proceeding, diametrically opposed to the scheme of repeopling the kingdom, affords us, in part, an explanation why it became useless to attempt in many places to render habitable deserted places or heaps of ruins.

But where the reign of Sancho stands with a more historic significance was in having commenced the complex and varied fact which, protracted for three centuries, constitutes the principal public feature of the Middle Ages in Portugal. We refer to the alliance of the King and the councils against the privileged classes, the clergy, and the nobility. The burghers of Oporto attacking their bishop and lord, and the officers of the Crown sequestrating his goods, expelling him ignominiously, and scorning the wrath of the members of the powerful family of Martinho Rodrigues, are a type of the resistance and ill-will that the municipalities and kings generally met from the two higher classes of the State, until the monarchy obtained from them a final and decisive victory. Sancho, forsaking the inhabitants of Oporto—transporting, so to say, his failing, dying strength to the adversary's camp, and associating himself to the clergy to assist in reducing the burgher—was offering a deplorable example to his successors. Nevertheless, history cannot condemn him, because all things indicate that the last months of his existence were a prolonged agony; and if even in our days, when religious sentiment is found attenuated and weak, there are souls who tremble at the approach of death, and bend low, not only beneath the holy and salutary terrors of religion, but even to the superstitious beliefs of infancy, which rise up importunately at that hour, how can we do less than excuse an ignorant, credulous man, born in an iron age, who sacrifices to the voice of remorse political convenience and loyalty?

END OF THIRD BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

1211—1223.

Alfonso II. succeeds Sancho I.—Prelates and Nobles assemble in Coimbra—Definite resolutions respecting the disputes between the Crown and the Clergy—Discords between the King and his brothers regarding the inheritance of Sancho I.—Departure of the Infantes Pedro and Ferdinand from Portugal—Spoliation of Mafalda: Theresa and Sancha resist—Renewal of the strifes between Christians and Mussalmans—Aid is sent to Castille—Battle of the Navas—Infantas continue to resist Alfonso II.—Civil war, and intervention of Alfonso IX.—Through the influence of Alfonso VIII. of Castille the Leonese retire—The question with the Infantas becomes judicial—The litigation is continued, and its conclusion favourable to the King—Probable causes for the goodwill of the Pope—Tributes to the Apostolic See are resolved upon—Union of the Infanta Berengaria with Waldemar of Denmark—Death of Alfonso VIII. of Castille—His successor, married to Mafalda, dies soon after—Internal state of Portugal—General confirmations and their significance—The southern frontiers and the Mussalmans—State of the East—New Crusade—A fleet from the North arrives—The project of Alcacer and its failure—Proceedings of the King Alfonso II. during and after the war—Symptoms of fresh contentions with the Ecclesiastical Orders—Discords between the Bishop of Lisbon and the favourite Dean of the King—Motives of discontent among the Clergy—Martin Sanches, the bastard son of Sancho I., becomes powerful in Leon—Suspected relations of the Archbishop of Braga, Stephen Soares, with Alfonso IX. and Martin Sanches—Policy of Alfonso II.—His journey to Compostella—Final rupture with the Archbishop—The frontiers on the North are altered, and invasion of the Leonese — Pacification — Contentions with the Clergy are continued—Entry of the Dominicans and the Franciscans—Father Sueiro Gomes—Administrative providences of the King of Portugal—Investigations are made—Their effects and complications, and resistance of the Clergy—Dying condition of the King—A reconciliation with the Archbishop of Braga is commenced—Death of Alfonso II.—His will—His system of government—Characteristics of the Prince—The internal situation of the kingdom.

Alfonso, the heir to the Crown, had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age when his father died. During the campaigns of Sancho I., whether against the Saracens or against Leon, his son, the Infante Alfonso, was too youthful to be present, and the delicate state of his

health rendered it doubtful whether he should live to survive his father; moreover, he was assailed by a dangerous illness, and his cure was attributed to a miracle. Subsequently days of external peace came, when the attention of the King, and of the barons and knights of Portugal, were solely directed towards repopulating the land and contending with the clergy, which almost exclusively, agitated the declining years of his reign. For these reasons Alfonso II. had not received the education of the battle-field and the art of warfare like Sancho I., the sole school where the sad lessons of devastation are learnt.

Scarcely had Alfonso II. commenced to reign than he took up an affair no less important to him than the mutual grievances of ecclesiastics; and taking advantage of the gathering in Coimbra of the prelates, regular and secular, of noblemen, and many other distinguished persons, he convoked a solemn *Curia*, or Cortes, where, besides providences tending to regulate the administration of justice, it was promulgated as a law of the kingdom that which Sancho I. had conceded to the clergy only as a privilege. The ecclesiastical rights, reduced to a whole since the middle of the preceding century, were now enjoined and considered inviolable, declaring whatever legislation contrary to the Church to be null. It was imposed upon the governors of the districts *(principes terræ)*, and to judges and public officials, the obligation of protecting the parishes and monasteries against the laity. The form of nominating parish priests was established in churches whose patronage belonged wholly or in part to the King, and in collegiate ones declared elective. Besides this, the clergy generally were exempted from the tributes called *colheita*, and municipal taxes from councils where the royal rights were let for a fixed sum. All individuals belonging to the clerical order were likewise exempted from the tax or contribution exacted from work, and giving lodgment to the King or his delegates. The custom of compelling widows to marry against their wish, which constituted one of the accusations against Sancho I. by the Bishop of Coimbra, was virtually abolished, the King prohibiting in his own person and that of his successors to constrain any person whatever to contract matrimony against the free-will of the contracting parties.

This extreme condescension on the part of Alfonso II., as regards the ecclesiastics, could not be sincere, since it was equivalent to condemning treaties in which he had taken part, and which were contrary to the interests of the Crown. In this way the discords which commenced during the latter end of the preceding reign were allayed as

regards the clergy, to whom, probably, the King delivered up at once the large sums assigned by his father to the various sees and monasteries, likewise fulfilling the rescript of the Pope, in which he counsels Sancho to carry out in life the pious legacies he was bequeathing. Thus Alfonso acquired the reputation of being a pious prince, and merited from Innocent III. a bull confirming his kingdom, which was expedited in April of the following year, with a renewal of all the privileges conceded, and conditions imposed upon the former kings, the Pope not forgetting to remind him of the two marks of gold due annually to the Holy See, which on impetrating this bull the new monarch offered, acknowledging the Portuguese Crown to be tributary to the Apostolic See.

The affairs which, it appears, compelled Alfonso II. to afford the clergy these demonstrations of good-will were sufficiently grave, since he wished to pacify this powerful class and attract it to his party, or at least render the clergy indifferent to the contentions which might arise. The proceedings of D. Theresa towards Alfonso Henry during his minority, and of his towards D. Theresa, who could barely dispute the power with him, offer a sufficient proof that family bonds are but weak barriers against covetousness, ambition, or jealousy of power. Once again this observation is verified in the person of Alfonso II. He admitted with ill-will the ample legacies left by Sancho I. to his other children, legitimate or otherwise. The existence of this reluctance is perceived in the fact of an oath being exacted from him to respect the last wishes of his father; the exclusion of the Prince himself from the number of executors; the solemn promise made by these—their oath to be held as false, and traitors, should they not fulfil strictly what had been imposed upon them; and finally, all other cautions taken to remove any difficulty which might rise up to oppose the execution of the will, difficulties which only the successor to the throne could suscitate. The deep suspicions which these circumstances gave rise to are confirmed by the events which occurred during the same year in which Sancho died. The latter, as we said above, had left the seigniory of the towns of Montemor and Esgueira to his daughter D. Theresa the divorced Queen of Leon, and those of Alemquer to D. Sancha. Montemor and Alemquer were important places, perchance the most important ones from the Mondego to the Tagus, excepting Coimbra, Santarem, and Lisbon. The two Infantas, who knew the intention of their brother, and feared him, implored Innocent III. to especially confirm the

dominion of those places, a confirmation which was, moreover, virtually included in the will of the deceased King. D. Mafalda, to whom fell the monastery of Arouca and of Bouças, and, it appears, already possessed that of Tuyas, in the diocese of Oporto, impetrated likewise from the Roman Curia a title to protect her against the attempts of Alfonso.

To the prelates of Compostella, Guarda, and Lisbon was enjoined the execution of the bull in relation to Mafalda, and to the first, along with those of Zamora and Astorga, with respect to the more important inheritance of the other two Princesses. Nevertheless, the reluctance of the youthful monarch is visible in obeying the last dispositions of his father, and it is not easy in our days to say how far he intended to elude them as regards his brothers. The opinion of our gravest historians is that in what respects Theresa and Sancha their pretensions were legitimate, and this opinion, up to a certain point, is well founded. The circumstances, however, which preceded the discords of Alfonso with the Infantes Pedro and Fernando—circumstances which might inculpate or absolve the King—are unknown excepting that as soon as Sancho expired both Princes quitted Portugal. Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, the head of the most powerful family of Portugal, and who, since the death of his father, D. Mendes, had almost uninterruptedly exercised the principal offices of the State, was not only substituted by the chief ensign, Martin Fernandes, but also quitted the Court, probably left the kingdom; it is certain, however, that various noblemen were expelled from Portugal, and the alterations of names in existing documents of the noblemen who composed the Court prove to us that the nobility were not indifferent spectators of the contentions of the royal family; and even Pedro Alfonso, the bastard son of Alfonso I., and a staunch friend of the deceased monarch, seems to have abandoned his nephew. We must bear in mind that Gonçalo Mendes and Pedro Alfonso were the chief executors of Sancho, and that the legacies of the Infantes consisted solely of pecuniary value; hence it is justifiable to suppose that Alfonso II., not being able to allege against them the motives he alleged against his sisters, should refuse, under less plausible pretexts, to deliver up the sums which belonged to them. It is, therefore, no less probable that this led to the departure of the Infantes from the kingdom, and induced discords between the King and some of his nobles. D. Pedro sought protection in the Court of Leon, and D. Fernando retired to France, where his aunt Mathilde, the

Countess of Flanders, then resided. She had come as a widow to beseech favour from Philip Augustus, King of France, against the two Baldwins, VIII. and IX., who, after the death of her husband, Philip of Alsace, had governed Flanders and Hainaut. Time passed, and their ideas became modified, until Baldwin IX., on departing to join the Crusade, judged it convenient to entrust to her, and to the Count de Namur, the tutorship of his daughter and heiress Joanna of Flanders. Baldwin died in the East, and Philip Augustus, as the suzerain of the Count, assumed the supreme tutorship of Joanna, who, accompanied by Mathilde, was taken to Paris. The daughter of Alfonso Henry was ambitious, as the history of the contentions she sustained with the successors of her husband amply proves. The arrival of the nephew opened to her the hope of regaining a great influence in Flanders, should she attain to form a matrimonial alliance between him and her pupil. She was shrewd and energetic, and, in accord with the King of France, she gained her object. The marriage was celebrated, and the exile was elevated to a brilliant position. He was a valiant warrior, and this youthful Count figured greatly in the events of Europe. The motive ascribed to him by an ancient chronicler for the dissensions he sustained with Philip Augustus, into whose hands he fell a prisoner in the battle of Bouvines, proves that he inherited the violent character of his father, but exaggerated to the bounds of brutality.

The indifferent resistance met with from men, and even brave knights such as his own brothers proved to be later on, was counterbalanced by the haughty character of the Infantas. There existed legitimate foundations against them, but their application was over-severe in this case. The pretensions of the King proceeded from the doctrine contained in the resolutions of the Councils of Toledo, which formed the preamble to the Visigothic Constitutions, wherein the political laws are laid down at the time when the existence of the monarchy commenced. By these laws the royal patrimony passed integrally from the deceased King to his successor, such property only which might be acquired previous to assuming the Crown being revertible in benefit of the children.

The changes which time and circumstances had effected in the civil and political life of the modern nations of Spain had gradually modified or rendered void the Visigothic legislation, hence it was not to be wondered at that they should have recourse to the strict interpretation of the bull of Alexander III., by which the possession of the kingdom and the dignity of kingship were confirmed to Alfonso I. and to his

successors. In this document the Pope ordains the integrity of the dominions which comprise the new State to be respected, and restitution be made of whatsoever had been withdrawn. This sentence in the bull of 1179 was alleged against D. Mafalda, to whom her father had barely left the seigniority of some property, and two or three monasteries, over which, according to the form of confirmation of Innocent III., she could only exercise the right of patronage. The affair, however, offered another difficulty.

In order to combat skilfully in a strife wherein the forces were unequal, Mafalda had had recourse to joining her interests to the Order of the Templars. To obtain this she gave them the dominion of Bouças and other places, reserving the usufruct during her life. Resolving to lead a monastic life, she made a donation to the Hospitallers which was advantageous, since she cared little who should be her heirs, the monks or the Crown. The fear of contentions with the Order of the Hospital could not, in truth, restrain the prince from prosecuting his scheme; but the cession of D. Mafalda suscitated, as she had foreseen, grave difficulties. Alfonso II., in conformity with the peremptory customs of that age, commenced by employing force against the monks, who had at once established their residence in Bouças, in order to secure future possession. The Order appealed to the Pope, and therefore the King sent an agent to the Roman Curia to plead his cause. This agent was one Silvestre, probably the same who afterwards became Archbishop of Braga. Sent to investigate the grievance of the Hospitallers, the envoy of Portugal, in presence of the Pontiff advanced the principle which excluded the alienation of the Crown property, and likewise the circumstance that the usufruct only of the donations made by Sancho I. of those places to his daughter, and this said donation limited to the case of D. Mafalda entering the cloister, and of the King not being in his right mind when he made such a concession. Lastly, Silvestre observed that as it was forbidden to the Kings of Portugal to alienate the smallest portion of public property to the detriment of the heir to the Crown, there would be a deficit of seven thousand *morabitinos* annually in the rents of the State should the possession of the Hospitallers be legitimised. As, however, there were wanting sufficient proofs on both sides to decide the question, Innocent III. nominated the Bishops of Astorga, Burgos, and Segovia as delegates *ad hoc*, in order that, collecting all necessary information, the question should be definitely decided.

The affair being now reduced to these terms, the King, who had taken possession of the disputed property, was now to follow, through his procurators, the long and tedious phases of a prosecution in which, in our opinion, justice was not on his side. The general principle which he supposed expressed in the bull of Alexander III. was not to be found, excepting under a forced interpretation, and the Visigothic right which offered a more solid basis he dared not to invoke. Moreover, it was no easy matter to prove that the deceased King was not of sound mind when bequeathing some property to his daughter as her patrimony. Finally, in view of the inaccuracy which existed as regards the law wherein hinged the defence of Alfonso II., it is lawful to mistrust the allegations, as far as the limitation of the concession was concerned, to be likewise incorrect. Among all the known diplomas of Sancho I., in none is found the donation to D. Mafalda, excepting in the last testament of that prince, in which, willingly, fully, and simply, it being visible in that of 1188, a period when most certainly Sancho was not of unsound mind, the intention he had of making perpetual concessions to his daughters. But be what it may, it is a fact that as regards Bouças, Mafalda was despoiled of the paternal inheritance.

The system adopted by the King of Portugal to take possession of the lands of his sister, in order to ventilate the question of right later on, was convenient, but it had its disadvantages; and if in the case of the contention with the Hospitallers it worked well, nevertheless in the case of Theresa and Sancha it bore evil results. Under the same pretexts which he employed to deny the right of his father to bequeath in benefit of Mafalda the patronage and lands which he had left, did he refuse to acknowledge the seigniority of the towns and castles of Aveiras, Montemor, and Alemquer, bequeathed to his elder sisters. The commencement of the wrestling, as often happens, was obscure. If we view the proceeding of the King relatively to the question of the seigniority of Bouças, we are led to believe that he followed, as regards other places he strove to retain, the same plan, and that he essayed to do so by means of the alcaides who resided there or through influential knights of the respective places. It appears, however, that the partisans of the Infantas took possession of these castles, and persecuted those who favoured the King. The strife was enkindled; but Alfonso II. did not at once employ open force, because perchance he felt that his pretensions were not altogether justifiable. An unforeseen

circumstance enabled him, in spite of himself, to give to these pretensions a more solid foundation, circumscribing them, and up to a certain point hiding its violence beneath the cloak of moderation. What was passing in Spain between the Saracens and the Christians produced this favourable circumstance.

We spoke in the preceding Book of the events which had taken place in the empire of the Almohades during the first eight or nine years of the government of Annasir, the successor of Yacub. The disturbances of Africa and the war with the Ibn Ghaniyyahs had occupied the whole attention of the Emperor of Morocco, while the King of Castille, who, of all the Christian princes of Spain, was the enemy most to be feared, took advantage of the occasion to commence crushing the power of the Almohades on this side of the strait. Brave, clear-sighted, and energetic, the state of affairs and the experience acquired by age had invested him with prudence, and he had for a long time weighed in his mind how to obtain a complete reparation for the defeat suffered in Alarcos. After this fearful expedition he did not lose hopes of the future, contenting himself with saying, "The sons have avenged the blood spilt by the fathers." . This idea had never left him, and the occasion for vengeance had come. The truce entered into with the terrible Al-Manssor in 1197 expired, and peace, in appearance at least, existed between him and the other Christian princes. The kingdom of Castille was now strong and respected, and a firm alliance bound Alfonso VIII. to the Kings of France and England. Rome protected it, and the Saracens of Andaluz, terrified at the presages of the storm which was brewing, invoked the aid of Annasir. The Castillian king sought a pretext for a rupture, and this was not difficult to find. On founding Mora, or Moia, on the Saracen frontier, this fact was considered by them to be equivalent to a declaration of war. When things had reached to the point desired by Alfonso VIII., he sent his son, the Infante Ferdinand, with some troops to enter by Truxillo and Montanches, while he penetrated with the bulk of his army into another quarter, and successively assailed the territories of Baeza, Andujar, and Jaen. The news of the calamities which threatened Spanish Islamism meanwhile reached Morocco. Annasir at once prepared for a *djihed*, and, furnished with a large body of troops, weapons, and ammunition of war, crossed the strait. Proceeding with his large army to Seville, he left it to besiege Salvatierra, one of the most important castles of the frontiers. When Alfonso VIII. knew of

the siege of Salvatierra, he marched towards those parts. The forces of Annasir being superior, the King of Castille did not dare to attack them. The garrison of the castle losing all hopes of aid, after defending it for some months, at length succumbed. But a deeper blow wounded the heart of the monarch: his son Ferdinand, and the heir to the throne, was attacked by a sudden illness, and died soon after. Nevertheless, his grief was unable to soften the spirit of Alfonso to the degree of giving up his project. After sustaining the campaign for some time, and reducing various Mussalman castles, he only ceased with the coming of winter. During that period of enforced repose, while calling to arms all his subjects and invoking the aid of the neighbouring princes, he sent messengers to France and Rome, charged with enlisting for Spain foreign soldiers to increase his forces. On all sides he met with assistance; the Pope gave such demonstrations as he usually did when enlisting soldiers for the expeditions to Palestine, and numerous bodies of men crossed the Pyrenees. Toledo was chosen as the meeting-place for all the corps which should compose the army, in which entered not only men from France, Italy, and other countries, but likewise Aragonese, commanded personally by the king, and the aids sent by other princes of Christian Spain. Thus in a short time the city itself and the suburbs were covered with warriors of diverse regions, full of enthusiasm and hopes.

The war, with its various mishaps, had lasted more than two years (1210 to 1212). The last act of this long and sanguinary drama was about to be acted. The Mussalmans were also preparing for an event which it was felt would prove a decisive one, and influence the future of the two inimical races. Wearied of partial combats and of weak campaigns, on both sides were collected together all their strength to decide the contention in one only battle.

On asking and receiving aid from foreign nations, and even remote ones, Alfonso VIII. had a right to expect equal aid from his relative, the youthful King of Portugal. The object of the intended war, the long and firm friendship of his father with the Castillian prince, and the family bonds which united him, compelled Alfonso II. to fly with one Portuguese troops to aid his relative, who was pledged in what might be called the common cause of Christian Spain. The King of Aragon, followed by the most illustrious knights of his States, was already marching to join the people of Castille. The King of Leon alone manifested reluctance to favour his co-religionists, and was

suspected of being secretly in league with Annasir against the Christians. Faithful to his duty, and far from following the shameful example of Alfonso IX., the Portuguese king, besought by the Castillian to aid him, had decided to do so. But as he was not of a very bellicose character, and the state of internal affairs prevented him from leaving his kingdom, he left the charge of commanding the troops sent out to others. In view that the military orders by their institution were especially called to intervene in this faction, the Portuguese men-at-arms who had professed in these orders hastened to take part in the war, particularly the Templars, who were singular above the others for bravery, and collected together under the command of Gomes Ramires, then General or Master of the Order of the Temple throughout the Peninsula, and who sealed with his blood the victory obtained in that glorious campaign. Besides these, many knights and a vast number of soldiers departed from Portugal for Toledo. At length the Christian army, composed of such varied elements, started from Toledo and penetrated into Mussalman territory, taking possession of Malagon, and successively of Calatrava and Alarcos and the neighbouring castles. The greater part of the French volunteers, weakened and dispirited by privations and the ruggedness of the road they had to traverse under a scorching sun, abandoned the undertaking; but at this juncture the King of Navarre, who at first seemed remiss, now appeared on the field with a small but brilliant army, and the Christians, entering Sierra Morena, were preparing to attack Salvatierra, when the approach of the Emperor of the Almohades became known.

The Saracen troops had but lately taken possession of that almost inaccessible castle, while Alfonso was taking revenge for its loss by conquering many strongholds, which he submitted in his impetuous career. The camp of Annasir was already in motion against the enemies, and the two armies encountered one another on the plains of the southern declivity of the Sierra Morena, called the Navas of Tolosa. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of this battle, one of the most memorable fought in the Peninsula after it was conquered by the Arabs, because it does not properly belong to our history. It is enough to say that, according to the testimony of the Saracen writers, the loss to themselves was incalculable, and they affirm that, out of a thousand combatants, only one escaped, notwithstanding that all the forces of the Moghreb and Andaluz were gathered together.

From that terrible engagement (July, 1212) dates the decadence of

the Mussalman dominion, in spite of a few partial advantages, becoming deep and rapid, and the routing of the Navas of Tolosa, or of Al-'akab (as it was called by Arab writers), re-echoed throughout Africa and Europe as a fearful reply to the chants of victory intoned seventeen years before by the conquerors in Alarcos.

Numerous troops from Portugal, however, distinguished themselves in that celebrated battle, and the manner they behaved is an especial event interesting to our national history, and proves at the same time the progress these forces had made. The heart of the true Portuguese beats high when, in perusing the details of the varied deeds of prowess and military skill practised by the Christian warriors recorded by foreign and contemporary writers, we find mentioned the deeds, not of the illustrious knights of Portugal or of the haughty nobility, whose only occupation was the profession of arms, but of the simple rustic villagers, condemned from their humble birth to an obscure life. Amid that multitude of men clad in steel and mounted on war-steeds and the unfurling of banners and standards, surrounded by the ranks of polished lances which glistened in the sun, the numerous but poor and rude Portuguese infantry distinguished itself by bearing the extremes of suffering, and in actively doing the hardest and heaviest service of the army, and in its impetuous bravery flung itself in the combat, as though to encounter death was as delightful as a banquet. Of what class of people was this energetic and valiant infantry composed of, which filled with astonishment one of the most eminent men of that epoch, Rodrigo de Toledo, who witnessed their alacrity and bravery? Of men from those councils organised in the cradle of the monarchy, and which with open hand our first two kings spread over the quarters of the kingdom. It was the people, strong and active, which sallied forth, because the municipal life had awakened within it the sentiment of liberty and the thought of nationality; because the chief of the monarchy was elevating them, and taking the first steps towards forming the mutual alliance of ages against the pride and brutal lawlessness of the privileged classes, converting them from dependants and vassals, almost serfs of the lords of the earth, into free subjects of the king; because, in a word, their letters of constitutional warranty, called charters, were truly contracts wherein, side by side with the duties imposed upon the burghers, were assured to them some right. The way in which the Portuguese men behaved in the battle of the Navas was not, however, the only important proof of

the development which the popular classes were already acquiring in the thirteenth century; other proofs came to confirm this, as will be seen in the course of our narrative.

Such were the events which influenced the contention of Alfonso II. with his sisters Theresa and Sancha, a contention the aspect of which was more serious than the legal defence, although useless, of the Infanta D. Mafalda. As we mentioned above, as a relative, as a knight, and as a Christian, the Portuguese prince could not honestly refuse the aid besought by the King of Castille, nevertheless the state of political affairs did not warrant him to leave his kingdom. From motives which, although we have no absolute certainty, we are convinced arose from the ill-will he manifested towards his brothers, and the contempt of the oath he had taken to fulfil the last dispositions of Sancho I., a part of the nobility declared themselves adverse to him from the commencement of his reign. These nobles, repulsed from the Portuguese Court, had followed the Infante Pedro to Leon, and naturally excited the spirit of Alfonso IX. against the King of Portugal. The King of Castille, who, it is said, was more inclined to favour Annasir than the King of Castille, had his army disengaged, and could employ it as he willed, while Alfonso II. was obliged, in order to avoid a shameful example, to send to Toledo a large number of the defenders of his kingdom. On the other hand, his sisters were in possession of the disputed castles, and manifested themselves resolved upon not yielding to simple threats. In this strait, Alfonso resorted to policy, seeking a middle term by which his pretensions should become just ones, and the interests of the Infantas be respected without breaking those of the Crown. Such at least appeared to be the intentions of the king, but we know not whether they were sincere or not. Instead of employing violence, he commenced by peacefully intimating to his sisters to deliver up the towns and castles which they illegally possessed, according to him, on the same principle which he invoked against D. Mafalda. Three times he repeated this intimation, with an interval of eight days each time. Thus nearly one month passed, which the Infantas cleverly employed in fortifying Montemor and Alemquer, and both taking refuge with their sister D. Branca in the first castle, besought aid from the knights exiled in Leon. Some of these, at whose head, it appears, was the former chief major-domo of Sancho I., Gonçalo Mendes, crossing the Beira, came with some men-at-arms and Portuguese and Leonese soldiers, to cast themselves on the towns where the Infantas were, and

instil daring into their partisans. In order to draw towards them the burghers of Montemor and of Alemquer, the sisters Theresa and Sancha reformed the charter of these towns, remitted a part of the tributes, and increased the privileges and municipal exemptions. Hence Alfonso II. was compelled to have recourse to arms.

While he marched against Montemor, Esgueira was probably occupied by his own, while a portion of the royal troops proceeded to Alemquer. After devastating the neighbourhood of the castle and spilling some blood, Alfonso sent to D. Theresa conciliatory proposals. He offered to deliver up Montemor to a nobleman worthy of his confidence and that of D. Theresa, to whom he, the King, would assign a fixed salary, and while acknowledging in the castle the supreme dominion of the Crown, should deliver up to her all the rents of the town. But their spirits were irritated, and this moderate proposal was entirely repulsed. At length the partisans of the Infantas flung off the mask completely, and proclaimed the King of Leon, breaking out in derisive shouts against their prince. The plot which had been arranged was now manifested. Alfonso IX., who had taken advantage of the departure of the King of Castille for the campaign against the Saracens to take possession of various places on the frontier of Castille, suddenly turned his army against Portugal. A Leonese army, commanded personally by the King, and accompanied by his son, D. Fernando —born to him by the Queen D. Theresa, who was now besieged in Montemor—the exiled D. Pedro, and the renowned Pedro Fernandes de Castro, were unexpectedly proceeding towards the frontiers of Alemdouro. The civil war which was imminent had drawn to the Mondego the Portuguese forces that had become so greatly diminished by the aid given to Alfonso VIII. Up to this moment no fear or suspicion existed that Leon intended to break peace with Portugal. The influence, however, of the party of the Infantas, if, as we learn by documents, had at its head the elder Sousa, would also facilitate the progress of the invading army in those districts, among its officers being a Portuguese prince. Very quickly did the most notable castles on the frontier lines north to east from Contrasta, which was destroyed up to Alva on the Douro, fall into the hands of the Leonese. Such were Melgaço Lanhoselo, Ulgoso, Balsamão, Freixo, Urros, Mós, and Sicoto. The districts of Barroso, Vinhaes, Montenegro, Chaves, Laedra, Lampazas, Aguiar, Panoias, and Miranda—that is to say, those which encircled the greater portion of the modern province of Tras-os-Montes—

were carried by fire and sword. After this, Alfonso IX. delivering up to the Infante D. Pedro one of the castles submitted, and the rest to Leonese Alcaides, proceeded vigorously to war.

The northern provinces being now invaded, and civil discords enkindled in the heart of his kingdom, Alfonso II. found himself in a difficult position, since he was deprived of the forces which were combating in Andalus, and was paying dearly for his want of fraternal piety, and for breaking the oath made to his father. The memoirs of that time do not offer us circumstantially, and with absolute certainty, the system of defence adopted by the King of Portugal. From them we barely learn that he marched to Alemdouro, probably when he knew of the approach of the Leonese, or leaving some troops to oppose any attempt from the garrisons of Montemor and Alemquer, sending the rest of his forces to repel the invasion. Alfonso lost, either through him or more probably by his generals, a battle in Valdevez, on the same sito where his grandfather obtained from the Emperor Alfonso VII. the brilliant advantages which enabled him to take the royal title. Victorious in Alto Minho, having as allies the members of the family of his adversary and a part of the Portuguese nobility, who, sacrificing the love of their native land for domestic dislikes, were proclaiming in the south of the kingdom the dominion of a foreign prince, Alfonso IX., the concealed confederate of the Saracens, the old and deep-rooted enemy of Sancho I. and of his son, perchance felt his heart swell with the hope of reducing to its utter ruin that small monarchy of the west which was such an undesirable neighbour. In the supposition that Alfonso VIII. was defeated in the gigantic wrestling with Annasir, there was nothing to prevent the progress of the Leonese arms in Portugal. The troops sent by Alfonso II. to his relative being annihilated or dispersed; and reduced to defending his own State against the Amir-al-Mumenin, it was impossible that the Portuguese King could resist, for any length of time, the revolt which threatened him in the centre of his kingdom, the conquering army in Valdevez which was constraining him on the north, and the attempts made in the frontiers of Lower Beira, where, it seems, the rural knights and the men of the Leonese Council of Galisteu were invading the territory of Sortelha, and engaging in deadly combats.

The battle of the Navas, however, won by the united armies of Castille, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, not only saved Christian Spain from one of the most fearful invasions which threatened to open the

road to a speedy and permanent residence of Islamism, but likewise influenced in a decisive manner the critical situation of Alfonso II., and saved him when on the brink of an abyss. The King of Castille departed from the Navas three days after the great battle, and took possession of the Castles of Vilche, Ferral, Baños, and Tolosa. Following up his victorious march, he proceeded towards the east, along the right margin of the Guadalquiver, entered into Baeza, which the Saracens had abandoned in order to defend Ubeda, and, in spite of some attempts at resistance, was reduced and razed to the ground. From Ubeda, where sickness had begun to break out, the army returned, *vid* Calatrava, to Toledo, towards the end of July, when the troops were dismissed, and each returned to their homes. This solution of a problem from which depended the future fate of the Christian States of the Peninsula filled with fear the Leonese King.

Although the places taken from Alfonso VIII., when in straitened circumstances, would have otherwise belonged to Leon, yet the way in which they were forcibly regained awakened the just indignation of the conquering prince. Dowered with a generous character, the joy of such an astounding triumph rendered the King of Castille still more magnanimous. Far from crushing his rival, it was he himself who offered him peace. Towards the end of 1212 commenced the preliminaries for a treaty of peace, and in the spring of 1213 it was definitely arranged. Grateful to his relative, who loyally had helped him in the hour of danger, one of the conditions laid down by Alfonso VII. to the Leonese King was the restitution of the Portuguese castles he had taken, and, as a consequence, the cessation of hostilities against Alfonso II.

Hence, while the auxiliary troops sent to Toledo returned to Portugal elated with the triumphs achieved, the wrestling on the frontiers became weaker, until it altogether ceased with the renewal of peace. Disencumbered from the foreign war, the Portuguese prince proceeded with new vigour against the sisters. The castles which they and their partisans defended were violently assaulted. The King's troops devastated the environs of Montemor and Alemquer, where the damage done by the first attempt had been great. Combated, however, with engines and all other means which the art of warfare taught, the knights and soldiers who garrisoned them, possessed by the chivalrous ideas of that epoch, fought valiantly in defence of the Infantas, who had evoked their aid. At least this is

what may be concluded from the uselessness of the force employed to terminate the contention by force of arms.

Notwithstanding the peace with Leon, and the return of the troops which had fought in the Navas, Alfonso, after some months of siege, was unable to overcome the desperate obstinacy of the rebels, and the damage would have become indefinitely protracted had not the Pope, summoning the contenders to the field of legal discussion, interposed his supreme authority in that deplorable question.

In order that the reader may better understand what passed in that lengthened litigation, and appraise the case on both sides, it is necessary to explain some facts of the social history of that period which bear upon the customs and institutions of the nation.

Up to the epoch of this narrative the lands, seigniorities, and properties possessed by the noblemen and noble knights were of two kinds. The first was that of patrimonial lands, transmitted by inheritance from father to son since before the monarchy, or obtained, whether from kings or from private individuals, by various ways, but passing afterwards into the nature of heritage from the original possessor to their sons or grandchildren. Both constituted what is called *honours*, and oftentimes *parks*, although this designation is more frequently applied to ecclesiastical lands. These lands or properties had privileges, without any of the feudal obligations common in Europe. When the King required the military services of a nobleman, or even a simple knight, he paid him, because among us feud did not exist. The second kind of seigniory or lands were tenancies, wardens, and prestimonies. This kind constituted, so to say, the coin with which the King paid for military and civil services, when he did not actually give money, which was less common, especially at the commencement of the monarchy. These tenancies became superior governments in the many districts into which the country was divided, and the noblemen (*ricos-homens*) were those to whom alone were confided such tenancies. The wardens constituted the special government of castles and castellated towns, and the alcaide (*prætor*) entered into the immediate hierarchy of the district governor (*princeps terræ, tenens*). The prestimonies were the properties, the receiving of the imposts or taxes paid by the towns, and even the seigniorial rights of granges conceded by the King to any individual for services to the nation. A great number of documents testify that the appointments of district governor and of alcaide, with the emoluments they produced, were entirely movable,

while in the concession of prestimonies they were principally for life. Hence, up to the thirteenth century, from the holding of any public property could be perfectly distinguished the various appointments of the State, whether civil, military, or mixed, an idea which in our days would be trivial and simple, but which in feudal countries was of some importance, because not only the lands, estates, and fixed properties were constituted into feuds, but even appointments of all kinds. There were other laws concerning public charges of State which are unnecessary to state for the general reader.

There remains, however, another especial usage of those times which bears upon the cause between Alfonso and his sisters. It is that of securities (*securitates fidelitates*). When any treaty or convention of any importance was made between princes into which there might enter abuse of power, and any rupture in the conditions of the treaty, recourse was had to a powerful means to prevent any such rupture, an extreme measure, which was conducive of evil consequences, but of indisputable efficacy, and perchance the only one to obtain the desired end. If the affair was between princes of two independent States, each on his side appointed a certain number of castles whose *alcaides*, or governors, rendered themselves responsible for the execution of the convention, take the part of the foreign King, and deliver them up, should their own prince not fulfil what he promised. The same appears to have taken place sometimes in contracts thus secured by the King with eminent personages of his own kingdom. In epochs when the most solemn obligations were broken, and when, in reality, it was force alone which rendered right respected, the fear, in the first instance, of beholding his own vassals crossing over to the enemy, and in the second instance to meet a legal resistance repelling the abuse of the supreme power, served to curb the kings, who were as covetous and unbridled as their rude barons, and, like them, ready to sacrifice loyalty to caprice, vengeance, or avarice.

It is possible that the mental imbecility which Alfonso II. attributed to his father when making his last will was truly a fact, but the simple testimony of the youthful prince, who was an interested party, would be insufficient for us to believe it. Besides which, this accusation was evidently of bad faith. Were this circumstance a true fact, it would not have rendered null the words of the will in relation only to the Infantas, but all the rest would be likewise null; and as he invoked the principle that the whole of public finance was a sacred

right which ought to pass intact from king to king, he was wanting to his own duty in despoiling his successor by fulfilling the other legacies, especially those respecting the churches, monasteries, and orders, which, in truth, were excessive. Be what it may, it is certain that the provisions of that important document were explicit: Sancho left to his daughters towns, lands, patronage, and other properties as inheritance, or rather he declared and confirmed, so to say, as his last wishes, what had been a former act. As a parent and as a sovereign he could do it, as was the custom. Alfonso I. and he likewise had done the same, towards many individuals, and to this day the ancient parchments in the archives of the kingdom offer us innumerable examples. The Gothic law was put aside, to the point that the youthful prince or his chancellor, the astute Julian, who was still influential during the first years of his reign, did not dare to appeal to this law before the Pope, but contented himself with basing the supposed right on the alleged sentence in the bull of Alexander III.

In this way Alfonso II. despoiled his sister Mafalda, and wished to do the same to D. Theresa and D. Sancha. But the resolute manner they manifested in not yielding without a combat compelled the King to reduce his pretensions to more reasonable terms. The proposals offered when proceeding personally against Montemor the first time were strictly within legal terms. But fire and the sword had already done their work, and the spirits of the contenders were embittered, besides which, the Infantas had good motives for doubting the loyalty of their brother. He had commenced by affording them a proof of his future conduct. We remarked that the fact of Sancho I. exacting from him twice on oath to execute his last will evidently manifested that he doubted the intentions of his son. Not satisfied with the promises solemnly made in presence of the Archbishop of Braga and himself, the deceased King had recourse to the system of sureties, the nature of which we explained above. It was with this intention that his head major-domo, Gonçalo Mendes, and two noblemen, Lourenço Soares and Gomes Soares, were summoned to intervene in the execution of the royal testament, pledging themselves to fulfil it, and to see that it was carried out by every means. Hardly had the Infantas taken possession of the towns they had inherited, than Alfonso II., taking advantage of the changeableness of public appointments, substituted the alcaides or governors of the castles within the districts of these three noblemen, and perchance changed their own governorship also.

The interpretation, which we give to these obscure acts in the case between the King and his sisters, is, in our opinion, the only possible one, and perfectly explains the sorrow of Gonçalo Mendes, a sorrow which drove him to follow the standard of rebellion, while his two colleagues, less scrupulous concerning their pledged word, or with less pride than the chief of the family of Sousas, joined the party of the new monarch, and thus continued in favour and power.

We said that soon after the death of Sancho I. his daughters impetrated from Rome bulls in confirmation of their respective inheritances. As soon as discords arose, Theresa and Sancha appealed to Rome against the violence of their brother; later on, while imploring the material aid of the Leonese, they sought to make use of the spiritual ones which Alfonso IX. might indirectly afford them. The Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Zamora, who with the Archbishop of Braga (now deceased) had been appointed administrating executors of the testament of Sancho I., did not fail to fulminate excommunications against Alfonso II., and place Portugal under interdict, while at the same time the army of Leon was invading Minho and Tras-os-Montes.

Alfonso had recourse to the Pope also to defend himself, and other judges were appointed in the persons of the Abbots of Spina and Osseira, who were bidden to proceed to Portugal, and pledge an oath to the King that in the question at issue they would strictly fulfil the Pontifical resolution, relay the imposed interdict, and receive an equal pledge from the Infantas, exacting from the Portuguese prince that they should not be molested pending the suit, and to expel from Montemor and Alemquer all persons suspected of plotting against the King, and the castles to be delivered up to individuals who should work no evil against the King, their brother. Finally, they were enjoined to endeavour to bring the contending parties to an amicable agreement, and should their endeavours prove fruitless, to make an exact inquiry into all the particulars of the case, and transmit them to the Roman Curia, wherein the Infantas and Alfonso would have justice done to them through proper procurators.

As Innocent III. had foreseen, an agreement was not come to, and the war continued. Each party alleged damages received and rights to vindicate which they were supposed to have. Meanwhile, owing to his moderation, and the respect and fear which his recent victories had induced, the King of Castille, when compelling Alfonso IX. to live in

peace with him and with the King of Portugal, was indirectly placing D. Theresa and D. Sancha, with their adherents, in the same difficult position as Alfonso II. had found himself a short time previously. Deprived of foreign aid, and reduced to defending themselves within the walls of the two castles, the future offered them no happy solution, unless in the event of the new Apostolic judges manifesting themselves favourable, or the Pope himself. On the other hand, the King, who met with a stern resistance from the party of his sisters, and beheld a portion of the nobility declaring against him, would likewise appeal to the moral force which the goodwill or favour of the Pope might afford him. Hence both parties were necessarily better disposed to dispute judicially the affair than decide it by force of arms.

The Abbots of Spina and Osseira presented themselves in the Court of Portugal, and binding Alfonso II. to the conditions imposed by the Pontiff, proceeded to raise the interdict. Against this the Infantas appealed, on the plea that the premises with which their brother obtained this resolve from Rome were falsehoods, and demanding a fixed time and secure place to prove it. The judges were doubting, but at length they decided to accede to their petition. The King opposed this, exacting the restricted execution of the bull addressed to the two delegates, and appealing to the Pope. The case being carried before Innocent III., he ordered the Abbots of Spina and Osseira that on the King renewing the oath imposed they should raise the interdict, and compel the contenders, under pain of excommunication, to effect a truce to their violences, to repair the mutual injuries and damages done and proved, and finally that, on hearing the complaints of both sides on the contested points, and their respective proofs examined, should they be still unable to reduce them to an amicable arrangement, to instruct their counsel to refer them to the Roman Curia, where the litigants should send, at a fixed time, their procurators, to hear the definite sentence upon this matter.

Half the year of 1213 had already passed in this judicial wrestling when the resolution of the Pope came to hand; but as this was unable to terminate the litigation, it was continued for three years longer. In view of the mandate of the Pope, the interdict against the King and his kingdom was raised in January, 1214, but Alfonso was sentenced to pay a hundred and fifty thousand *morabitinos* in favour of the Infantas. The sum was a heavy one, and he refused to pay it. Once again he appealed to Rome, but the judges fulminated fresh excom-

munications against him, and newly placed his kingdom under an interdict. Neither party was satisfied with condoning the damages effected one towards the other, but both wished to be indemnified amply for what had been suffered. A third time was this suit taken to the Roman Curia, and Innocent III. again annulled the censures, and ordered that the castles of the Infantas, where they continued to live peaceably, should be delivered up to the keeping of the Templars, in such a manner that no harm might accrue to the King or to the kingdom, under condition that Alfonso II., either in his own person or through others, should not molest them, rather defend and protect them in all they had a right to. In this commission he substituted for the Abbots of Spina and Osseira the Bishop of Burgos and the Dean of Compostella, and these determined that an inquiry should be made of the justice or injustice of starting a war, the damages to be paid by the offending party, should the other not wish to remit the indemnification. On this point Innocent III. appeared to leave the door open for new doubts, and insinuated indirectly to the judges to decide in favour of the King. Supposing, and rightly, that the testament of Sancho I. was understood only relative to the rentals of the lands bequeathed to his daughters, and not the royal and superior jurisdiction over those same lands, he ordered the Infantas to yield on that point without restriction or obstacle whatsoever, the delegates to put this sentence immediately into execution.

In this way was the intestine wrestling temporarily settled which had lasted five years, and had brought great evils upon the Peninsula. Besides the devastations effected by Alfonso II. in the lands of his sisters, and other evils resulting from this affair, devastations and evils valued at a hundred and fifty thousand *aureos* or *morabitinos*, the entry of the Leonese along the frontiers of the north, the inevitable expenses of war, and the ruin effected by the partisans of the Infantas must have produced even greater losses to the Crown. Besides this, the ill-will of the noble families divided between the two parties, necessarily produced lengthened quarrels, which were bequeathed as honourable inheritances from father to son. Illustrious blood certainly flowed in these contentions, and the tradition of times nearly contemporary records many deeds of valour. This division of the nobility, part of whom, in their ill-will, held the King as one, or rather as the principal of their adversaries, would heap opprobrium against the dynasty of Alfonso Henry, aversions which had commenced in the preceding

reign between the relations and friends of the noble Bishop of Oporto. It was this fact which explains the hapless fate of the successor of Alfonso II., and most certainly the clergy could not have attained to expel him from Portugal had the nobility been united around the throne, and had not this powerful class felt in their souls a hatred and ill-will inherited from their fathers against the Crown.

In order to narrate the course of a litigation which was protracted till the year 1216, we omitted to refer to other political events that took place about that time, which no less concern the history of that epoch, and which we shall do now.

Of the five daughters of Sancho I., Branca and Berengaria were the youngest. Branca followed the fate of Theresa and Sancha. Mafalda, however, and Berengaria either had yielded to the will of their brother or had only offered a moderate and legal resistance. Mafalda, by reason of her timid, pious character, which, it appears, merited for her a place among the category of saints, and Berengaria, perchance because being still very young, could not mix in these sad contentions. Happier, however, than their sisters, who were combating to save the paternal inheritance, they peacefully conquered two thrones of Europe. Waldemar II., King of Denmark, on his second nuptials, chose for his consort Berengaria (1214), although it is difficult to know by what circumstances or intervention a prince of the north regions came to espouse the orphan daughter of a monarch of the extreme west. Was it due to the influence of the unfortunate Ingerburge, sister of Waldemar, and Queen of France, who had been divorced from Philip Augustus for ten years, and now was reunited? Was Waldemar the prince whom ancient memoirs tell us came at the head of the Danes in the Crusade of 1189? and did their relations with the Court of Portugal date from that epoch? In the latter hypothesis it would be, however, the nephew, and not the brother of Knud VI., who was the illustrious Crusader. In this affair did the former Countess of Flanders, Theresa, widow of Philip of Alsace, who had obtained a short time previously for her nephew Ferdinand the hand of Joanna of Flanders, intervene? We know not. It is a fact that Berengaria departed for Denmark two or three years after her father's death. The goodness of the virtuous Margaret of Bohemia, first wife of Waldemar, who was still beloved and wept for by the Danes, rendered it difficult for the new Queen to be beloved by the subjects of her husband.

Besides which, the character of Berengaria participated in that of her father and brother; she ardently loved wealth, and the people attributed to her the new exactions which pressed upon them. More fortunate than Margaret, the Princess lived a long life, and left three sons, who successively bore the crown of Denmark. While this marriage was being effected the events which took place in Spain indirectly prepared unexpectedly that of Mafalda.

And meanwhile that the King of Portugal was engaged in civil wars, which were useless to effect the aggrandisement of his country or conduce to the glory of Christianity, the Kings of Castille and Leon were deriving the advantages of the time by collecting the fruits of the victory of the Navas, in which Alfonso IX. had had no part, and where the Portuguese troops had so daringly fought. Alfonso VIII. continued the war in the spring of 1213, and successively took various places and castles of the Saracens, meanwhile that the King of Leon, crossing his frontiers on the south, assisted by various Castillian knights who had entered the service of the prince, took possession of Alcantara, on the Tagus, and marching afterwards to the south-east, vainly assaulted Caceres. A great famine was then oppressing the Peninsula, and various other unfortunate accidents of that campaign induced a truce of peace between Christians and Mussalmans, which lasted some length of time. But Alfonso VIII., wishing, so it is said, to take advantage of this attempt to bring in his son-in-law to the military undertaking he was planning against Gascony, convoked him for a meeting in Valencia, where he proceeded to await him and discuss personally the affair. However, he was attacked on the road by a grave illness, which proved fatal, and he died in Guttierre Muñós in the district of Arevalo, where his wife and children met him. It was afterwards said that his life had been shortened by the refusal of the King of Portugal to hold the conference in the States of his father-in-law, although Palencia was the last town on the Castillian frontier. Thus ended, more full of glory than length of days, the reign of one of the greatest princes which Spain, with reason, can be proud of.

The Crown of Castille fell to an infant king. Henry, the only son left to Alfonso VIII., by D. Leonor of England, was about ten years of age. The widowed wife only survived her husband a few days, and the reins of the State appeared to be left forsaken, while it excited and favoured ambition. The repudiated Queen of Leon, Berengaria, the eldest sister of the heir to the throne, and who had, from the time of

her divorce, resided in the States of her father, was the natural protector of Henry, and, as such, she was elected. The powerful family of the Laras, however, disputed it, and the Queen had to cede the tutorship to Count Alvaro Nunes de Lara, the most celebrated member of that family. Taking the supreme power, the Count only strove to crush his rivals and render it impossible for Berengaria to regain the position she had lost. In the name of the King, whom he kept under, he practised all kinds of violent acts, not even respecting the Queen of Leon herself, whom he deprived of the seigniories which Alfonso VIII. had bequeathed, and even made to quit the Castillian territory.

Berengaria had her partisans, and the system of government adopted by the Laras was not the most proper for inducing their friendship. The tutor endeavoured to form alliances outside the kingdom, seeking for his pupil a consort who should serve as a docile instrument, the better to dominate him. Mafalda, the sister of the King of Portugal, whose sweetness of disposition, ascetic life, and ignorance of the world rendered her fitting for his scheme, and being older than the King of Castille, it was only natural that she should exercise over him a decisive predominance. On the other hand, Alfonso II. was bestirring himself to realise this marriage, and Master Vincent, the Dean of Lisbon, became his agent in Castille to effect this end. This skilful minister very quickly brought the affair to a conclusion, and Mafalda was withdrawn from the obscurity of the cloister to ascend the highest throne of Spain. Elevated to the rank of Queen, she acquired, in the eyes of her brothers, rights, if not more legitimate, at least more solid, to possess what her father had bequeathed to her. In this way, it appears, were terminated the discords with Mafalda, whom we see peacefully holding, later on, the seigniority of the monasteries and disputed properties, without any vestiges appearing that the suit was continued or concluded.

The Count Alvaro Nunes, who personally came to Portugal to arrange the union of his pupil with D. Mafalda, conducted the Portuguese Infanta to Castille, where the marriage was celebrated. But Berengaria, who foresaw the consequences of such a union, laboured actively with Innocent III. to annul it, on the plea of close relationship. The Pope condescended, and the marriage was dissolved before the youthful King arrived at an age when he could be joined to his wife. The prompt manner with which the tutor accepted the resolution

of the Pontiff shows that he feared the ecclesiastical censures which necessarily would be fulminated in case of resistance, and would invest, with over-much force, the party of Berengaria, or else he had other designs in view, and perchance there is some foundation for the report which was spread after the divorce, that he endeavoured to continue the alliance with Portugal by soliciting for himself the hand of D. Mafalda, who, after resisting some time in Castille the pretensions of D. Alvaro, at length returned to Portugal, where she took the veil in the Monastery of Arouca, dedicating the rest of her life to the exercise of monastic virtues.

An indifferent warrior, and inspiring little fear to outsiders, the son of Sancho I. seemed to be dominated by only one desire common and natural to princes—the increase of the resources of the Crown, and the influence of royal power. What had passed during these five years must have induced the reflection of the most important question of any people, the right of property. From this no doubt proceeded in part the favour which the Infantas met with from a certain number of noblemen who followed their fortunes, principally those who feared that some day the properties obtained from the Crown by their fathers and grandsires would be disputed, which had come to them in the nature of inheritance. In truth, the contention had in a short time changed aspect. Another circumstance relative to the acquisitions of inheritance or dominical rights rose up to suscitate contentions between the Crown and individuals. The charitable institutions (such as the hospitals and asylums), the military orders, and the nobles joined the villagers, and in return for a specified sum, or of an annual one, they extended tributary properties by their personal privileges, in this way diminishing public rents. A cross erected over a non-privileged land, a sign to indicate the fact of immunity, sufficed to protect them from fiscal exactors, because, according to the shape of the crosses, or by the frames or designs, was understood that over it ruled directly an institution of charity, one of the orders of knighthood, or some nobleman. The simple fact of a son of any knight having been nursed in a family released them from tributes or taxes being demanded of them. In this there existed great abuses, to which in the Assembly of 1211 a term was endeavoured to be placed, by forbidding the hospitals to defraud the public treasury by this means, and rendering of no effect for this end all other privileges—that is to say, of the orders and nobility.

Engaged in these affairs, Alfonso II. was, of all the Christian

princes of Spain, the least troublesome adversary of the Saracens. His bellicose character and military talents were certainly far from equalling those of Alfonso Henry, and even of Sancho I. The campaign in Alemdouro against the Leonese had certainly been far from brilliant, and within his own country he had been unable to submit two of the revolted castles, in spite that they had employed all the art of warfare. During that time along the frontiers of the Gharb nothing had been undertaken excepting some obscure raids by the knights of the Temple of Santiago and Calatrava, or by the councils of the neighbourhood, the details of which have not been handed to us. The former system of multiplying preceptories or institutions of the Military Orders along the margins of the Tagus or beyond continued to be carried out. Hence the signing of the territory called Cardoso was conceded to the Templars. A certain Fernando Sanches possessed that vast inheritance, who, intending to raise over the ruins of the ancient town a new one, with the name of Villa-franca, besought the aid of the Templars, whom he made overseers of the undertaking and the rights which should result. But whether owing to his death, or because the ambitious knights took advantage of their own influence to take possession of all, it is certain that three years later (1214) the Order of the Temple received from Alfonso II. the gift of all the land, under the condition that they should establish the town that had commenced to rise up, called Castello-Branco. To the Friars of Evora was given the place called Aviz, on the right margin of Ervedal, where they erected a castle in accordance with the conditions of the donation. The hostile relations with the Mussalmans appear, however, to be confined, at that epoch, to the fortified places in the districts of the south, and from this epoch date the first vestiges of the founding of Marvão, over the ancient ruins, and of being re-peopled.

The affairs in Europe began at that juncture to awaken the warlike spirit of the Portuguese, slumbering beneath the government of a prince whose vocation certainly was not the profession of arms.

In order the better to comprehend the military events which occurred in the year 1217, it is important to glance at the situation of the Mussalman provinces of Spain. The defeat of Annasir in the memorable battle of the Navas had proved a deadly blow. The Prince of the Almohades had retired to Africa to conceal his discomfiture and humiliation in the imperial palaces of Morocco, and, as though wishful of forgetting this great calamity in a turmoil of varied sensations, he with-

drew to his alcasar, and yielded himself up to pleasures. Indifferent to the fate of the empire, he proclaimed his son Yusuf, better known as Abu Yacub Al-Mostanser Billah, successor to the throne, and gave up the reins of government to his wasirs, and never more left his palace until his death in 1214, from poison. The imperial power continued to be held by the ministers, because Al-Montanser had not yet arrived at the age of manhood, yet the empire was at peace, as the uncles of the youthful Ameer and the wazirs watched over the preservation of the throne. But as soon as Yusuf began to govern he clearly showed that he could never save the Almohades from their downward course. His favourites were men of the lowest class, and wishing to withdraw his uncles and the esteemed sheiks from his Court, he gave them appointments to various posts in Spain and remote provinces of Africa. Abu-Mohammed Abdullah and Mohammed Abdullah Al-Mansor, brothers of Annasir, were sent with the sheik Abu Zeyd to the Peninsula, where they at once began to war against the people and to enrich themselves.

Similarly to all periods of decadence, greed of gold, the principal origin of corruption, became all-powerful; appointments were conferred or withdrawn at the price of gold, and justice or injustice ruled the day as it might suit the highest bidder. This venality irritated the spirits of their victims, and the masses began to show their discontent, and on all sides rose up rebellion, announcing a civil war, and affording a favourable opportunity to Christian princes. The luckless death of Henry of Castille, which took place 1217; the civil discords which about this time reached their height; the accession to the throne of Ferdinand III., son of Berengaria, who succeeded his father by desire of his mother, to whom the Crown appertained; the jealousy of the King of Leon, who, it is said, even offered to the daughter of Alfonso VIII. to unite himself to her by a new marriage, for which he obtained the permission of the Pope; the war, finally, which, on account of the repulsion of Berengaria, or, rather, through the ambition of Alfonso IX., broke out between the two States, all conspired to render Portugal the first to take advantage of the anarchy which reigned among the Mussalmans. It was not due to the prowess and military skill of Alfonso II., but to the warlike spirit of his subjects and the unforeseen circumstances of the time, that one of the most glorious events of our history took place which renders its pages illustrious.

For many years the affairs of the East had daily manifested a more sombre aspect, while, at the same time, the enthusiasm for the redemp-

tion of the Holy Places was becoming cooled. The Crusade of 1199, departing from its object, so to say, only served to substitute a Frankish dynasty for the Greek one on the throne of Constantinople. This fact brought about the dismemberment of the Empire of the East, and Theodore Lascaris, one of the most illustrious princes of his time, had proclaimed himself Emperor in Nicæa, while other princes rose up in diverse provinces, thus curtailing a State which was the natural barrier against Islamism and Asia, placed as a vanguard to Christianity on the frontiers of Europe. The Christian kingdom of Palestine might almost be said to be annihilated, since little else remained to it but the territories of Acre and Tyre. Besides this, the rivalry existing between the various Frankish barons who had established themselves in those places, holding seigniories more or less independent, and between the Military Orders, who considered themselves so many political potentates, frequent wars were engendered, partly civil, but these were compensated by the perturbations of the same species which weakened the Mussalmans. Meanwhile that the East offered this deplorable spectacle, the West, absorbed in analogous discords, was devouring itself, and, while following mean ambitions, gradually abandoned the predominant idea of the previous century, which had impelled Europe to rise up and proceed against Asia—a grand, sublime idea, truly, but which, in its realisation and singular form, had become badly developed, and stained by crimes and cupidity. To this state was added another project, which, without running the risk of storms and unequal battles in Syria, and against warlike people who were united together to combat the sectaries of an altogether different race, bound by the firm bonds of a common creed and nation, they could gratify their cupidity and love of warfare, a no less efficacious spur than religious enthusiasm of the Crusaders, by finding in Southern France a spoil they could partake with less risk and labour. This was the heresy of the Albigenses, the plan of whose errors, truly worthy of condemnation, hatreds and the desires of robbery and fanaticism, charged with many absurd calumnies, which, for that very reason, the crowds believed in with unalterable faith. And, in truth, the new field presented to the hunters of riches and lives was insufficient to satisfy so many bad and ignoble passions as rose up in Europe; but the expeditions beyond sea were becoming less frequent and with a lesser number of soldiers, not only on account of the more easy crusade against the heretics, but likewise because the repeated lessons of adversity received in the East

were cooling the belief in the fond illusions which had promoted and fanned for so many years those far-distant undertakings, and were deadening the hopes of obtaining any happy and decisive result.

But the strifes and labours of many kinds were not sufficient to induce the superior genius and immense activity of Innocent III. to postpone the thought of the Crusades. The elevation of Baldwin to the throne of Constantinople (1204), while facilitating to the Apostolic See a more direct influence in the East, had been promoted by Innocent III. with the sincere object of attaining its true ends. In 1213 the Pope renewed his efforts to arrange an expedition, efforts which he continued up to the conjuncture of the Fourth Lateran Council, which was convoked that same year to meet in 1215, and which was partly held in order to impart more vigour to the scheme. He attained his end, and Europe once more was rising up to combat Asia, when death came to interrupt the glorious course of grand designs projected by Innocent III. (July, 1216). He was succeeded by Honorius III., who, although inferior in intellectual gifts to the great man who had held the reins of Europe with an iron grasp, yet followed the system of his predecessor. Without forsaking the question of the Papal supremacy above all other princes of the world, Honorius equally promoted the expedition to Syria; but the serious perturbations which agitated France and England; the persecution of the Albigenses, the emulation of the republics of Italy, the state of affairs in the greater number of countries of the West, and finally, more than all, the decrease of enthusiasm for those undertakings, was due the fact that only Hungary and Germany responded to the call of Rome to a holy war. While Andrew, the King of Hungary, followed by the Duke of Austria and other princes, barons, and prelates of the German Empire undertook with their troops the journey by land, a numerous fleet took the Crusaders from the cities of the Lower Rhine and its neighbouring provinces, departing from Wlaardingen, and sailed to the coasts of Spain to continue its route to the Mediterranean.

The Rhenish fleet, which was composed of more than two hundred ships, most of which had been fitted up by the inhabitants of Cologne, was ably and skilfully commanded by various officers, among them Count de Withe and the constable of the warriors, William, Count of Holland, the former ally of the Infante Ferdinand of Portugal and his hapless companion in the luckless affair of Bouvines. This fleet, after

a lengthened voyage, with the loss of only one ship, with people from Manheim, which met with disaster in the English Channel, reached the port of Pharo, in Galicia, from whence the Crusaders proceeded by land to visit the Temple of Santiago. After this they re-embarked, weighed anchor, and followed along the coast towards the south, when a furious and unexpected storm broke over them and separated the ships. The constable, with a part of the fleet, entered the mouth of the Douro, but two or three of the vessels were wrecked on the bar, while the Count de Withe, running with the storm, came to seek the same shelter. At length, when it grew calm, the Crusaders sailed to the Tagus, to await in that port some of the missing vessels, meanwhile resting from a voyage which usually lasted fifteen days, but which had taken them six weeks, having left Wlaardingen on the twenty-ninth of May, and reaching Lisbon on the tenth of July, 1217.

We described in the preceding Book the result of the invasion of Yacub, in Western Gharb, in the year 1191. Although the Saracens had reconquered all the territory beyond the Tagus, they had only fortified and garrisoned the Fort Alkassr Ibn Abu Danes, abandoning the dismantled castles to the north and north-west of Chetawir. The Christians then came and occupied anew that district, and repaired the ruined fortresses. It is probable that this cost them some encounters with parties of Mussalman Almogaures, but the memoirs of the time do not tell us. We only know that the bellicose Spatharios newly possessed Palmella in the year preceding the death of Sancho I., and where the chapter of the Order resided. Palmella was the most advanced post against Alcacer, and Alcacer was the most terrible bulwark against the progress of the Christian arms on that side. It was governed by an illustrious captain who had distinguished himself in glorious enterprises, and a veteran in the profession of war—Abu-Abdullah Ibn Wasir Ach Chelbi, the same, it appears, who in 1189 sustained the memorable siege of Silves, and who assisted Yacub to reconquer it, being afterwards chosen by Annasir to the perilous, yet important charge of Wali of the district of Al-Kassr, whose capital was the key of the southern territories of the Gharb, and for that reason was called Kassr Al-Fetah (Castle of the Door, or entrance). In it the Friars of Palmella and other warriors stationed between the Sado and the Tagus had a troublesome neighbour, who did not allow them any repose. The combats were continual, and the entries were so often repeated to take captives that it was currently held to be an im-

posed duty on that castle to send every year a hundred Christian prisoners to the Emperor of Morocco. In this violent position was the frontier of the south-west when the fleet of the Crusaders anchored in the Tagus.

Sueiro, the Bishop of Lisbon, was not only a skilful agent, but a man of great energy, and perchance more fitted to vest the hard coat of mail of the warrior than assume the vestments of priesthood. With him, at the time, was the Bishop of Evora, the Abbot of Alcobaça, and Martin, the Commander of Palmella, besides many illustrious knights and various members of the Order of the Temple and the Hospital, owing, it is probable, to the news of the arrival of the fleet, and the general idea of employing them against the Saracens attracting them to Lisbon. Sueiro gave the Crusaders a magnificent reception and open hospitality. He described to them the situation of the neighbouring frontiers, and laid stress on the fact that the summer was too far advanced for them to undertake the long voyage which they still had before them, and that they could avoid a period of ignoble idleness for the warriors of the Cross, and at the same time work deeds of glory, by combating against the Infidels to the advantage of the liberty of the Peninsula. The prelates and knights of Portugal considered the siege of Alcacer a deed worthy of such noble soldiers, because that stronghold was considered the key and principal rampart of all Moorish Spain, and it seemed as though God had brought them wandering so long about those waters, only that they should winter in Lisbon, and contribute to avenge the faith; and lastly, and perchance the best argument was, that should Alcacer fall into their hands, the spoils they should obtain would not only victual them, but also defray the expenses of the expedition.

These considerations were weighed by the Crusaders, particularly by the Counts of Holland and Withe, who well understood the difficulty of the transit, and the usefulness of reaching the Holy Land during that year, as it was certain that the Emperor and other princes of Germany, with the Germanic and Italian troops, would not yet proceed to the East. They decided to remain, but many were reluctant, and discord broke out among the Crusaders. The strongest opposition came from the Frisians, who insisted upon going forward; and being unable to convince their companions to continue the voyage, the greater number left the Tagus, with over eighty vessels. Of the two hundred ships which left Wlaardingen, a few never left the Tagus, and others returned

home, while some had been lost or disabled on the coast during the storm. After the departure of eighty, the fleet, all told, in the Tagus, was reduced to one hundred ships. It was, therefore, only with the aid of these forces that the perilous attempt of Alcacer could be undertaken.

The two prelates then commenced to preach a Crusade against the Infidels. The whole of Portugal became agitated on hearing this call for a national war, and the nation, which appeared struck dumb for ever beneath the sepulchral slab of Sancho I. and his father, now rose up and replied. The Masters of the Orders, the Abbots of Alcobaça, and other influential persons endeavoured, in the kingdom and outside it, to gather together men-at-arms. These were not vain efforts; many enlisted under the red cross, and the King of Spain, taking advantage of this rising, and following the example of Portugal, prepared to break the truces with the Saracens. Meanwhile, the Counts of Holland and of Withe, quitting the bar of Lisbon, entered the mouth of the Sado, which flows into the ocean through a vast bay. The waters of the sea, breaking along the river to beyond Alcacer, form we dare not say a lengthened port, but a canal of some extension, along which ships of medium tonnage could sail, and in the thirteenth century was even more easily navigable. By land proceeded the Bishops of Lisbon and Evora, the Commander of Palmella, with their friars, and various noblemen, forming an illustrious, though small, company of picked men. When the foreigners reached the neighbourhood of Alcacer (30 July) hostilities broke out. The vineyards which surrounded the town were destroyed, and some of the Almogaures were repulsed who attempted a skirmish, and then the Crusaders, encamping near the walls, awaited the arrival of the Portuguese. On the 3rd of August all the forces were collected together, and the assault was at once prepared. The fleet was covered by the shots, and therefore at some distance, but the camps had been pitched so near that the Mussalmans were not able to leave the circle of their walls without incurring grave risk. This circle included two lines of fortifications, flanked by many towers difficult to assault, as they crowned a cliff mountain, where, even to this day, the ruins that still subsist cause astonishment, and an involuntary shudder when gazing at them from below. The besiegers proceeded to scale it; the fig and olive trees, which surrounded the noble town like a girdle of verdure, fell beneath the blows of the axes turned into weapons of war, and served to fill up the moats. The combat was a

fierce one, but the Mussalmans set fire to the *fachinas*, and that useless attempt was only a vain proof of bravery on both sides, causing many deaths. Then the engines of war began to work while the Christian sappers opened mines, and the Mussalmans did the same to meet them. Weakened by the subterranean works and by the working of the engines, one of the towers at length fell, but no passage was opened, because the inner wall remained intact, and blood continued to be uselessly spilt.

As soon as the report of the coming of the Crusaders and its projected undertaking reached Abu-Abdullah, he sent messengers to the other Walis of Andalus to prepare to succour that stronghold, as on its loss or preservation depended the future fate of the weakened and already limited provinces of Mussalman Spain. The defence of the empire and its own security incited the Saracen chiefs to give ear to the pleading of the brave Wali; and if we credit an Arab historian, Al-Mostanser himself, to whom was communicated the notice of the dangerous situation of Alcacer, issued imperative orders to the Walis and Sheiks of the Peninsula to fly in aid of Abu-Abdullah. In effect, not only the district governor of Badajoz marched with the troops of the Gharb and of Seville, and Cid Abu Ali, with those of the province he ruled over, but also the Walis of Jaen and Xerez, with the cavalry of Cordova and the sheiks of Sidonia, Ecija, and Carmona. This numerous army advanced unexpectedly to the environs of Alcacer, stopping at about the distance of a league from the besiegers. The Mussalman troops were calculated at fifteen thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry, and the fear which took possession of the Crusaders on receiving the news greatly increased the danger. However, on that day aid began to arrive; some thirty-two ships, either Portuguese or some of the Crusaders dispersed by the storm, entered into the Sado. Vigilance was redoubled; the fleet was refitted, and moats and embankments were constructed around the camp. Yet fear still worked its evils, and many proposed to retire, under the plea that the original aim of that expedition was the liberation of the Sepulchre of the Redeemer, and that only in Palestine could the vows they had made be fulfilled. Fortunately, in the midst of much perturbation of spirit, aid followed quickly the danger, and hope succeeded to fear. The whole cavalry corps of the Christians did not exceed three hundred men, but during that night there arrived at the camp not only excellent corps, strong and well armed, but likewise Pedro Alvitiz, the

Master of the Temple, with his friars, the Hospitallers, and many noblemen of Portugal and Leon. There were, in all, five hundred knights, besides the soldiers who usually accompanied each nobleman to battle. In this way the Crusaders drew fresh courage to continue the siege, and the Portuguese prepared to combat the Saracens.

Nearly six weeks had elapsed since Alcacer was laid under siege. The arrival of the troops from Andaluz took place on the 10th of September, and the Christian auxiliaries had come, as we said, on that same night. On the eleventh, at daybreak, the three hundred horsemen, who from the first had assisted at the siege, sallied out with the explorers, approached the Mussalman camp, and reconnoitred every spot. For an immense distance the ground was covered with a multitude of Infidels. The latter took notice of the cavalry, which watched them, and, sounding the shout of battle, ran to pursue them. These brave men awaited them steadfastly, and a fierce skirmish was the consequence. The result could no longer be doubtful—they were a hundred to one. The Portuguese knights were compelled to retreat. Flinging their shields to their backs, to shelter themselves from the shots of the Saracens, they came at full speed upon the encampment, followed by the enemy's army. Meanwhile the five hundred knights, arrived on the previous night, leaped to their saddles, and on beholding the Saracens approaching, prepared to open the battle. The greater number were necessarily Templars, because this Order was, perchance, the most numerous of all, and also because under the command of the Master of the three kingdoms of Spain, Pedro Alvitiz, were found gathered together, with the friars of Portugal, many of Leon and Castille. The severe discipline of the Order, the solemnities practised on entering into battles, necessarily produced enthusiasm in their souls, naturally brave, and into those around them. The squadrons of the Templars, on forming for the battle, kept deep silence, which was only broken by the flutter of the *balsâc*, or bi-coloured standard (black and white), which guided them unfurled to the wind, and of the long white mantles of the knights. At the command of the Master, a trumpeter gave the signal for the combat, and the friars, raising their eyes to heaven, intoned the hymn of David, "Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to Thy name give glory." Then lowering their lances and spurring their steeds, they cast themselves on the enemy like a tempest enveloped in whirlwinds of dust—the first to strike and the last to retire, when they were so bidden. Contemning single combats, they preferred to

attack closed columns, and with them there was no retreat, either to defeat the enemy or die. In truth, death, to the Templar, was more beautiful than life purchased at the price of cowardice. It sufficed that he did not rise to the type of human valour, according as the veteran warriors of the Order conceived it, to be punished as feeble. The red cross, the distinctive badge of the corporation, with the white mantle upon which it was worked, was ignominiously plucked from him, and he remained separated from his brethren like an alien. He was compelled to eat his food on the bare ground, nor was he allowed to resent any injury, nor even punish a dog if it attacked him. It was only after the lapse of a year that, if the chapter judged his fault had been expiated, the culprit was allowed to buckle on the military belt, to proceed, perchance, to the war, and smother in his own blood the memory of one year of affronts and trials.

What the intellectual state was of men thus trained to an exaggerated discipline may be easily imagined. The other Orders imitated more or less the Templars; they were dominated by the same ideas, the same ardent enthusiasm, so much more ardent in proportion as those who ruled over them endeavoured to cover up all tender feelings of the heart beneath severe and sad formulas. In the camp of Alcacer had gathered together the three rival Orders—the Temple, the Hospital, and Santiago (St. James); they had judged each other; and no greater opportunity had offered itself to them to conquer with glory, or to die in a noble cause. It appears they were already beyond the river; the fever of the forthcoming combats had excited their spirits up to the pitch of delirium, and on raising their eyes to heaven to invoke God on departing there appeared to them in the immensity of space, to some a brilliant cross, which eclipsed the stars in the early morn, to others a standard, upon which was a similar cross. They could no longer doubt the victory; it was God who announced it.

The situation of the battle-field, the early morning hour, the disordered march of the Saracen army, the belief of heavenly aid by Christian knights, all favoured them. Opposite Alcacer, crossing the Sado towards the west, extends a vast field, a funeral field, where, like to many such places, posterity will have to erect an altar of expiation for the Portuguese blood spilt by Portuguese hands, when the silence of death be laid over us, and God and history shall have weighed and condemned our deplorable civil aversions. It was on those plains, probably, where the Saracens and the Christians met. The Crusaders of the

North had prevented an exit of the besieged, and a multitude of Infidels had only to oppose the military friars, the Leonese knights who had come to join their fate, whether for glory or otherwise, to that expedition, and the soldiers of Portugal. But an unforeseen circumstance favoured the latter: the sun was rising, and the Christians occupied the northern side of the field and the mountains, which at a short distance from the left margin of the river extended to the north-west. The reflection of the shields and coats of mail flashed in the eyes of the Infidels, and imparted to the small army of the Portuguese an effect which increased their size. Whether it was the effect from the same reflection of polished steel and golden shields, which multiplied the eastern light, or due to religious excitement, which formed an hallucination, but the combatants, on meeting the Mussalmans, beheld in the sky a crowd of knights in the habit of Templars, who were likewise striking the enemies. The combat was a terrible one; the Commander of Palmella, Martin, a small-made man, but brave as a lion, bending down his head, his right hand holding the standard of the Order, and in his left arm the shield, dashed into the midst of the Saracen squadrons. Peter Alvitez, the Master of the Temple, did the same, both followed by their respective friars, taking example from their superiors. The horses rear on meeting, the swords clash against each other, and shields against shields, while the helmets and *cuirasses* fall to the ground broken and crushed. The Mussalmans hesitated; amid the clouds of dust, friends and enemies become mixed together, and complete anarchy takes possession of the Saracen lines, already disordered during their rapid and lengthened march when pursuing the explorers. In the midst of the confusion the Saracen cavalry actually fought against one another, while the Christian knights, for the very reason that they were few, were safe to fall into the same error. In a short time the Andalusian troops became broken up, terror seized them, and they commenced to fly, some of the fugitives falling into the Sado. Many fell under the horses, and were trampled, and even under the feet of the infantry, many perishing without having fought. For ten miles they were pursued by the Christians, the slaughter lasting three days, leaving the Walis of Cordova and Jaen, dead on the battle-field. It was calculated that the dead numbered fourteen to fifteen thousand, besides a large number of prisoners, who, either to flatter their masters or to excuse themselves for such a shameful rout, on hearing of the aid afforded to the Christians by the aerial knights, asserted that they

likewise had beheld them and experienced their fury, which could not do otherwise than strengthen the lively faith of the soldiery in the Divine protection. Meanwhile, a fleet of thirty galleys, which the Saracens had sent to the mouth of the Sado, had encountered a fearful tempest, and after battling with the elements, became destroyed and wrecked. On proceeding to meet them, the Christian fleet only found the wide solitude of the ocean; the galleys of the enemy had either become wrecked or cast on the coast. And even in a more enlightened age so much success would render legitimate the belief in a celestial favour, much more in an epoch when credulity always endeavoured to mingle in these cruel dramas of slaughter and devastations Divine protection.

The victorious army returned to the camp, where the Crusaders awaited them. That sanguinary battle, which produced on the inhabitants of Andalus an almost similar impression as the great defeat of the Navas of Tolosa, could not move the persistence of Abu-Abdullah. Losing all hopes of aid, the brave Saracen prepared to continue the energetic resistance which for six weeks had opposed the besiegers. Still inebriated with their triumph, these rushed to assault, but they encountered in the garrison all the bravery which was wanting to the Walis altogether. Those who advanced to the walls were cast down, crushed by the logs and stones flung from the towers, or were burnt by the fire-engines, while a cloud of arrows obscured the air. Blood flowed in torrents, but the combat only ceased with the retreat of the Christians. On seeing the uselessness of their endeavours to take the stronghold by scaling it, they had recourse to their former system of springing mines. It would be idle to describe minutely the violent expedients resorted to on this occasion, which were similar to those resorted to in the taking of all fortresses, and would only be a repetition of the description in the taking of Silves and Lisbon. There were combats against the sappers, mines and counter-mines; there were bulwarks and quadrangles mined; wooden towers were constructed, from whence death fell unexpectedly upon the besieged, and battering-rams were used against the walls; in a word, every known means of defence and attack was employed, until at length, convinced that they could not sustain that mountain of ruins, Abu-Abdullah was compelled to submit. But on this occasion discord did not spread among the besiegers, as in the case of Lisbon and Silves; here there was no lack of provisions, and the complete defeat of Walis of Andaluz withdrew from

them all fears of prolonging the siege while resistance lasted. The garrison, however, of Alcacer remained imprisoned with its head, and the inhabitants fell into the chains of slavery. Two thousand captives, the rich spoils of the sacking and possession of the key of the Gharb, were for Portugal the fruits of that glorious undertaking.

The various successes and events of this campaign, from the entry of the Crusaders to the taking of Alcacer, had consumed two months and a half (30 July to 18 October). The Prelates of Lisbon and Evora, the Master of the Temple, the Prior of the Hospital, and the Commander of Palmella, addressed a letter at once to the Pontiff, relating the causes which had moved the Crusaders to delay in Portugal, and the fortunate results of the delay. They concluded by beseeching to be allowed to keep the fleet in Lisbon for another year, during which they hoped to completely destroy the Saracens in the Peninsula, and to deign concede to the Crusaders, as well as to the Portuguese troops who should join them, the same indulgences that they would obtain were they personally to go to the Holy Land; that the twentieth part of the rents of the clergy throughout Spain be applied towards continuing the war, in the form established in a similar manner; that, finally, all those individuals forming the fleet who, by the long delay or through poverty or sickness, should be unable to continue the undertaking, to be sent back to their country with plenary remission of their sins. This letter was accompanied by another from the Count of Holland, in which, likewise, was expressed the advantages derived, and those to accrue from the further continuance of the war. He asked instructions as to whether he should accede to the wishes of the Portuguese prelates or continue the voyage. His own opinion was that in the first hypothesis the hopes raised upon the decisive effect of the war would be realised. The Count placed his confidence in Abu-Abdullah, a man, he said, illustrious among Saracens as among the Christians, and from whose influence he hoped to derive immense advantages. The motive for this hope was founded upon the fact that Abu-Abdullah, after being made prisoner, had asked and accepted baptism. They were deceived, however, in their calculations that the marvellous apparitions which had given the victory to the Christians had produced any effect in the obdurate heart of the Saracen, or that his profane eyes had discerned from the high towers of the Alcacer the legions of aerial knights and the brilliant cross stamped on the dark sky. The conversion of the Wali was only a piece of sacri-

legious artfulness, in order to obtain his escape and regain his liberty, a design he realised later on, and ended his life in a less glorious manner, meeting his death during the civil wars.

At the commencement of November the Rhenish fleet returned to Lisbon to await instructions from Honorius III., who refused to accede to the wishes of the prelates, of the heads of the Military Orders, and of the Count of Holland himself, whom the insolent jest of Abu-Abdullah ought to have cured of his over-confident faith in sudden conversions. According to their usual custom, the foreigners and the Portuguese disputed about the division of spoils, and the Bishop of Lisbon was the loudest in complaining. The discord, however, did not reach to a rupture, and the empty castle, almost reduced to ruins, was delivered over to its former masters, the *Spatharios*, who had lost it after it was conquered by Alfonso I. It was probably at this conjuncture that the Christian domination was extended to some other minor towns of Alemtejo, as a contemporary writer mentions. On entering into the depth of winter, the warriors of the North, prohibited from immediately continuing their voyage, remained in Lisbon, resting from the past labours and fatigue until the return of spring, when they left the hospitable shores of Portugal (31 March, 1218).

Following the narrative of one of the most notable events of that epoch, the reader accustomed to see the Portuguese princes ever leading their subjects in the hour of greatest dangers as in those of glory, will naturally desire to ask, where was Alfonso II.? He was visiting his kingdom, confirming the numberless concessions of his predecessors, and perchance annulling others; he was endeavouring to realise the thought which had directed well-nigh all the acts of his government, the direct increase of influence in the royal power. This absence of Alfonso II. from the battle-field of Alcacer, where in part the future fate of the State was exposed to the uncertainties of an unequal war, was, in truth, strange, and our historians endeavoured to excuse this prince through an illness which kept him in Coimbra. We know not from whence they draw their assertions. What we can deduce is to the contrary; and in spite of the obesity which tradition attributes to Alfonso II. (we also know not upon what foundation), he quickly withdrew from the theatre of war, departing from Lisbon, where he was residing up to May, then went to Alcobaça, from thence to Coimbra, and from Coimbra to Guimarães. In the latter town he occupied himself in issuing letters of confirmation in the month of

August, meanwhile that his brave subjects, joined to the Crusaders of the Rhine, were combating and dying beneath the ramparts of Alcacer. Engaged in these peaceful occupations, the King of Portugal, it appears, afterwards passed along the districts of Tras-os-Montes and Beira-Alta, descending again to Trancoso, where he resided in October, and back to Coimbra in November, and proceeding to Santarem at the end of 1217. It was said that the head of the State withdrew in proportion as the clash of arms increased, and that he approached in proportion also as this clash diminished. Alfonso II. manifested himself as even more desirous of increasing his power relatively to peace than to swell the glory and fear of his name in relation to the Saracens or other princes of Christian Spain.

The Orders of knighthood and the defenders of the Portuguese frontiers, those braves who on the battle-fields of Alcacer had obtained from the Infidels such a signal victory, might take advantage of the dispirited state of the towns of the Gharb to extend the dominion of the Cross in the districts of modern Alemtejo, along whose northern lines, up to then almost deserted, had for years been slowly extending the pacific conquests of population and cultivation. The consequences, however, of the events in Alcacer had as yet not reached their termination. The brilliant picture described to the Pope by the prelates, and by William of Holland, regarding the results which should follow from the stay of the Rhenish fleet in Portugal, was reduced to the Crusaders spending six months of idle life in the midst of comforts and all the pleasures which Lisbon could offer. The political circumstances of the kingdoms of Leon and Castille, assisted by the character of the Portuguese prince, so little prone to warfare, annulled the effects of that great fact. Berengaria of Castille ceded her crown, which she had inherited through the death of her brother, to her son Alfonso IX. during that year; but the civil war with the Laras still continued, and although the Leonese King saw the right heir to the throne of Castille elevated to it, he, with unnatural ambition, continued, on the frontiers of the two countries, the war which he had essayed ere the hapless death of the youthful King Henry had taken place, under the plea that the Crown of Castille retained some strongholds which belonged to his. It was these deplorable discords which retarded the final overthrow of the Mussalman power in the Peninsula. But if ambition and mutual hatreds often prevented the Christians from deriving all the advantages of the victory, the

anarchy which reigned in the dominions of the Almohades also hindered the Saracens from repairing the common results of these frequent and serious reverses. The dynasty of Abdu-l-Mumen had degenerated, and the empire founded by him was commencing to dissolve. Al-Mostanser, the Ameer of Morocco, was a weak prince, and moreover given to voluptuousness, who never quitted his palaces, always engaged in pastimes and pleasures, and his government was entrusted to men of humble condition, among whom were his favourites, and the Walis and Sheiks of the empire refused to obey such ministers. In truth, the civil war, the certain fruit of weak and corrupt governments, did not burst out during a reign when all things were allowable; but the elements for future storms were lowering, which would break over them, and afford the Christians facilities for conquest, and, in spite of their errors, assure complete dominion over Spain.

After the campaign of Alcacer, as well as before it, the King of Portugal continued to prosecute his designs of widening the limits of royal power and increasing the public rents. To obtain this he employed a system which was both dangerous and incomplete. This was, as respected the power of the Crown, in manifesting to the possessors of lands and other State properties that all this was changeable and dependent on the will of the King, in this way setting himself, in a hostile manner more or less manifest, against the greater part of the nobility and even the clergy. As regards the increase of public finance, the system consisted in ordering the district governors to continue repopulating and cultivating the lands by letting them to one or more individuals, thus establishing a grange, a homestead, a village, rarely a town, the council which under the peculiar circumstances of that epoch alone could afford to the masses any feeling of security, joined to the love for its country as far as their semi-barbarian intelligence could understand it, uniting them by family bonds, which afforded solid strength to the throne against the clergy and against the nobles, and afforded to the throne an increase in the public treasury by establishing industries besides the practice of agriculture. Sancho I. had been covetous, and collected together large treasures, perchance illicitly, but nevertheless he was a King popular above others and municipal, and he raised up from ruins a large number of ancient towns, founded many new ones, and did not hesitate, in spite of grave reverses, to cover with colonies the most depopulated places of his kingdom. Besides this, he respected the large donations and legacies which Alfonso Henry

had bestowed on his companions in glory, to the monasteries and cathedrals. By employing a diverse policy, Alfonso II. sowed with a high wind, and gathered the tempest. The wealth distributed by Sancho among the children brought on unfraternal hatreds. The civil war consumed the best of this wealth, and the greatest devastations of the kingdom proceeded, as we have seen, and shall see further on, from the dissensions between members of the royal family. The departure of the Infantes Pedro and Ferdinand from the kingdom, the civil war enkindled within by Theresa, Sancha, and Branca, the vain complaints of Mafalda, and the attempts of the bastard, Martin Sanches, against his brother, which we shall briefly relate, would be sufficient indications to ascribe the blame of so many disasters to the avarice of an individual rather than to the proceedings of many, did not a certain number of characteristic facts of the reign of Alfonso II. define the bent of his mind. Although, in the strife with Theresa and Sancha, Alfonso II., curtailing his earlier pretensions, had the right on his side, he himself acknowledged indirectly that the principle was unjust, since he ordered that in case of his death any sums fiscally due in Portugal should be restored to Mafalda, who was now elevated to the throne of Castille (which gave her more power to sustain her rights), as soon as she should demand them.

In the midst of a system which existing documents oblige us to judge as mean and insufficient, Alfonso II., however, knew how to ward off skilfully a more formidable danger, the discords with the clergy, if we except a violent but passing contention with the Bishop of Coimbra, D. Pedro. We have seen the great concessions which he made to the Church at the commencement of his reign. The law by which he endeavoured to place a partial barrier to the increase of ecclesiastical wealth, by forbidding to monasteries and churches the acquisition of landed property by purchase, was violated with impunity or evaded. In this way he merited from the clergy many praises which were showered upon him for being a good Christian during the first years of his reign, while many curses and injuries were heaped upon his tomb by reason of his latter deeds.

On the eleventh of January, 1218, Honorius III. confirmed the possession of the Crown, and on the following April he made a splendid concession to the bishops of his kingdom. The tithes were already established in Europe, and generalised throughout Christian Spain as an institution of Divine right, a right which was later on

controverted. These tithes varied in the objects tributed and in the quota of the tribute, but the royal rents had never been subject to that religious contribution. As a proof of his piety, Alfonso II. submitted the rents he received from the dioceses of Braga, Coimbra, Oporto, Lisbon, Viseu, Lamego, Idanha, and the part of the Bishopric of Tuy which entered within the line of Portugal, to the solution of the tithes. The Bishop of Evora, who already enjoyed this concession, was confirmed in it, and the great generosity of the prince included the monastery of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra as far as it affected Leiria, of which for many years that corporation had been in possession of the ecclesiastical dominion. The letters passed on Good Friday of 1218 were due to the pleadings of various individuals, it appears, who had a great influence over the King, among them the Dean of Lisbon, Master Vincent.

Among the many illegitimate children of Sancho I., Martin Sanches distinguished himself by the gifts most esteemed in that epoch, strength and bravery, in which few knights of Portugal could compete with him. The party he followed in the civil wars is unknown, but it is naturally supposed that he inclined towards that of the Infantas, since his name is not found among the court of Alfonso II. Nor is it known for what motive he abandoned the country, and the precise date when he left, but which seems to be about the year 1216 or 1217, when the cause of Theresa and Sancha was completely lost. Passing on to Leon, Alfonso IX. received him as one of his barons, and appointed him to govern two districts, that of Toronho, on the frontiers of Entre-Douro and Minho, and Limia, on that of Tras-os-Montes. Dissatisfied with his brother, it was natural that Martin Sanches should maintain friendly relations with the Metropolitan of Braga, who was likewise discontented. Perchance it was due to his influence that the magnificent donation of the *couto* of Ervededo, in Limia, by Alfonso IX. This bounty must, any way, have excited vivid suspicions in the breast of Alfonso II. on beholding these things done by a prince almost always adverse to Portugal, and in whom his brothers ever found open and efficacious protection, and a prelate who was his subject, and, moreover, had sustained a sharp contention with him.

If this conjuncture of facts threatened the tranquillity and security of the districts on the north, other facts induce us to believe that the Portuguese King was seeking means to avoid a war, and at the same time summon to himself the influential

barons of Alemdouro. The former major-domo of Sancho I., Mendes Sousa, had followed, as we said, the fortune of Theresa and Sancha. When the cause of the Infantas became lost he retired from public life, as well as his brothers, who followed his example, with the exception of Rodrigo Mendes, who, having leant towards the party of the prince, figures constantly among the noblemen (*ricos homens*) of Alfonso II. It is believed that to his efforts is due the reconciliation of the haughty family of the Sousas with the chief of the State.

Alfonso departed for Entre-Douro and Minho, and in the spring of 1219 was residing in Guimarães, where the four sons of Count D. Mendes newly appear among the nobles of the royal court. Followed by them, Alfonso proceeded to Santiago, under the plea of devotion, but which naturally had some political object.

To this state had affairs reached when the contention between the Church and the Throne culminated in an open war. In the process of confirmation, Alfonso II., who easily annulled whatever favours he judged unworthy, now revoked many donations made to the Church and to its members, while at the same time, and with diverse pretexts, he exacted the tribute of *colheta* from the Military Orders and the monasteries, asylums, and other charitable institutions, against the expressed conditions of the privileges which he himself promulgated. The spirit of the people became irritated at these acts, and the Archbishop convoked an assembly of prelates and other ecclesiastical personages, and in their presence scorned the proceedings of the prince who thus spurned justice and religion. Probably the harsh language of the Metropolitan would have had its desired effect, had the violence of his character permitted him to keep within the bounds of prudence; but proceeding to judge the habits of the King, he accused him of illicit amours, and of preferring adultery to conjugal affection.

The effect produced on the spirit of Alfonso by the opprobrious reprehensions of the prelate may be easily conceived. The King repelled them with indignation, and a deadly war was declared against the man who thus dared to speak, and the vexations hitherto practised were redoubled. The Archbishop was not intimidated. The major-domo, the chancellor, all those who enjoyed the confidence of the King, and even himself, were placed under the ban of anathema, and the kingdom under interdict. The consequences of these acts were such as might be expected. Alfonso ordered the patrimonial properties of Estevan Soares to be destroyed; and in order to repel any resistance, the

municipal troops of Coimbra accompanied the public officers charged with this mission. But it did not end here. The burghers of Guimarães, commanded by two knights and the magistrates, proceeded to Braga, and took possession of the granaries and all other properties which the Metropolitan possessed there; while the latter, fulminating excommunication against the confiscators, only drew from it the destruction of the achiepiscopal granges, whose vineyards were cut down, and the orchards and forests rooted up or reduced to ashes.

The persecuted prelate had by this time appealed to Rome, but his adversary contemning the excommunications and interdict, he was forced to fly, to avoid a greater damage, and proceeded to Rome, followed by some parish priests, who left their parishioners to accompany him. When these events were known to Honorius III. he resolved to take such providences in regard to them as should be demanded in the interests of the clergy and by the pertinacity of the King of Portugal. For some days the question of the Archbishop absorbed, so to say, nearly the whole attention of the Roman chancellorship. The first act of Honorius was to deprive Alfonso II. of the advocacy of the Portuguese churches, and order all the suffragans of Braga and other prelates of the province to join together to establish a revenue for their exiled Metropolitan, to enable him to live respectably, and not be compelled, through misery, to yield the victory to the prince. The Bishop of Osma or of Palencia, and the Dean of this latter diocese, were charged with the execution of this Pontifical resolution. Meanwhile, the Pope, when writing to the King, abstained from the ordinary expressions of official benevolence, wishing for him the spirit of sounder counsel. He placed before him the faults he was guilty of, and demanded whether he judged such proceedings worthy of a Christian prince or of a tyrant. He sought to move him by examples from the history of the Bible; he terrified him with the commination of the prophets; and after admonishing him with pious reasons to repair so many grievances, he concluded by declaring that, on the contrary supposition, he would order the Bishops of Palencia, Astorga, and Tuy publicly and solemnly to publish the excommunication against him, and place the kingdom under the ban of interdiction. He concluded the letter with the more grave threat that in case these providences be useless he, the King, would be under the apprehension of the Apostolic See, by absolving his subjects from the bonds of fidelity, and excommunicating those who might resist, he should deliver up Portugal to the nobles who might

desire to possess it, legitimising this act for ever. And in effect Honorius III. wrote to the three prelates under the same terms which he announced to the King; moreover, he charged them to insist with Alfonso II. to expel from the Court the Major-domo Pedro Annes, and the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes, the faithful adherent of the political doctrines of his predecessor. From these doctrines the evil had arisen, and the Church was the sufferer. The gall of hatred pervaded the expressions of the Pontiff regarding the Court favourites; it is said they were dictated by Stephen Soares himself, because every injurious epithet was showered upon them. To the Bishops of Astorga, Orense, and Tuy was particularly entrusted to reduce Alfonso II. not to advocate in the civil tribunals the cases relating to the resistance of the clergy to paying tribute, which was the most serious part of the affair; and in the same manner as this matter was entrusted to the three prelates, so were the Bishops of Astorga and Tuy especially charged to treat with the King concerning the personal services of the clergy, and the competence of judgment in ordinary causes, whether civil or criminal. The two bulls concerning this affair were not meant to be publicly manifested, as they are couched in comparatively moderate terms, which was the only proper tone for calming down the irritation of the King of Portugal. But all these means employed by the Pontiff to secure the victory to the Archbishops were entirely useless, and the King of Portugal remained unmoved, and affairs continued in the same state.

These events had been protracted from the end of 1218 to the beginning of 1221. If Alfonso II. was deficient in the military energy of his father, he possessed in a greater degree valour, or, rather, political daring. The lives of public men of our time, an epoch so similar to the Middle Ages in social convulsions, have many times proved that these two species of moral energy may be found separated. The storm which was lowering was now darker than during the preceding reign. Honorius was no longer satisfied with anathemas; he threatened to brandish the firebrand of war over the kingdom, to break asunder the bonds of national unity, and offer this divided and lacerated body as a prize to the ambitious ones. The King well knew that if he put his threat into effect it would not be in vain, for there were examples to prove it. Other difficulties increased this state of affairs, that perchance the clergy might suscitate occultly, but which had for its immediate cause his want of fraternal love. Notwithstanding all these dangers and threats, Alfonso did not flinch before his adversary. We shall see

what were the new difficulties which occurred to complicate the position of the Portuguese prince.

Martin Sanches, the bastard son of Sancho I., whose valour and daring proved that the blood of his father flowed in his veins, was invested by Alfonso IX. with the supreme military authority on the frontiers of Galicia, following the northern lines of Portugal. In view of the discords existing between him and his brother, nothing was easier than to start a motive for a rupture between the two States. And this took place, though the pretext is not known; but ancient memoirs allude more or less particularly to the war which was declared between the two countries, and others also, but whose authenticity is doubtful, and attribute the blame to the Portuguese King. It is said that the men-at-arms or public officials of Alfonso II. passed the frontiers to the land of Limia, but we know not what possessions they took. Martin Sanches was absent; but on his return, and knowing of the violation of the territory entrusted to him, he twice demanded of his brother to repair the robberies perpetrated. The soldiers of the districts of Toronho and Limia and the Valley of Varonceli united themselves under the banners of their chief, and with him invaded the province of Entre-Douro and Minho, marching upon Ponte-de-Lima. The news of the preparations which were made in Galicia soon spread, and Alfonso II., with the forces of the province, was ready to resist the invasion. The two armies sighted one another; and if we credit tradition, the son of Sancho I. felt remorse to combat soldiers who moved beneath the sacred banners of the country, and therefore he sent messages to his brother, beseeching him to retire to the distance of a league, where he should not behold the royal flag waving. Alfonso II. completely satisfied his desires. Retreating with his warriors as far as the margins of the Ave, he stopped in Saint Thyrso, where, forsaking his noblemen (*ricos homens*), he took refuge in the Castle of Gaia, on the south of the Douro. For once he was generous to his brother, by retreating twelve leagues in place of one, which he had asked in order to avoid fighting against the royal standard. What has been revealed by the documents up to this time of the character of Alfonso II., which was not warlike, inclines us to suspect the tradition of the patriotic spirit of Martin Sanches to be nothing more than a fiction, to conceal or colour the shameful retreat of the prince in presence of him who knew better how to preserve the traditions of valour of their common predecessors. But it is said that the Portuguese officers, on leaving

St. Thyrso, again advanced towards the north, while Martin Sanches entered into Barcellos. Mem Gonçalves de Sousa, a son of Gonçalo Mendes, and João Peres da Maia, Gil Vasques de Soverosa, and other barons of Alemdouro who were leading the troops of Portugal, halted at a distance of a league. The haughty master of the frontier having refused to send Martin Sanches some victualling which he had ordered, he marched against them. A combat took place near the Monastery of Varzea, where some deeds of valour took place, and João Peres da Maia with his lance actually cast down seven knights of Galicia; but at length the Portuguese had to give in to the impetuous arm of the dauntless bastard. They retired to Braga, pursued by the conquerors, and Gil Vasques was one of those who covered the rear-guard. He was assailed by Martin Sanches, who struck the sword from his hand. The prisoner was his step-father, having married D. Maria Ayres de Fornelos after the death of Sancho I. Martin Sanches contented himself with disarming him, and generously allowed him to go free.

In vain did the vanquished attempt to improve their position. They were successively defeated near Braga and Guimarães, and compelled to enclose themselves within the walls of this town, and from thence witness the Leonese soldiers devastating and robbing with impunity the suburbs, while Alfonso IX., without whose knowledge or consent his frontier chiefs of Toronho and Limia would not have attempted the war, was entering Tras-os-Montes and taking Chaves. But whether the Leonese judged that the affront was avenged, or Alfonso II. offered reparation for the injuries, but peace was again established between the two States, leaving, however, the King of Leon master of Chaves, which was only restored in the reign of Sancho II.; and this retention of Chaves was done under the pretext of security for the lands of the Infanta Queen D. Theresa, who, jointly with D. Sancha, had renewed litigation with their brother, in presence of Honorius III., and to resolve which the Pope nominated the Bishops of Burgos and Lugo and the Dean of Compostella its judges. Martin Sanches then returned to Galicia rich with spoils, and on the subsequent year he was put at the head of the Leonese army against the Saracens, to win more honoured laurels in the battle of Tejada, where he obtained a celebrated victory.

These events coincided (1220—1222) with the contentions between the Archbishop of Braga and the King, and doubtless aggravated the temper of the prince against the clergy, who favoured the Metropolitan.

The rigorous discipline of the monastic life had become relaxed throughout Europe since the tenth century, and even before that date. From the need of placing barriers to that moral decadence rose up reformations in the shape of new regular Orders, which, by establishing the former primitive rules of a monastic life, renewed for some years the holiness of religious institutions, until these again became relaxed, and new reforms were rendered necessary. Thus successively appeared the Cluniacs, the Camaldoli, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Premonstrants, and many other Orders, too numerous to mention, but which, however, at the commencement of the thirteenth century had become more or less relaxed. The monastic life was in those days of great service, and in certain relations even a necessity, yet it was verging towards dissolution. It became needful to restore it, to win it back to its primitive purity, to place in the centre of society efficacious and actual examples of the abnegation of the ancient anchorets; but how effect the speedy conversion of so many perverted lives? At this critical moment there were not wanting in the Church competent individuals to work this, and save one of the principal elements of her strength. While with clear intelligence Innocence III. was occupying the pontifical throne, and labouring to maintain the integrity and power of the priestly hierarchy, two other individuals were coming forth from the surrounding obscurity to unfurl anew the standard, and induce their brethren to embrace the rigorous poverty which had been expelled from the monastic congregations, by instituting the mendicant communities. The names of these two individuals are well known—Francis of Assissium and Dominic of Gusman—the first a humble but well-to-do burgher of Italy, who, after his conversion to Mysticism, trod the path of mortification with equal ardour as he had formerly done when following the wide road of pleasures; the second a noble, haughty Spaniard, already invested with ecclesiastical dignities, who now undertook the work of reform without losing the characteristics of his race. Austere and unbending, whose grandsires had always combated against the Saracens, wielding the sword in one hand, and brandishing a firebrand in the other, it might be said that he knew no other way of combating those who did not believe with him.

Such were the founders of the two Orders of Friars Minors, or Franciscans, and the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans. The Franciscans were confirmed by Innocent III., in 1210, and the Dominicans by Honorius III., in 1216. Both Orders rapidly spread

through Europe, and Portugal was one of the first which established convents of both Orders in the kingdom, where the Franciscans and the Dominicans obtained great popularity. The ancient congregations were privileged bodies, rich and powerful, and therefore naturally allied to the nobility, while these new Orders, particularly the Minors, were poor, despised, and scorned by the higher clergy, humble and plain in their habitations, in their dress, in their food, and, as a consequence, became popular. The Franciscans and the Dominicans, in a country like Portugal at that epoch, essentially municipal, would have become the true tribunals of the masses, had not the Roman Curia foreseen their future influence, and endeavoured at once to take advantage of it as an instrument for its own power. With the exception of abnegation of riches and austerity of life, the institutions of the two Orders were imitations of the ancient ones, but in the hierarchical system of their internal government they were totally different. In monastic Orders there existed the system of affiliation: the oldest monastery in which was first established the institution remained the centre of the association; and others, which embraced this institution, or were filled by members of that species of seminary, were considered as affiliated to it. In it resided the head, and in it were convened the assemblies for deliberations called general chapters. The reformer of Assissi was, however, a man of the world, and Dominic of Gusman belonged to the chapter of Osma. Hence the associations created by them were not, therefore, spontaneous trunks of monachism, but, so to say, they were vigorous shoots engrafted in that worm-eaten tree. Their chiefs had no fixed residence; the chapters were held wherever they wished to assemble. The friars *(frates)*, a name by which the monks or members of both corporations soon became known, had nothing to bind them to any country. Rome could dispose of these indefatigable soldiers without any political embarrassment.

Sueiro Gomes, a Portuguese by birth, and one of the disciples of Dominic of Gusman, came about this time to establish the new congregation in Portugal. Placed by the circumstnaces of his life, and before the institution of the Order, in the burning fire of the war against the Albigenses, Dominic assisted or intervened in the events which left the South of France devastated. Sueiro Gomes probably witnessed these spectacles, at least he was one of the first Dominic chose as a companion and propagator of the new institution. Sent to Portugal to establish the Dominican Order, he found favour among the

powerful, and no less among the burghers and the masses, in the same way as the Minors, because the poor and austere friars offered a striking contrast to the rich, corrupt, and proud members of ancient monasticism.

Peter, the Bishop of Coimbra, after assisting at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), returned to Portugal. We know not why, but, for some reason, serious disagreements arose between him and the King, which made Alfonso II. declare a rude war to him. This prelate was of a timid spirit, and became so terrified that he retired to his episcopal palace. To keep him there a prisoner it was unnecessary for the King to place any guards; it was enough one day for him to say, pointing to the residence of the Bishop, "Here is the falcon, and there the heron: if the heron moves the falcon will clutch it." From that moment no one dared to enter the Bishop's palace, excepting the clergy. When D. Pedro at length ventured out his beard had grown long, and on his shoulder he bore the red cross of a Crusader. His mind was beginning to give way, and he even performed acts of decided madness. On this account, or for some other reason, the King desisted from persecuting him, and he submitted to everything. At least, this appears to be the fact, judging from his proceedings during the contentions between Alfonso II. and the Archbishop of Braga, when he took no notice of the interdict over his diocese. Thus he lived peacefully, but in his mental hallucination the austere fanaticism of Sueiro Gomes and his followers produced, as was natural, on his spirit a deep shock, as well as the letters of protection which Honorius III. conceded to the Dominicans for all the prelates of Europe. This authorised them to hold missions throughout the diocese, granting indulgences to those who should be drawn by their preaching.

It may well be said that no prince so little bellicose as Alfonso II ever combated so much as he did; but these combats were very far from the glorious wrestlings of his grandfather to extend the limits of the kingdom at the expense of Islamism, and the no less glorious labours of his father in increasing the strength of society in general by the increase of population, and by imparting energy and liberty to the masses by the rapid multiplication of municipalities. The vigour of life which his predecessors had endeavoured to instil into the circle of the social body he sought to concentrate in the head and heart of the republic. Probably this prince or his counsellors saw in this policy an increase of order and progress for the nation, but experience teaches

us that so many efforts to increase in every way the resources of the Crown and regal power are not dictated by the noblest motives. Notwithstanding all that Alfonso II. did from the commencement of his reign to consolidate in his hands the supreme political strength, his position was little advantageous to him. The general confirmations had necessarily produced on the privileged bodies discontent, but the inquiries were now directed towards appraising directly the fortunes of barons, knights, and the clergy, fortunes which properly were derived solely from territorial properties. In a country dismembered in part, and in part recently conquered, in the midst of a profound ignorance, without sufficient laws to furnish all the ordinary conditions of civil society, and still less to regulate the new rights and duties, the titles to the possession of landed property, and the limits to the exemptions from such property, became oftentimes doubtful. In that epoch, when universal equality of law did not exist, perhaps not even as an idea, in which the infinite scale of privileges substituted the general rules of modern institutions, and in which it was difficult, not only to preserve family documents in the midst of the devastations of continual wars, but also to reduce to writing all the transactions concerning property, the doubts and contentions upon the legitimate origin of the dominion, on one hand, and on the other, the intrusions, the abuses, the violences and rapine, were necessarily repeated. The rude barons of Count Henry or of his son, whose families, in most cases, were more ancient on the territory than the new dynasty, did no less confide in their swords, and in the lances of their men, than in the right derived from the concessions of the princes. Certainly it did not overmuch disquiet them to inquire whether the favours done to them by the head of the State were assigned in a parchment unintelligible to them, nor hesitate long in extending the bounds of their homestead on the outskirts, or in making use of the first pretext which might occur to them to compel the villagers, undefended and not organised into municipalities, to pay them tributes by which they could support the splendour of their palaces and profusion of banquets. These fortified palaces, or constructed within the castles, were often nests of eagles which sallied out seeking prey over the fields, and devoured from the agriculturist a great portion of the fruit of his labours; yet they were, however, in the sudden incursions of the Saracens and the Leonese, a secure asylum for the stray population, and a safe place for their tools and provisions. Besides

this, the landlord took an interest in defending his colonists when threatened by the rapine of other knights, and distributed justice in their private questions among themselves, erected buildings for Divine worship, and endowed them, established refuges, and dividing the land in order to increase the number of tenants, shared with them the benefits arising, and afforded them interest in contracts of land. The slow usurpations of the nobility, their immediate action of spoliation upon labouring men, had certainly evil consequences, but, undoubtedly, it likewise bore good fruits for the humble and oppressed, and profitable, on the whole, to the nation.

Side by side with this question of political economy rose up another political one—the immunity of the clergy. In divers manners, yet both were linked together, because in both were concerned the increase or diminution of the efficacy of royal power. The efforts of Sancho I. to organise the third State in the only manner then possible, viz., by municipal corporations, had been truly marvellous, in the midst of the perturbations and difficulties which, as we have seen, harassed the greater part of his life. Sancho I. was a King essentially municipal, and his Minister, or Chancellor, Julian, a man of lofty and sagacious mind. Alfonso II., on the contrary, was a King, if we may so express it, essentially monarchical, and the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes a disciple of penetration inferior to his master. In the previous reign the throne was erected and supported on popular bases by the strong arms of men of labour, and strengthened by the primitive gospel of modern liberty called feudal. In the combats which were inevitable against it and the aristocracy, the Crown laid before it the closed squadron of the councils, and fortified its own power by seeking an ally who, through gratitude and interest, would be loyal. But now, however, the monarch and his chancellor had judged right to abandon that path. Was it, perchance, because they considered that Sancho I. had left a sufficient army, or because they dreaded the effect of this rapid increase of councils, or, finally, because they were convinced that the monarchy was sufficiently robust to combat by itself whenever they should judge the time opportune? Who will venture to decide and attempt to cast the sounding-line in these deep waters? The fact is sufficient, and this fact is that Portugal counts among her archives a very small number of municipal letters of Alfonso II., while numerous ones from his father and grandfather. There were not wanting wildernesses to populate, nor were there too many castellated towns for defending the terri-

tory, nor did the monarch depend much upon his prowess and fortune in pitched battles. On the other hand, one-half of what he spent in barren family contentions would suffice, perchance, to double the number of strongholds in the kingdom, particularly on the frontiers, and people them with energetic and independent men. It would be wrong to excuse this visible reluctance of Alfonso II. to follow the thought of his grandfather, realised vigorously by his father, and later on embraced with warmth by his successors.

If, however, any plausible explanation be found to this proceeding, it is certain that the development of the third State did not take place during the epoch of his government in proportion to the services that the councils had afforded him and Sancho I. in the contentions against the clergy, as a principal instrument, and affecting the interests of the nobility by new fiscal providences. In a word, while his acts indisposed the two higher orders of the State against him, because he attempted to circumscribe their power and influence, Alfonso II. was forgetting that the power of the sceptre consisted not so much in royal authority, as in the animadversion of the masses against the privileged classes, and that to multiply these popular corporations was nothing else but to develop in these classes new means of triumph.

We see, therefore, that, notwithstanding the apparent force and energy of the King, the internal situation of the country did not afford him a field sufficiently safe to continue the combat with the daring Stephen Soares, although a part of the clergy, for private motives, unknown in our days, had forsaken the interests of its own corporation. The Archbishop, returning to Spain, prepared himself either for war or peace. The excommunications, the interdicts, and the threats of Honorius III. had been useless to bend the iron heart of Alfonso II., but at the same time (June, 1222) that from Italy was expedited a bull to the wandering prelate, in which the Pontiff authorised him to raise the terrible censures which weighed upon the King, upon his abettors, and over the kingdom, on the supposition of attaining a concord in which he should obtain a condign reparation. Honorius wrote to the Portuguese prince a letter with the intention of moving him, and no less to terrify him, with the Divine wrath, and with the evils which the inexorable vengeance of the Apostolic See would bring down on his head. But, as we gather from the context of the letter, all efforts were unable to curb the vengeful spirit of the King of Portugal, who on beholding the censures fulminated by the Archbishop of Braga con-

firmed by the Pope's delegates, the Bishops of Palencia, Astorga, and Tuy, only appealed to Rome and continued to persecute the clergy.

In view of this proceeding, Honorius declared his firm resolve not only of once again publishing the anathema against the King, the favourites, and the kingdom, but to put into effect the former threat of offering Portugal to the princes who might wish to take possession of her, releasing the subjects of Alfonso II. from the bonds of loyalty, and even excommunicating those who should continue faithful to him. Armed in this manner, did Stephen Soares present himself, offering an armistice or a renewal of war. This conjunction was ably taken advantage of, and to the wrestling of interests were added other circumstances, which manifested the necessity of softening the wrath of the prelate, furnished now with all the arms of the Church against his adversary. Besides the unpleasantness existing between the Courts of Portugal and Castille, of which very few vestiges remain, and its causes unknown, the health of Alfonso II., whom Providence had afflicted with a terrible malady, too common in those days, and which up to a certain point explains his want of military energy, was visibly declining, and all symptoms announced a fatal ending. The death of the head of the State, on account of the age of the Infante Sancho, the heir of the Crown, would bring on the nation the worst of political situations; that is to say, the government of a prince in his minority. Foreseeing the evils which would result from this conjunction of difficulties, added to the war with the Roman Curia, the favourites of the King persuaded him to yield to the Archbishop; and it is said that the principal one who influenced him in this resolution was the renowned D. Sueiro, the Bishop of Lisbon.

Of all the suite of the King, the most odious to Stephen Soares was Master Vincent, the shrewd and turbulent Dean of Lisbon, and the half-witted Bishop of Coimbra, who, in his adhesion to the party of the King, not only contemned the censure of the Metropolitan, but perchance, what was no less grave for him, avoided contributing towards the maintenance of the exile. And, in truth, this acquiescence of high ecclesiastics in the proceedings of the prince naturally tended to produce grave doubts in the minds of the people generally about the justice of the cause whose champion was the Prelate of Braga. It was, however, Master Vincent, one of the three chosen to arrange an amicable agreement. This preference was due to the proofs which he had given of his political skill in Rome and in Castille, and the result

of that perilous and thorny task further proved that this preference was not ill-placed.

Almost simultaneously as the Pope charged the Abbots of Cellanova and Osseira to proceed to Alfonso II. to intimate to him to withdraw the Bishop of Coimbra, the Chantre of Oporto, and the Dean of Lisbon, and to these to quit the Court, Stephen Soares was entering, accompanied by the Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Tuy, and benevolently confirmed the gifts which, through the desired reconciliation, the King was effecting to that very man against whom the Archbishop had shown a dislike which no one thought easy to extinguish. Such was the skill and activity manifested by the Dean.

The contentions, however, with the Metropolitan had lasted so long and violently that it was not easy to give full satisfaction to their mutual grievances. The discussion upon these points became protracted until the following year, while the state of health of Alfonso II. was such that he had been forbidden to sign the royal decrees, and this also delayed the conclusion of the affair. Dark clouds were rising over the political horizon. The interests of the higher classes were compromised; the inevitable malevolence against the favourites, some through envy, others as victims of an administrative system which, avoiding abuses, could not help often wounding legitimate rights; the discontent of the clergy, divided among themselves, as well as the nobility, because we have seen how various members of both classes associated themselves with the strife of the Crown,—all, in a word, was presaging that the accession to the throne of the Infante Sancho would be accompanied by grave domestic perturbations, so much more serious if to other causes were added the unsatisfied pretensions of the haughty Prelate of Braga. What had been dreaded now took place—Alfonso II. expired on the 25th of March, 1223, at the flourishing age of thirty-seven. Although the order of succession was already established, he newly declared, in the testament effected in November, 1221, Sancho to ascend the throne, and after him his other sons and daughters, in the event of there being no direct succession. In this testament he also foresaw the minority, which no doubt the state of his health and physical decay warned him was imminent, and provided that in the event of the heir or heiress of the throne not having attained to the proper age to undertake the government of the kingdom, he should be placed under the tutorship of powerful vassals or noblemen *(ricos-homens)*, and the kingdom be administered by them,

who must deliver up to him the castles they held in possession, as soon as he should attain legal majority. Notwithstanding that when this will was effected the censures and threats of Rome weighed over him and his kingdom, Alfonso II. evidently shows that he either expected to live long enough to reconcile himself to the Church, or that the indignation of the Pope would expire on the border of the tomb; yet the ill-will against the prelates of the kingdom is still evident, because while distributing a large sum among the monasteries and Military Orders, he scarcely remembers to benefit the two foreign Sees of Compostella and Tuy, to the exclusion of those of the kingdom, excepting that of Guarda (Egitanense), lately restored, and the clergy who could ill have intervened in the former contentions. If this circumstance, however, proves how deep-rooted were the dislikes of Alfonso II., two others in the same documents show how in harmony were the acts of his life, and assist us to draw the character of that prince. The pious legacies imposed on the recipients the obligation of annual commemorations for his soul, but not once only, as was the usual custom, but repeated three times every year; and as though this did not suffice, in order not to lose the exchange of gold for prayers, he forewarns this by giving in life a part of these legacies, and orders these supplications to commence at once infavour of the living, and be continued afterwards in benefit of the dead. No less characteristic are his testamentary dispositions concerning the illegitimate children surviving him, dispositions which contrast in a singular manner with the articles analogous in the testament of Sancho I. Completely forgetting the former or future victims of his passions, he bequeaths to each child barely the small sum of five hundred *morabitinos*. In this part of the will appears the king whose first act of government was the attempt to usurp completely the parental inheritance from his sisters, and compelled his brothers, for this or other motives, to seek fortune out of the country. In the pious legacies we behold the individual who fears that heaven will be sold at a disproportionate price for the work of winning it for him, and who is still dominated by the same principles of excessive economy which guided confirmations and general inquiries. Up to the end of life Alfonso retained the grasping character and desires for power which are revealed to us by the principal acts of his reign. A few months before his death he gave testimony of how much these passions were rooted in his character. The total of the diplomas referred to discovers not only the former propensities of the prince for

absolute dominion, but also anxiety for the preservation of landed property, no doubt improper in a spirit who already foresaw the approach of death; moreover that when recompensing his domestics he accepted from them rich gifts for the concessions and favours which he himself confesses were due to them for their long and valued services.

We have been severe towards Alfonso II.; we will not, however, be unjust. The vague dispositions of his testament in regard to the regency during the minority of Sancho must necessarily bear evil consequences. By entrusting generally to vassals the Crown and the administration of the State he opened a wide field to ambition and quarrels, in view that it was impossible to divide supreme authority among so many. But was it in the power of the King to prevent it? His consort D. Urraca had died (November, 1220), leaving three sons and one daughter—Sancho, Alfonso, Ferdinand, and Eleonor—of whom the eldest was still a child; his brothers were absent from the kingdom, and his sisters, besides being discontented, were not called by the political traditions of the Christian kingdoms of Spain to take upon themselves the heavy charge of tutors to the heir of the throne. The same could be said of his illegitimate brothers, and even of the latter there remained in Portugal only Rodrigo Sanches. There was no one, therefore, in the country who possessed the right by preference to direct the affairs of the State, and to entrust the protection of the King and kingdom to the loyalty of the nobles *(ricos homens)* was a necessity, although this position, difficult and sad, might have resulted from the selfish and exclusive character of Alfonso II., and had arisen from his former policy. In truth, the Court officials and the ministers accustomed to government affairs, possessing the means of governing, and personally influential on account that at all times the ministers of princes and their confidants exercise a great party, were those who most likely would obtain, or rather maintain the power; but even supposing that others of the nobility or prelates should not dispute it, which would be only too probable, would these have sufficient power or prestige to make themselves obeyed? And would not those, on the other hand, who judged themselves defrauded by the administrative providences of Alfonso II., take advantage of the attempt to repair the evil done to them? These were the problems which the death of the King suscitated, and of which in part the reign of Sancho II. was the deplorable solution.

It would be unnecessary to collect together in substance the events narrated in the present Book, or give our final opinion of the character of the grandson of Alfonso I., and on the historic importance of his government, in order that the reader should appraise both points. The policy of this prince is so significative that it would not be easy to construe it in two diverse ways—a legislator, because, almost without exception, his laws all tend towards strengthening royal power. The first of all was the solemn declaration that in him was inherent the supreme judicial magistrature, and that judges were no more than his representatives. We have seen how the other manifestations of his spirit, his own spontaneous acts, always reproduced the great idea which guided him. Timid in a foreign war, he was daring and firm against home resistance tending to curtail his authority or wound fiscal interests. Speaking absolutely, the general confirmations, and the inquiries upon the state of public finance, represented the idea of organisation and order; but if we note the circumstances under which the nation still found itself, the motives which had produced them, and the laxity in following out the former system of imparting force and energy to the people by means of municipal institutions, it is right for us to believe that these and other analogous providences tended to demonstrate the impulses of personal interest rather than the wish to constitute and organise civil society. Alfonso was gifted with two great qualities, economy and governing power, even to excess; but these gifts were far from sufficient for the needs of the times, while previous events prove that the efforts of the prince to render the throne more solid and independent were of little effect.

A modern historian has noticed with astonishment the small number of traditions concerning this monarch which have been transmitted to us by the ancient memoirs. This is due to the deficiency of the brilliant qualities which distinguished his two predecessors. Alfonso I. was a King of battles; Sancho I. was likewise a warrior, although not in such a high degree, but he was the King of the people, a municipal King. The life of both continued to cast over history, even to the end of the fifteenth century, a gleam of poetry, because national sympathies, while they did not preserve to us the history of more remote ages, yet, at least, they preserved a symbol in the general tendency of traditions relating to each King of the first dynasty; but the image of Alfonso II., as a prince who only cared for himself, his power and his coffers, an excellent exactor of finance, a zealous maintainer of the power and

prerogatives of the Crown, was too positive and severe; he could not bend to the pliant caprices of legendary lore, nor fill the grandeur of its poetry. The existence of a nation during its periods of infancy and youth, similarly to that of man in its childhood and adolescence, needs an expansive life and movement; it requires air, and light, and space. The people of virgin lands are warlike and turbulent, and therefore the traditions of combats are those which more fully remain rooted in the public mind. To these are more easily associated all that is marvellous, and which nourish the credulity of the people and their national pride. Thus do chronicles spring up, half history and half fiction, which become purified and completed during the more mature age of nations. Hence a prince who was antagonistic to the manner of existence of his subjects, who, moreover, in those primitive and rude times entrusted to the barons and prelates the hard profession of warfare, who retreated terror-stricken on beholding the flashing of swords, who in the mutual reaction of the social classes—a dim reaction, it is true, but an undoubted one—only sought his own interests, and to render these interests, as far as in him lay, subservient to increasing the authority of the Crown; such a prince, we say, was a contradiction, an anachronism in the midst of the epoch, and the generation which was passing away, and the one which was rising, must, as a consequence, forget him. For this reason do the collectors of biographical notes concerning the lives of ancient kings, on examining the vague and incorrect traditional memoirs of the past, scarcely find any vestiges of the reign of Alfonso II., with the exception of the victory of Alcacer, a victory, in truth, truly glorious, but which really cannot be ascribed to him.

END OF FOURTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

1223—1247.

Minority of Sancho II.—Conventions with the clergy and the Infantas Theresa Sancha, and Branca—Bands of the nobility—Turbulent state of the kingdom—Attempt to renew the conquest of the Gharb—Political situation of Andalus—Progress of the Castillian and Leonese arms—The southern frontiers of Portugal—Expedition against Elvas—Internal peace commences to be established—Accession of Gregory IX. to the Pontifical throne—Deplorable state of the Portuguese Church—Legacy of John de Abbeville to the Peninsula—His efforts to consolidate public order—Marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor to the Prince Waldemar of Denmark—Departure of the Infante D. Alfonso to France—Sancho dedicates himself to repeopling the kingdom—Events in Castille and Leon, and revolts against the Saracens—Elvas and Jurumenho are permanently occupied—Death of Alfonso IX., and its consequences—Peace treaty between Sancho II. and Ferdinand, King of Castille—War between the Crown and the clergy recommences—The Monarchy and Theocracy—Opposition of the two principles—Contentions with the Bishop of Lisbon—Internal administration of the kingdom—Continuation of the conquests beyond the Guadiana—Moura and Serpa are reduced—Conduct of Sancho in relation to the clergy—Rome hesitates—Designs and movements of the prelates—Grievances of the Church of Oporto—Death of the Bishop Martin Rodrigues—He is succeeded by Peter Salvadores—The taking of Aljustrel—Military reputation of Sancho in regard to Gregory IX.—Silvestre Godinho, the successor of Estevam Soares—Change of courtiers in the Portuguese Court—Probable causes and consequences—Abuses of the privileged classes—Weakness of royal authority—Advantages of the clergy—The strife with the Crown continues—Brutal acts of the Infante Ferdinand de Serpa—Providences of Gregory IX.—The King hesitates and yields—Last campaigns of Sancho against the Saracens—Conquests on both sides of the Guadiana—Preparations for an important expedition by sea and land—Events in Rome—Administrative anarchy in Portugal—Union of Sancho with Mecia Lopes de Haro—Death of Gregory IX.—Election of Innocence IV., and departure from Italy—First attempts of the Portuguese prelates to overthrow the King—Members of the Royal family—Progress of the conspiracy—Sancho is deprived of his government by the Pope—Arrival of the Infante D. Alfonso, Count de Bologna, in Portugal—Civil war—Intervention of Castille—Sancho retires to Toledo—His death—Conclusion.

Cloudy and melancholy rose the dawn of the reign of Sancho II. The political system of the ministers and private counsellors of the deceased King was based o jealousy of power, and in the feverish

avarice which characterised the reign of Alfonso II. It would in our day be impossible to define how far the influence of the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes, of the Major-domo Pedro Annes, and of Master Vincent, the Dean of Lisbon, and other courtiers had swayed the acts of the deceased King as regards the rights of the nobility; but how far their counsels contributed in the contentions with the clergy we can without temerity infer that they were unaware of the repeated efforts of the King to advance his interests at the cost of the nobility. If, however, this was the case, their opinions and counsels found good ground wherein to germinate, grow, and fructify; they found audacity and perseverance in the head of the State to reduce to effect the alien thought, and to consecrate by royal sanction the facts which might spring from this thought. But now things had changed. The new King was too youthful, and did not impress on the acts of his tutors and ministers the moral force of his own will. Historians scorn or controvert a simple fact, and which, nevertheless, is like the link or origin of the chain of circumstances which prepared the fall of our unhappy prince—the fact of his minority. They imagine him already a man when succeeding to Alfonso II., thus rendering themselves incompetent to properly appraise the character of Sancho, since they render him liable for what was only the necessary consequence of circumstances. The new King was, it is generally supposed, about thirteen years of age when he inherited the crown, although the precise date of his birth is unknown, but it certainly was not before the last months of the year 1209, and this is confirmed by various documents of that time; nevertheless, some historians say that he was three-and-twenty.

Hence the individuals who had exercised most influence and power during the government of Alfonso II., the noblemen who filled the most important government posts in the State, and the private counsellors of the late King, virtually continued invested with supreme authority, which only in name belonged to the prince in his minority; hence the free will of the latter must be held alien to the events of the first years of his public life. As we have seen, the administrative system of the preceding reign necessarily generated unpleasantness among the nobility. On the other hand, the contentions with the clergy were not yet definitely terminated, and the implacable Stephen Soares refused his consent to afford ecclesiastical burial to Alfonso II., since he had died before the sentence of excommunication had been raised.

The kingdom was under the ban of interdiction, and these canonical censures extended to the very tutors of the King, the justices of the kingdom—in a word, all agents in the persecution made to the clergy. The Infantas Theresa, Sancha, and Branca also complained of offences the nature of which is unknown, but were such that Alfonso IX. of Leon, their protector, judged it lawful to retain the Castle of Chaves, which he had taken possession of during the last war, under pretext of obtaining the reparation due to the Infantas. The situation was becoming serious for the barons and Court officials, now that the chief of the State was a child prince; hence it became a question of supreme importance to arrange these dangerous contentions, which they could neither sustain nor resolve without concessions more or less disadvantageous to royal authority, or rather to their own.

Sancho, being acknowledged King, was conducted to Lisbon, and one of the first acts of the ministers was to seek the favour of the Order of the Temple by conferring benefits. After this the Court was transported to Coimbra, to arrange the definite pacification of the clergy, and to fix for once and all the respective Crown rights of the Infantas D. Theresa, D. Sancha, and D. Branca. The facts which had impelled the Archbishop of Braga to sustain a deadly war against his prince were twofold —the first personally concerned the prelate, the other the clergy in general. The first act was to examine the damage done to monasteries and churches, in order to repair them, and the renowned Sueiro Gomes, the Prior of the Order of Preachers, the Archdeacon of Braga, and the Chantre of Lisbon, individuals probably chosen by Stephen Soares himself, were appointed to effect this examination, pledging, under oath to the barons of the Court and to the King himself, to abide by the decisions of the commission. It was declared, in the name of the prince, that six thousand Portuguese *morabitinos* should be paid to the Archbishop in satisfaction of the evils done by Alfonso II. to him and to his chapter, the Court pledging itself to reconstruct the buildings appertaining to the Metropolitan which had been destroyed. Thirty thousand *morabitinos*, and a reserve sum of twenty thousand more, which, meanwhile, would be kept in Sancta Cruz de Coimbra, were assigned as indemnifications which the three arbitrating commissioners might judge should be given to the churches and monasteries damaged. The ministers likewise bound themselves, in the name of the King, their pupil, to punish all noblemen, magistrates, and all other persons who might have defrauded the Archbishop and his see, specifying, among

others, as expiatory victims offered to the odium of Stephen Soares, Pedro Garcia and Rodrigo Nunes, who were adherents of the late King. While thus were pledged to the persecution the agents of the Crown, the tutors of Sancho submitted to the Archbishop, to the Bishop of Oporto, to the treasurer of Braga, and to all others of the same party, any offence done to the young monarch or to his father during the former discords. In compensation Stephen Soares promised that as soon as he should receive the six thousand assigned he would raise the general ban of interdiction over the kingdom, and allow Christian burial to the remains of Alfonso II., and would absolve from all censures and excommunications imposed by him or by the Pope upon any councils, places, and secular or ecclesiastical persons, against whom they had been fulminated, forgiving the offences received by the King or by his party. Those, however, who had violated the interdiction by giving Christian burial to the excommunicated were to be disenterred, and be then buried in a proper manner, in order that they should receive, as soon as asked for, authentic instruments of absolution, the Archbishop agreeing finally to resign into the hands of Sancho the apostolic letters and other documents relative to the censures impetrated from Rome.

A concord effected under these conditions affords us a sad idea of the former confidants of the late King, were it not for the difficult position in which they were placed, the perils of which they wished to minimise at any cost. Stephen did not make any covenant; he humbled his inveterate enemies. What did he in reality concede? He forgave the damages received, if they paid him for them: he would forget injuries if those who had grieved him were punished, particularly two of the offenders, and the punishment assigned by him. From this general condition, which was counselled by vengeance, neither nobles, nor magistrates, nor any other offenders whatsoever were excepted, while at the same time all adherents of the party of the prelate were secured from impunity, no matter what might be their attempts against the Crown.

At that juncture was also treated the settlement of the position of the Infantas Theresa, Sancha, and Branca. It was at length arranged that D. Theresa and D. Sancha should continue sharing together the seigniority of Alemquer, which would, however, at their death return to the Crown; Montemor and Esgueira to belong exclusively to D. Theresa, and afterwards to D. Branca, at whose death Montemor should return to the Crown, while Esgueira would remain in perpetuity to the

Monastery of Lorvão. From the nature of prestimonies, by which the seigniority of the two castles bequeathed as inheritance by Sancho I. to his two daughters was thus changed, they were to receive annually four thousand *morabitinos*, which were computed to be the rents of the Castle of Torres Vedras, whether the rents should amount to more or less, excepting the revenues of the head governorship, which would be received by the vassal holding the castle in the name of the King, and who could be changed whenever they might desire. Various contingencies were provided against, such as the marriage or widowhood of D. Branca, in such a manner that in neither case the Infantas or the Crown should be defrauded. Should D. Branca wed out of Portugal, and in the event of the death of D. Theresa, Sancho would then appoint the governor or *pretor* of the castle which the said Infanta should succeed to by the death of her sister; but this election was limited to eight noblemen named by D. Branca. This was a species of security to assure its future possession to her. It was also promised, in the name of the prince, to maintain the charters lately given to the inhabitants of the two towns, to sustain the revolt, and to forget their having declared in favour of the Infantas, who bound themselves to send them in the army when the army should be commanded personally by the King, or in the event of an invasion of the enemy, when the neighbouring towns should be summoned. It was likewise declared that the two councils should accompany the others on the occasion of erecting fortifications or sap work, and that the King's coin be current in Montemor and Alemquer. Lastly, the donations made by the Infantas on both sides being approved of, they were inhibited by this contract from alienating anything further. The care and solemnity by which it was sought to impart to this contract proper firmness, in order to avoid in future any motive for renewing the former deplorable contentions, depicts vividly the customs and ideas of those times, and we should deprive the reader of an instructive narrative were we to omit its description. The youthful prince, who could scarcely value the importance of the act he was practising, was the first to pledge himself by oath to preserve loyally the concord, by solemn promises *(omaguim)*, that as soon as he attained his majority, or legal age, he would confirm it, and, moreover, compel his successor to accept it. After the King five *ricos homens* also pledged themselves by oath, among these being the two first officers of the Court, the Major-domo, and the First Ensign, that so long as they continued vassals to the Crown

they would observe, without mental reservation, the provisions of that concord, and compel the King and his successors to observe them. Whichever of these should die, or cease to be a vassal in Portugal, would be superseded by another noble, chosen by the Infantas, who would take upon himself the same charge. In the hypothesis of any breaking of sworn faith on the part of the King, should after the term of thirty days the fault not be repaired, after another term of thirty days the five barons would, in virtue of their homage, constitute themselves prisoners of the Infantas, or of any of the surviving three, under pain of being held as perjurors, traitors, and rebels, in the same way as he who might deliver up the castle or put the King to death, who was their master. These self-same oaths and pledges, under similar conditions, were entered into by five Leonese barons on the part of the Infantas; among them the bastard, Martin Sanches.

The King of Portugal, as well as the King of Leon, required sureties, the first of vassals of the Portuguese Crown, the other for the Infantas, to take the intimation in case of a rupture on either side, to the five respective sureties, and also to return to save them, it being only necessary to announce this rupture to the Court where these five barons belonged to, who were responsible, although they might not reside there. The councils of Montemor, of Alemquer, Coimbra, and Santarem were called to intervene in this solemn pact, the two first as sureties of Theresa, Sancha, and Branca, the two last as sureties for Sancho. It was finally declared that the nomination of the governors of the two castles which were the objects of the contention should rest with the Infantas, but they were to be chosen from among nobles of high lineage, and pledge themselves to the King to execute all the articles of the convention, the dwellers in Montemor and Alemquer pledging to proceed to a foreign war, or accept peace, with the rest of the kingdom. Thus terminated for good the discord which had been continued, more or less violently, for more than twelve years.

The reparation for material damages was already secured to the clergy, but that body laboured to forewarn future ones, to restore the immunities and the rights attributed, as well as the privileges formerly obtained from the princes. There are some existing Acts which are said to have been made on that occasion between the ministers or tutors of Sancho and the Archbishop Stephen Soares, as representative of the ecclesiastical body, relative to the limits of royal authority in regard to the Church. But whether these Acts have reached us in their

primitive integrity, or whether they be even genuine, we cannot definitely affirm, although thay have been received as such by all writers. Nothing, however, was more natural than that the ecclesiastical State should take advantage of the situation of the kingdom to obtain advantageous concessions; and even in the supposition that these Acts were not genuine, or even erroneous, it is not credible that the victorious Metropolitan would be satisfied with only pecuniary indemnification, abandoning the questions of jurisdiction and immunity, to which he had sacrificed, for more than three years, wealth, the country, and peace, in a violent strife with the Crown. The conditions which were said to be laid down in Coimbra, between the King and the prelate, were, that the King should continue to receive the procurations, or *colhetas*, in cathedrals whenever he visited them, but without the oppression employed by the collectors of finance; that no vassal give tenancy or sell to churches; that the causes over parish properties or of monasteries should be tried before the bishops or local ecclesiastical judges, the King only intervening in case of refusal of justice, and not from wishing to judge the litigation in question by the magistrates; the King to defend at once the clergy and the Church on being required to do so by the prelates; to remit any rents which might be due from the bishoprics belonging to him, making due inquiries in regard to those which might be doubtful ones; not to take possession of the rents from vacant sees; not to send to monasteries and parishes birds, dogs, men, or horses, to be there supported; not to interpose in the punishments imposed on ecclesiastics who were incorrigible, whether seculars or regulars, subjects of the bishop, excepting in civil questions; to remedy the results of the inquiries ordered by his father on Crown lands relatively to the churches; and, finally, the men in power not to effect damage or violence in the churches, either to individuals or properties belonging to them.

Such were, as it is affirmed, the conditions in favour of the clergy imposed by Stephen Soares. Historians have left us in almost total darkness concerning the events that occurred during the first three years of the reign of Sancho, or else they saw nothing but the ordinary movement of a kingdom at peace. Accustomed to lengthened quarrels with ecclesiastical bodies, particularly with Stephen Soares, the tutors of Sancho had yielded to necessity, obtaining a momentary pacification at the expense of large concessions; but these forced concessions not only irritated them, but brought on new collisions, which in a short time

broke out violently with the Metropolitan and Sueiro, Bishop of Lisbon. The motives for these discords naturally must be the usual ones, although the pretext for this particular one is unknown, but the course taken by the ministers was certainly imprudent. In order to avenge themselves, the prelates had not only the threats of Rome to fly to, but likewise they possessed the elements of disorder which were brooding in the kingdom, and the powerful lever of an ambitious and discontented nobility. In view of the turbulent and daring character of the two prelates, particularly of the Archbishop, it is lawful to believe that it was they who impelled, at least in part, the anarchy which was developed amid the barons of the north, and which for years disturbed the throne.

The Mendes de Sousa, who from the time when they made peace with Alfonso II. had preserved in the Court the brilliant position due to the importance of their family, had intervened in the acts tending to secure to the heir of the throne peace with the clergy and with the Infantas. That between these and Peter Annes de Novoa, the Major-domo, and other adherents of the late King there did not exist sincere friendship, is taught us from experience in political matters. These had for a long time belonged to diverse parties, hence past aversions could not for certain become converted into affection. Besides which, the head of the Sousas, Gonçalo Mendes, remembered that Peter Annes was invested with the highest office of the kingdom, which had been held by himself and his father before him. Should the Major-domo, a minister of State accustomed to business and united by identity of opinions and interests to the Chancellor and Dean of Lisbon, acquire the same influence on the tender spirit of the prince that both had had over that of his father, the bulk of the nobility, at whose head stood the Sousas, could not hope to obtain the reparation of the offences suffered, whether during the epoch of the confirmations or in consequence of the inquiries of 1220. Of the other noblemen who held tenancies in the various districts of the kingdom, the most notable among those who followed the Court were, besides the five sons of the Count D. Mendo, Gonçalo, Garcia, Rodrigo, Vasco, and Henry, and the Ensign-Major Martin Annes, the Lord of Bayonne, Poncio Alfonso, and of Lumiares, Abril Peres, the Lord of Soverosa, Gil Vasques, João Fernandes, we know not if of Lima or of Riba de Vizella, because both existed at this epoch, and both had a son of the same name, Fernando Annes, who likewise figures in the diplomas of that time, as well as D:

João Peres, whose home or family was not distinguishable amid so many individuals of that name. Incited, perhaps, by the Archbishop of Braga, and moreover by his own ambition, these powerful barons, with their friends and relations, leagued themselves against Peter Annes. At least, from the end of 1223 and three following years the former Major-domo and the clever Dean of Lisbon disappeared from the political scene. The principal office of State fell successively on D. Henry Mendes and his eldest brother, D. Gonçalo, on D. João Fernandes de Vizella, or Lima, on D. Abril Peres, and returned again to D. João Fernandes. In the documents expedited at this period, at times appears only one Baron of Portugal as constituting the whole Curia, at others increasing the number of them, but almost always varying the individuals, and the Lord of Bayonne being the one who less often forsakes the side of the prince. The First Ensign Martin Annes, and the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes, it appears, found it more prudent to follow the party of the nobles of Alemdouro.

Sancho, as we believe, was taken from the power of his tutors, and perchance more than one civil war was due to the strife of who should exercise power and influence over him. It might be said that the King was passing from hand to hand like a treasure violently disputed. And, in effect, to this cause may be attributed the conflicts and the assassinations which appear among the nobility at this epoch. Meanwhile the party of Peter Annes, to which the Dean of Lisbon had joined, did not altogether die out. There are reasons to suspect that the favourites of Alfonso II. considered themselves as the centre of the government, and many diplomas, or decrees, sent out in the name of Sancho II. were solely the work of that party. It would be useless to history were we to vainly attempt to follow the phases of these parties and their contentions. What is due to history is to indicate the general situation of the kingdom, and the results of this situation. As usually happens, the most skilful or the most powerful, taking advantage of contrary interest, the jealousy of other barons, the family feuds, and the covetousness of the prelates, successively obtained preponderance. In the midst, however, of the agitation between the two parties, an incident took place which unexpectedly offered to the turbulent and warlike instincts of the nobility a more noble and useful object than civil wars. This was the venture of an expedition against the Saracens of Alemtejo, in which our youthful monarch, who, on entering his seventeenth year, and obtaining his emancipation, gave the first proof

of prowess. This youth, who for so long had been the shuttlecock of the civil wars, and whose military propensities, as time manifested, were more worthy of his grandfather, Sancho I., than of his father, Alfonso II., must have smiled at the thought of finding himself at the head of his own soldiers and his rural knights, to assist at encounters where he would cease to be himself the prey of the conqueror. This maiden spirit aspired to enter the heated atmosphere of the battle-field; at least, facts quickly proved how little he feared the glorious perils of war. Before we enter into the narrative of the campaigns which distinguished the youth of Sancho, it is necessary to explain not only the political causes which led to the renewal of the conquests along the frontiers of the Gharb, but also the state of the Portuguese territories which bordered the Gharb.

At the commencement of the year following that of the death of Alfonso II. the Ameer Al-Mostanser died in Africa. He left no sons, and the Almohades acclaimed in his place Abdu-l-Wahed, the brother of Al-Manssor, he who won the battle of Alarcos. Murcia was governed in those days by Abu-Mohammed, son of Al-Manssor, and uncle to the late Ameer. Abu-Mohammed, judging that he had a greater right to the empire, rose up against Abdu-l-Wahed, and wrote to his brothers, who held various governing posts in Spain, and then Abu-l-Aala, the Wali of Seville, declared for him, while the Walis of Malaga and Granada secretly promised to favour him. Suborning the Shieks and Wasirs of Morocco, he was enabled to depose Abdu-l-Wahed, and was himself acclaimed Ameer. This was the first and sinister example the Almohades gave of the deposition of their prince, and was like the announcement of the prompt dissolution of the empire. Aladel, the name by which Abu-Mohammed is more generally known, could not, however, obtain the peaceful dominion throughout Andalus. Abu-Mohammed Ibn Abi Abdallah, called Al-Bayesi, because he governed in Baeza, made himself independent along with his district, taking the surname of Adhdhafir, and remaining master not only of Baeza, but likewise of Cordova and Jaen. Aladel sent his brother Abu-l-Aala against Al-Bayesi; but he, either by resisting him or, as some say, making him retire by stratagem, sought an alliance with Ferdinand III. of Castille, acknowledging the supremacy of the Christian King in Baeza, Andujar, and Martos. In truth, Adhdhafir sought a protector sufficiently formidable to protect him against Aladel, and no less dangerous for his own independence, and later on for the price of his

favour the Christian prince commenced to coerce him. Ferdinand was ready to succour powerfully his subject or ally. In that year (1224) the King of Castille entered into the districts of Ubeda and Baeza, leading large forces, and took Quesada after much slaughter of its defenders, then abandoned it when reduced to a heap of ruins, and marching against Jaen, where, after various devastations and the ruin of some fortified points of the city, returned to his States on the approach of winter. It was then that Al-Bayesi colleagued with him, and gave him the supreme dominion of the three above-mentioned towns, the last of which, Martos, the Christian prince garrisoned its castle with knights of Calatrava. In the following year the army of Ferdinand III. again penetrated into Mussalman territory, and joining the troops of Adhdhafir, proceeded against Seville. Aladel, who came out to meet the enemy, was defeated, and fearing lest these misfortunes might make him lose the empire, crossed the sea to save at least the dominions of Africa. Since then the conquests of Ferdinand III. in Andaluz rapidly advanced, not only through his own prowess, but also on account of the advantages which the ambitions and quarrels of the Almohade Sheiks afforded him.

Profiting from this conjuncture, and perchance forcibly excited to emulation by the brilliant advantages obtained by his son Ferdinand of Castille, the King of Leon continued the war with the idea of extending to the south the borders of his own States. From the year 1218 or 1219, when he established peace with the son, Alfonso IX. had successively devastated the outskirts of Caceres, and obtained through his generals the victory of the battle of Tejada, and prosecuted his desolating invasions along the territories of modern Spanish Estremadura, which falls between the Tagus and the Guadiana to the east of upper Alemtejo. Returning from one of these expeditions in the year 1223, he prepared to turn his arms especially against the district of Badajoz, descending from Cima-Coa, which was effectually realised in the spring of 1226. This movement was in combination with the Portuguese forces, which were at the same time marching upon Elvas, commanded by the youthful Sancho, or rather by the former General (Chief Ensign) of the royal troops, Martin Annes, and by the Archbishop of Braga. The arrival in Portugal, at the end of 1223, of Martin Sanches, uncle of the King, and one of the principal personages of the Leonese Court, convinces us that it was due to the two expeditions proceeding simultaneously, as a contemporary historian also observes.

In order to comprehend the difficulties and the advantages of an attempt against Elvas, it is necessary to glance at the state of the Portuguese frontiers towards the south-east. During the reign of Sancho I. towns rose up along upper Alemtejo, due principally to the efforts of the Military Orders. Montemor-o-Novo, erected and peopled by that prince, rendered less perilous the situation of Evora, placed for many years as the solitary watch-tower in the line of Christian conquests. After the taking of Alcacer in 1217, the line of frontiers bending to the centre of Alemtejo towards the west united the three capital points of Evora, Montemor, and Alcacer. To the east, however, of Evora the Mussalman dominion extended more towards the north. The towns of Jurumenha, Elvas, and Badajoz, all strongholds and well defended, secured to the Saracens the seigniority of the neighbouring territories between the actual limits of Portugal and Spain. Towards the year 1218, Alfonso Telles, a powerful and illustrious knight of Leon and Castille, who married the illegitimate daughter of Sancho I., founded on the frontiers of the Moors the stronghold of Albuquerque, where he sustained continual wars before the incursions of Alfonso IX. had advanced as far as these places. For the space of seven years the defenders of that castle retained this important stronghold in spite of the efforts of their enemies, these efforts meriting from Pope Honorius III. a letter in the year 1225, addressed to the heads of the Hospitallers of Spain, in which he enjoins them never to refuse aid to the garrison of Albuquerque, and, moreover, to afford all succour besought, notwithstanding any truces made with the Infidels. On the side of Portugal during the first two decades of the thirteenth century no vestiges were found of any Christian colonies below Marvão, although it is believed that the Saracens had abandoned the territory to the east of the towns which the Military Orders were founding between the Tagus and the frontier of Alcacer, Montemor, and Evora. On the side of Leonese Estremadura towered Albuquerque, and on the north and west the preceptories and convents of the Templars, the knights of Calatrava, and the *Spatharios*. Hence they were easily compelled to abandon the fortified places and their alcarias (villages) which existed along the modern district of Portalegre. Nor is it improbable that towards the end of the reign of Alfonso II. the Christian dominion should have extended up to Arronches by the efforts of the knights of the various orders and the Portuguese border knights.

Such were the relative positions of the Christian and Mussalman

States to the west of Spain, and the progress of the Portuguese dominions along upper Alemtejo. The Gospel had vanquished the Koran; this flying conqueror sped on, spreading its doctrines over the Andaluz, and the Mussalmans, possessed by their blind hatreds and unbridled ambitions, were subdividing themselves daily more and more into parties, spilling their own blood in torrents while disputing over the limbs of the ghastly corpse of the Almohade empire. And as though the castles whose gates broke down beneath the blows of the Leonese and Castillian axes were not sufficiently numerous, and as though the waving aloft of the standard of the Cross, unfurled to the winds, had not already substituted in the watch-towers of their numberless mosques the sonorous voice of the Almuedin, the chiefs of the bands, the Ameers of a city and of a day, were, in order to maintain their melancholy power, summoning the terrible Nazarenes to aid them, delivering up to these their strongholds, and with the object of oppressing their adversaries, would allow themselves to be oppressed by their deadly enemies, and in order to be masters, made themselves slaves. Such was the fate of the people who sought to follow the path of civil bands, judged itself to be great while it devoured itself, and sang hymns of triumph in place of bitter wailings.

And lest Portugal might share a similar fate, it was expedient to render the authority of the prince effective, because he had been, up to that time, no more than a nominal chief of the State; and this could only be obtained by placing the youthful monarch at the head of a military movement against the Saracens, and opening a campaign in which the barons of the kingdom should all be united together, with their respective forces, into one great common power, to which would be added the national troops of the councils, whose prowess had been proved a few years previously, in the battle of the Navas. This was the only position Sancho could take on entering man's estate and receiving the confirmation of the crown by Honorius III. (1225), in order to begin to exercise his free will and assume some importance, be a king in reality, and not in name only, but emancipated from the tutorship in which he had been kept by the nobles. The general affairs of the Peninsula brought to a head the necessity of war with the Mussalmans, and produced in Portugal grave internal changes.

The undertakings and victories of Ferdinand III. had echoed far and wide, and attracted the especial attention of the Pontiff, who addressed a letter of congratulation for the glory of the Christian arms,

and encouraged him to continue constant to his project, and not to desist from combating the Infidels. In order further to induce the Castillians to assist the prince in this undertaking, Honorius nominated a Legate in Spain (1225), whose principal mission was to encourage the war. As his colleagues, were appointed the Metropolitans of Compostella and Braga, with the evident intention that these should likewise endeavour to promote an analogous movement in Leon and Portugal.

The provisions of Honorius were not in vain. Throughout Spain was heard the clanking of weapons. While Ferdinand III. was penetrating into the interior of Andalusia in the spring of 1226, to lay siege to the powerful Castle of Capiella, an undertaking for which Albayesi afforded him all kinds of ammunition and victualling, Alfonso IX., crossing the Tagus, was descending to the side of Badajoz. Meanwhile, in Portugal, the Archbishop of Braga had attained to move the people to enter into that species of general crusade. D. Abril Peres and D. João Fernandes, the former General of the royal troops, Martin Annes, Ferdinand Fernandes, who, it appears, was the last who ruled the prince, Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, and many others of the principal nobility accompanied Sancho II. to the projected undertaking, which, in all probability, may be attributed to the efforts of Stephen Soares.

While the Leonese troops were attacking the environs of Badajoz, the Portuguese army, not content with spreading desolation along the neighbourhood of Elvas, was attacking the city itself. A celebrated traveller of the preceding century, describing Ielch, as it was called by the Arabs, tells us it was a fortified town, situated on the brow of a mountain, and surrounded by a plain covered with rural habitations and bazaars or market-places. Elvas in those days was famous for the beauty of its women. At the time it must have been in a state of decadence, but their fortifications were evidently in existence, since the Portuguese met with a vigorous resistance. It was here where the monarch gave the first proofs of the warlike spirit which later on distinguished him. The darkness of the ages has concealed to us the details of the conquest of Elvas. We know, however, that it yielded to the fury of the invaders. Sancho was binding the traditions, severed so long, of the race of Count Henry. In this youth the Portuguese warriors at length beheld the image of the hero of combats, and found in him a worthy grandson of Alfonso I. Attacking personally the walls, Sancho risked his life. In the silence and the solitude of the cloisters,

for the space of six centuries, was the pale parchment preserved which tells us of Alfonso Mendes Sarracines, a loyal knight, who, at an extreme personal risk, leaped the moats to save his prince. Would that this scornful generation, and oftentimes barbarian in the midst of its culture, not destroy the fragile, weak memoir of the first campaign of a King so brave, yet so hapless!

After devastating the neighbourhood of Badajoz, Alfonso IX. returned to his States, and the Portuguese army, although it had derived greater advantage from that simultaneous expedition, likewise retired to the frontiers. But whether owing to the fortifications of Elvas having remained so completely ruined, and its defence or preservation too difficult or dangerous, or from some other motives unknown to us, the town was abandoned, and, as it appears, the dispersed Mussalman population returned to their desolated homes for some time, until the fear of the raids of the Christians and the impossibility of resisting compelled them, three years later, to quit for ever, not only Elvas, but also various other strongholds on the eastern district of upper Alemtejo.

The two years which followed the expedition of Elvas (1227-1228) do not afford us any records of new attempts against the Mussalmans on the side of Portugal; nevertheless, the internal events of this country were of grave moment. It may be now said that Sancho began to reign, and a revolution, which passed unknown by the historians, was verified in the political situation of the kingdom. On the occasion of the conquest of Elvas, Martin Annes had resumed the charge of chief of the army. Master Vincent, who was formerly so bitterly disliked by the Archbishop of Braga, now succeeded Gonçalo Mendes, who probably had died, to the important post of Chancellor. Evidently the two inveterate enemies had become momentarily reconciled, and joined D. João Fernandes, to whom D. Abril Peres ceded anew the title of Major-domo. On the other hand, Rodrigo Mendes, the most courteous and active of the brothers Sousa, was ending his days, and necessarily weakened his party. Hence these two years, during which Sancho became firmly established on his throne, were, in truth, an epoch of reaction against the reigning anarchy, a reaction which, as the documents proved to us later on, became a certain stability, but which did not last sufficiently long to prevent the long and fatal consequences of the violent and destructive phases through which the nation had passed during the last three or four years.

Public affairs commenced to be more orderly, and royal authority to assume a certain force, due to the example of energy and valour which the prince had afforded in the expedition to Alemtejo. The government was gaining stability, but the reign of Sancho was destined to encounter continual storms. Necessarily, after the state in which the kingdom had been for so long a period, and in view of the barbarism of all acts of power, every means employed to order the affairs of government would meet with resistance. The nobility, wearied out by material contentions, and deprived, through death or through joining with the King, of its most important individuals, naturally would yield with less difficulty. The Church, however, kept in reserve its more powerful arms to maintain her own rights, or those she held as such, yet there remained to her the protection of Rome and the canonical censures to defend her landed wealth and the comforts and advantages of the ecclesiastical States.

But if the advisers of Alfonso II., who were also those of Sancho, linked anew the line of political traditions of the Chancellor Julian, preserved by his successor, Gonçalo Mendes, and by them, Martin Rodrigues found also, in the declining years of his life, the strength of former years in not yielding without a combat, while an unforeseen accident imparted to the contentions between Church and State a more grave aspect. Honorius III. died on the 18th of March, 1227. This Pontiff, inferior in wisdom and capacity to his illustrious predecessor, was dowered with a character which might be called moderate in comparison with the ardent, imperious genius of Innocence III. After some hesitation concerning the choice of successor to Honorius, the votes united in favour of Cardinal Ugolino, nephew of Innocence III. Elected Pope, he assumed the name of Gregory IX. The choice was adapted to the difficulties of the time, the pretensions of Rome, and to the weight of affairs which then fell to pontiffs. Gregory was worthy to wear the tiara of his uncle, we shall not say to honour it, but to illustrate and enlarge it. Elevated by him to the cardinalate at the age of twenty-eight, Ugolino had passed eighty years, always employed in missions of high importance, to fulfil which he merited the full meed of praise from the Roman Curia for the skill, perseverance, wisdom, and eloquence which, according to circumstances, he had employed to bring to happy issues these different missions. Although he ascended the Pontifical throne at an advanced age, Gregory preserved all his mental faculties in their full energy, and to

the severity of his customs was due his bodily robust health. As soon as he was invested with supreme power, the new Pope manifested in effect how far his doctrines and character coincided with those of the haughty Innocence III. The grievances of the clergy of Oporto, coming from a Court influenced by Stephen Soares, offered a fact which proved the species of anarchy produced and nourished during the three years of the minority of Sancho, an anarchy which was not limited to the nobility, but invaded the ecclesiastical body, and enkindled the fire-brand of discord between home and home, between prelate and prelate, cathedral and monastery, and Military Orders with one another. Singular cases of such varied discords are afforded to us by documents at various times, but the conjunction of them all constitutes an especial feature of this deplorable epoch. Besides the civil wars and the intrigues of barons and prelates, the proceedings of these latter with the monks do not improve, notwithstanding the efforts of Honorius III. The Military Orders also, taking advantage of the tumultuous situation of the kingdom, disputed one with another, not before magistrates, but sword in hand, the possession of properties whose dominion was doubtful. Thus the Templars wrested from the bulwarks the cross of the Hospitallers, which marked the inheritances they considered they were despoiled by them, and the Hospital retributed the Temple in the same manner. Combats were entered into between the friars and the men-at-arms of their respective communities, from which resulted wounds, death, and then revenges, which cut down more and more both these powerful corporations.

In the midst of the grave cares which occupied the spirit of Gregory IX., the Pontiff did not forget the deplorable state of the Portuguese Church. Besides the providences he took concerning the diocese of Oporto, he expedited other bulls tending to repress what he judged, from the proceedings of prelates and the officers of the Crown, to be contrary to the legitimate interests of the clergy. But these Apostolic letters did not appear to him sufficient. Besides this, the affairs of the Spanish Church, in the wide sense of the word, required in those States the presence of an active, intelligent, and experienced man, who would arrange things on the basis of the severe discipline which the Pontiff desired to maintain. John of Abbeville, the Cardinal of Saint Sabine and former Archbishop of Besançon, was a prelate held by the members of the Sacred College to be a pillar of strength to the Apostolic See, on account of his virtue and lofty

intellectual gifts. This individual was chosen by Pope Gregory IX. to be his Legate in the various kingdoms of Christian Spain, and especially in Portugal, to which he proceeded at once by sea. On arriving at Lisbon, the Cardinal, whose activity and good intentions facts proved, at once commenced his efforts to improve the position of the clergy, by reforming and at the same time providing the needs for Divine worship. Deficient of pastors, the people in crowds rushed to the Legate, beseeching him with tears to establish new parishes; and he then proceeded to the colleges and monasteries to introduce useful reforms. He was a man of severe doctrines concerning the immunity and discipline of the Church, and in general all that related to moral duties; and notwithstanding his prudent character, which facts and the testimony of his contemporaries induce us to attribute to him, he manifested himself inexorable against those who did not change their way of proceeding in these matters, and bringing down the weight of canonical censures upon those guilty of incestuous marriages, of robbing churches, and all other disorders which the unbridled state of society for so many years had necessarily produced. And while John of Abbeville essayed to repair the moral evils of the kingdom, in the Parliament, or solemn Curia, convoked in Coimbra towards the end of 1228, a reunion which, perchance, was due to his influence, induced the youthful and inexperienced prince to undertake seriously the repopulation of Portugal. At any rate, it was he who, in that assembly, wherein were gathered together the prelates, barons, and the greater portion of the nobility, more greatly contributed to move the restoration of Idanha, the old and ancient see of the Ægitanense bishopric—a restoration which indirectly led to promote the increase of population, not only in Beira-Baixa (Lower Beira), but also in Alto-Alemtejo, towards which that diocese extended in those days. It appears the Legate lived in harmony with the inveterate adversary to Rome, the Chancellor Master Vincent, who had been elevated to the dignity of Bishop of that See, and especially charged with directing the restoration of Idanha. The acquiescence of the Cardinal in this fact would be a proof, if not of tolerance, at least of policy, because the interests of that dangerous man were united in more than one way to those of the Church in common. By soliciting an increase of the power of the kingdom on that side of the frontier, the able and prudent Legate manifested that he knew this to be the road which would lead to the ultimate progress of the Christian arms, a progress

which depended on the simultaneous attempts of Portugal and Leon. On departing for this latter kingdom, in 1229, John de Abbeville must have been followed by the blessings of the Portuguese people, since it was during the period that he held the post of Legate that public disorders became calmed down, and a regular government was established, to which the spirit of the people evidently tended from the year 1226.

To the hopes of obtaining internal peace at this epoch were joined other political advantages. Waldemar II., King of Denmark, had, by his first wife, Margaret of Bohemia, a son called, like his father, Waldemar. He was the heir to the throne, and the monarch had already associated him with the supreme power. As we saw in the preceding Book, by reason of the death of Margaret, the King of Denmark took for his second wife Berengaria, sister to Alfonso II. Wishing further to strengthen the links which bound him to the dynasty of the last country of the west, he chose as the wife of the successor to the throne D. Leonor, the niece of his wife, and sister to Sancho II. The age of D. Leonor could not have exceeded seventeen when she departed for Denmark, and the union was celebrated in Ripen, at the commencement of 1229. The brilliant solemnity of that day became memorable in the annals of the country, because on this occasion the warrior Waldemar was reconciled to his former adversaries, and peace was established in the monarchy. But less robust than her aunt, the ambitious D. Berengaria, this Portuguese Infanta, a delicate flower of the South, soon wilted and withered beneath the icy and melancholy climate of Scandinavia, and in the spring of 1231 Leonor ceased to exist, followed by the death of her husband, the Prince Waldemar, barely six months after. The steps of the throne of Denmark thus were left free to the sons of Berengaria, called in popular songs "the Proud." In effect, the three brothers, Erick, Abel, and Christopher, all successively assume the crown of their father Waldemar.

It was, perchance, at this same conjuncture that one of the two younger brothers of Sancho left Portugal for the Court of France, where the widowed Queen Branca of Castille, mother of Louis IX. and aunt of the Portuguese princes, exercised supreme power and high influence. And while only Ferdinand remained with Sancho, and he the youngest—indeed, he was barely out of infancy—the royal power was definitely established at the commencement of 1229, in a great measure with the elements of the former reign, and all things indicate it to be

due to the Assembly of Coimbra, where the damages caused by the civil bands to the kingdom were rendered patent. During this year and the following one we behold Sancho attending in a special manner to repeopling the territories nearest the frontiers of Alemtejo, and preparing new expeditions against the Mussalmans. It might be said that the former ministers of Alfonso II., veterans in experience, abandoned in a great measure the policy of this prince to return to the system of Sancho I., no doubt more fitted to the needs of the times and more solid in their results. When in 1226 the Portuguese army proceeded against Elvas, the Castle of Marvão already was chosen as an important military stronghold, as head of a council the limits of which, from the Tagus towards the north, extended to the south on the side of Arronches, and towards which, by means of the large municipal privileges of Evora conceded to them, it was sought to attract dwellers. But now that the conquest was progressing, and it was hoped to preserve the dominion of Elvas, a colony was gathered together to establish itself there, favoured by similar privileges. Meanwhile, the Court proceeded to the district of Beira-Baixa, there to impart vigour to the restoration of Idanha the Old, directed by the Chancellor, as well as the foundation of new municipalities, such as Castello-Mendo (or Villa-Mendo) to the east-south-east of Guarda, and of Salvaterra to the extreme (to the south of the more ancient ones of Monsancto and Penamacor), which, touching the line of Leon on the defile of Elga, was limited on the west by the district of the ancient episcopal city which it was intended to restore. To this epoch is likewise attributed the concession of municipal institutions to the Castle of Sortelha, an important point of the frontier which countervailed the Leonese Castle of Alfayates, and whose population was now augmenting by new colonists, besides those placed by Sancho I. By labouring to introduce life and cultivation into the territories of Beira-Baixa, which were in a great part deserted, there was the advantage of establishing a more solid basis to future operations in Eastern Alemtejo, and at the same time of completing and favouring the efforts of the Templars, who since the preceding reign had laboured to raise castles and populate the vast seigniories which they had there acquired by favour of the Kings and by other means, and which resulted in the existence of Castello-Branco, New Idanha, Proença, Touro, and various other towns and castles.

While Sancho II. and his ministers thus laboured to follow the

enlightened policy of Sancho I., and prepared for war by strengthening the country with the benefits of peace, let us turn awhile to the events which were taking place at that epoch in Leon, and that so briefly were to exercise a notable influence on our country. Notwithstanding the conquests and victories of Ferdinand III. of Castille, it might be truly said that in no Court of Spain did the spirit of war rule to such a degree as in that of Leon. At a mature age, the King seemed to wish to redeem his past alliances with the Saracens against the Christian princes by combating Islamism by fire and sword, without term or rest, and, if that were possible, further excited by the counsels of the Cardinal of Sabine.

Two knights, distinguished by highest bravery, filled the most important offices of State; both were Portuguese—the Infante D. Pedro, his Major-domo, and the bastard Martin Sanches, border knight of Toronho and Limia, and Chief Ensign of the Leonese troops. The administration of the greater portion of the provinces passed through the hands of these two noblemen, who no doubt exercised a great influence over the affairs of peace and of war. In 1229, Alfonso IX., assisted by some troops sent by Ferdinand of Castille, marched with his army to besiege Caceres, which surrendered, while the Castillian King put to fire and sword the neighbourhood of Jaen. In the following year Alfonso submitted the Castle of Montanches, and proceeded to a more important faction, by attacking Merida, the ancient capital of the Gharb, as it had been of Lusitania, and which, even at that time, was one of the most important cities of Andalusia. In this undertaking the Infante D. Pedro distinguished himself, and to his efforts were due principally their good results. In effect, Merida fell into the power of the Christians, who, acquiring renewed courage by this conquest, resolved to conclude the campaign by reducing Badajoz, and definitely repulsing to the south of the Guadiana the dominion of the Saracens.

Grave events had meanwhile taken place among the Saracens. Revolutions succeeded each other in Morocco and in Spain with terrible rapidity. Abu-l-Aala, who had been appointed Governor of Andalus in the name of his brother Aladel, was ambitious to possess the empire, and acclaimed himself Ameer on this side of the strait, and found means to assassinate his brother and be substituted; but he had not as yet passed over to Africa, and the Almohades elected in his place a son of Annasir. The partisans of Abu-l-Aala opposed Yahya, the new

emperor. From this proceeded a civil war, which for a long time desolated Mauritania, with varied fortune on both sides. During these perturbations, Ibn Hud, a descendant of the ancient Ameers of Zaragoza, who lived an obscure life in Murcia, yet had skilfully formed a party, made himself independent in this province (1228), and in union with the inhabitants of Denia and Xativa and other cities of Eastern Andalus, quickly reduced Granada, Malaga, and Almeria. Other important towns, such as Cordova and Jaen, submitted soon after, and thus Ibn Hud, lord of nearly the whole of Mussalman Spain, did not hesitate to assume the title of Amir-al-Moslemin. Hence, when Alfonso IX. marched against Merida the towns of this district invoked the aid of Ibn Hud, who, in effect, came at the head of a numerous army to assist his new subjects; but, defeated by the Christians who came out to meet him beyond the Guadiana, he was constrained to fly, and Alfonso IX. returned to the north to besiege Badajoz, which, losing hopes of succour, soon submitted to the yoke of the conqueror.

We said that the aims of Sancho II. were to people Elvas with Christians, and that, in anticipation of this occupation, municipal letters were passed to the inhabitants of the new council which was there established. The troops from Portugal were marching towards the south, and they were further expecting knights and men-at-arms of the barons of the north before opening the important campaign. On the approach of the enemy, the terror-stricken Mussalmans abandoned Elvas and Jurumenha, where the Portuguese entered the same day on which Merida surrendered. The conquest following soon after of Badajoz assured the Leonese frontier of this city up to Merida, along the Guadiana, while that of Portugal advanced more towards the south without crossing the river, and now, following the line east to west, from Jurumenha to Evora, a line of frontiers which from the time of Sancho I. had been desired to establish.

After the last and brilliant campaign, Alfonso IX. returned to Leon with the intention of gathering together more troops and provisions, in order to renew the invasion, and take possession of the territories south of the Guadiana, where, in former times, he had held fortified places, which became lost later on during the various vicissitudes of war. In this expedition had occurred prodigies, apparitions, and marvels, invented by the credulity of the times, said to be in aid of the Christians to vanquish Ibn Hud. In thanksgiving for these valuable aids, the King of Leon was proceeding to Com-

postella to visit the shrine of the Apostle Saint James, when he was assailed by illness in Villanova of Sarria, from which he died in September, 1230. His body was conducted to Compostella, and buried by the side of the remains of Ferdinand II.

The death of the Leonese King was a grave event for the country, for Castille, and, indirectly, for Portugal. He left two daughters, Sancha and Dulce, by the Infanta D. Theresa, to whom he had been first united; and the King of Castille was the issue of his second marriage with Berengaria, which, as well as his first marriage, had been declared null. During the discords with his son Alfonso IX. intended leaving his own States to one of the Infantas, to the exclusion of Ferdinand, and offered his elder daughter Sancha to the King of Aragon for his consort. This proposal convinces us that it was not because he wished to preserve independent the Leonese Crown as ill-will towards the Castillian King, or else his deep attachment to his daughter which prompted these designs. Yet although through the prudent policy of Berengaria he was reconciled to the King of Castille, he more than once broke the peace, which clearly proves that the feeling of resentment against Ferdinand III. was not altogether eradicated from his heart. To this was added the growing affection of the monarch for Sancha and Dulce, nourished, so to say, constantly by the friendship he preserved for the Portuguese Infanta, a friendship which was not belied until after the year 1228, when Theresa, her youth having passed away, took the Cistercian habit from the hands of the Cardinal of St. Sabine—some say in Lorvão, others in Villabuena. In the questions with Alfonso II., about his wife, he experienced how strongly Alfonso IX. resented any injury offered to the woman he so dearly loved; and the malcontents of Portugal, who defended her, found in him protection and regard. In this way did D. Pedro and Martin Sanches attain to occupy in the Court the most brilliant positions that could be offered to them. By degrees he caused the consent of the Infantas to be taken in concessions of favours, thus accustoming the people to consider them as his heiresses, until, excluding the son, he openly summoned them to the succession of the Crown in his last testamentary dispositions.

Notwithstanding that Theresa had retired from the world, she was a mother, and nothing more natural than that she should desire the crown for one of her daughters. The greater portion of the nobility sided for the party of the Infantas, not only through a motive of

nationality, but because, having a weak government, it would be more favourable to licence. The King of Castille was engaged in a far-distant expedition against the Mussalmans when the news of the death of his father reached him. He immediately returned, and met D. Berengaria, who had gone to meet him in order to persuade him to enter Leon without delay, where a tumult had arisen, principally among the nobility of Asturias and Galicia. The scenes of unbridled licence which Portugal offered during the minority of Sancho, and even greater disorders repeated in Leon, and destructive fires were frequent, particularly in those two provinces. Ferdinand III., while still an Infante, or soon after he assumed the crown of Castille, was acknowledged successor to that of Leon by the solemn act of Alfonso IX. and his barons, an act which was confirmed by Honorius III.; but the partisans of the Infantas were great in numbers and power, hence it became necessary to lose no time to place some restraint and put down the revolution ere it should assume any great proportions. Berengaria and her son therefore hastened to cross the Leonese frontiers, accompanied by many nobles of Castille, and a large cavalry corps from the Councils, which were more dependable in contentions wherein the adversary's side consisted principally of the nobility. At first the mother and son were received with demonstrations of loyalty, but by degrees, as they proceeded further, the inhabitants appeared to hesitate in acknowledging the new sovereign, because the Infantas or the nobles in their name threatened to raise the standard of war. The clergy, however, declared themselves on the whole favourable to the Castillian prince, and this tended to turn the balance to his side, and the son of Alfonso IX. obtained the paternal kingdom almost without a combat. The castles of Mayorga and Mansilla, where it appears a serious resistance was being prepared, yielded as soon as the royal troops approached, and in the capital the attempts of an illustrious knight, called D. Diogo, who sided for the Infantas, were useless, owing to the efforts of the Bishop of Leon and the burghers. The adhesion of the capital would necessarily soon bring the rest of the kingdom to submission.

In the retirement of the monastery of Lorvão, D. Theresa was not a tranquil spectator of these grave events, which closely affected her daughters, to whom the brilliant prospects of the crown had so quickly vanished. The speedy entrance of Ferdinand III. in the States of his father, the skill with which Berengaria moved the hearts of the

people in favour of her son, the bias of the clergy and of the Councils, generally manifested that it would be impossible to offer any lengthened resistance. Meanwhile the first consort of Alfonso IX. sent messengers to her rival, soliciting the right which Sancha and Dulce were entitled to by the last acts of the deceased king. But as the greater portion of the Castillian nobles who surrounded Berengaria were against giving any attention to such an embassage when all things were on the way to a happy solution, the prudent princess, whose natural foresight and long experience in governing taught her to dread the uncertain issue of a civil war, left her son to arrange public affairs, and took upon herself to confer personally with D. Theresa relatively to this question in order to end the contention, and the two queens who had been successively expelled from the royal Court by the inexorable discipline of the Church, proceeded to Valença do Minho, the spot chosen for the conference on the borders of the two kingdoms. In that conference was agreed at length that Sancha and Dulce should cede their rights to the inheritance of Alfonso IX., receiving in compensation an annual pension of thirty thousand morabitinos, and they to deliver up to their brother all the dominions they possessed and all places which favoured their party, an act which later on was carried out. Thus was the reunion of the two crowns amicably effected, notwithstanding the reluctance manifested generally by the Leonese barons and knights.

Had the Portuguese Court favoured the pretensions of the Infanta and her daughters, this favour, joined with the elements of resistance, which the discontent of the nobles of this country afforded them, would perchance have prevented a union which afforded the King of Castille an excessive preponderance over the Christian princes of the Peninsula. At first glance it appears strange that the ministers and private counsellors of Sancho II. should not have urged that prince actively to intervene in an affair in which Portugal could draw some advantages, yet to affirm that they committed a political error it would be necessary to comprehend, not by probable deduction, but intimately, the internal situation of the kingdom at that juncture; but the shades of the past scarcely allow us to see in an incomplete manner the phases of its internal life. The fever of tumults had become calmed down, although not extinguished, as the preceding events had proved, and the system of repression which necessarily followed to stay the increase of ecclesiastical power was already commencing to reproduce the former contentions

It would be therefore imprudent to place itself in a hostile relation to Castille, by thus increasing its future embarrassment. Such are the considerations which more plausibly explain the inaction of Sancho at that epoch. But whether or no these were the motives, it is certain that far from manifesting himself adverse to Ferdinand III., the youthful King of Portugal was establishing an advantageous amnesty with him. Both met in Sabugal at the beginning of the year 1231, or, as some say, at the end of 1230, when the King of Castille, on entering the States of his father, proceeded to Leon. One of the articles agreed upon by the two princes was the restoration of the Castle of Chaves, retained by Alfonso IX. since the occasion, during the reign of Alfonso II., when, under the plea of security, it had been pledged for the properties and rents held by D. Theresa in Portugal. After this convention was celebrated in Valença, the King of Castille not only fulfilled the promise he had made to the King of Portugal, but undertook to defend and befriend personally, and in the name of his successors, the Infanta Queen in the event of Sancho causing any damage to the lands and castles from whence she derived her rents. These meetings in Sabugal clearly explain the indifference shown by Sancho II. to the cause of his nieces, and are a further proof of the political capacity of Berengaria, to whom, in a great measure, Ferdinand III. owed the prosperity and splendour of his reign.

It is expedient here to explain the relative position of the Crown and the clergy on closing the third decade of the thirteenth century, because in the history of the sixteen years which passed from 1230 to the deplorable termination of the reign of Sancho II., the dominating feature, to which were linked more or less all the events of that period, was the fearful combat of the Monarchy and the Church. Like two athletes covered with wounds and blows, who become blinded by repeated rounds, defying each other in wrath to a deadly combat without rest or time, thus did the two political principals engage in a tremendous war. Besides the moral force proper to each contender, the sacerdotal class still retained the greater or lesser material force in the alliance of a portion of the restless nobility divided among themselves, and who were impelled by the interests of families offended by the restoration of public order. On the other hand, the regal authority had been delivered from its most dangerous adversary, the indomitable Stephen Soares. The Metropolitan of Galicia died about the middle of 1228, without, perchance, foreseeing the series of events which sprang

from the impulse given by himself as Legate of the Pope, and the renewal of hostilities with the Saracens and also the pacific mission of the Sabinian cardinal who had come to Portugal a few months before.

But if the haughty Stephen Soares had died, not so had the pretensions of the ecclesiastical body descended with him to the sepulchre. There remained on the field two veteran wrestlers, Martin Rodrigues, the adversary of Sancho I., and Sueiro, the conqueror of Alcacer. To the Metropolitan himself, the Bishop of Oporto had shown that he yielded to none, he who knew not how to flinch before the terrible frown of Sancho I. But now the bellicose Sueiro presented himself to the combat. Sueiro possessed the common vice of those who, either from the situation in which Providence has placed them, or from the strength of their arm, spirit, or intelligence, think that, in the distribution of the material joys of the world, they ought to have a more bulky portion than their fellow-men. Sueiro had the daring, even in the lifetime of Alfonso II. (1222), to promulgate a statute in which he declared that one-third of all goods belonging to those who died should be given to the Church, under threat of denial of sacraments and Christian burial to such as should disobey. The effect of this exaggerated or wild pretension may be easily imagined. The people fled to the Pontiff, who delegated the examination of this affair to the Franciscan and Dominican priors and to the Spatharian knights. The people became more and more irritated, and the former services of the Bishop of Lisbon were forgotten. When the tutors of Sancho II. endeavoured to resist the concessions which they had been constrained to make to the clergy, the disturbance among the nobles broke out, promoted, in a great measure, as it appears, by that reaction. Sueiro was one of the first to resist. For this reason he had to quit the diocese and join the barons of Alemdouro. During these tumults, in which the Bishop of Lisbon most certainly ought not to reckon on the good-will of his diocesans, a nephew of his, who resided with him, was assassinated, and the assassins sought refuge in Alemquer, under the protection of the Infantas Theresa and Sancha, who, according to the expressions of Honorius III., exposed themselves to contamination by harbouring evildoers. Although absent in Alemdouro, Sueiro did not desist from summoning his enemies before the judges which the Pope had appointed for that purpose, nor to obtain the favour of Alfonso IX., in whose dominions was situated the See of Compostella,

Metropolitan to Lisbon. Nothing, however, was of any avail, and when, about the year 1228, the men who had offended him regained power, Sueiro continued withdrawn from the Court, where Master Vincent, his former dean and adversary, held one of the most important charges, and who was now his equal in the ecclesiastical hierarchy—that is to say, Bishop-elect of Guarda. It is supposed that he retired to Rome, where he resided until the beginning of 1231.

As we said, Sancho II. was preparing, about the end of 1230, to continue the war in Alemtejo, and was mustering together in Elvas the army destined to invade the left margin of the Guadiana, when the death of Alfonso IX. brought about a suspension of arms, in order to establish peace with Ferdinand III. And about the same time that Theresa was debating in Valença the interests of her daughters with Berengaria, or, perhaps, a few months later, the King of Portugal proceeded to Alemdouro, with the object of taking charge of Chaves, and by his influence contribute to the solution of the Leonese question in favour of the Castillian prince. At the termination of these questions between the two States of Portugal and Castille, Ferdinand and Sancho could now turn their attention to the war on the Saracen frontiers.

The acts of the youthful monarch and the order which followed had won popular affection, while he or his ministers laboured so that this mark of goodwill should assume a legitimate foundation. The Order of the Temple—to whose efforts, in great part, were due the repopulation of upper Alemtejo—united in this undertaking the Order of the Hospital, between which, it appears, all former quarrels had become extinguished. In the spring of 1232 the Knights Hospitallers received from the prince the concession of an extensive tract of land, which was to form the centre of a new town to be called Ucrate, or Crato, and which they, as a fact, commenced to erect. The foundation likewise had been laid of another stronghold, the Castle of Vide, while the Chancellor-Bishop meanwhile endeavoured in the autumn of that same year to attract dwellers to Alter, where ruins still existed of a deserted town: thus they continued the judicious system of increasing the internal forces of the kingdom at the same time that they planned to extend on the south the line of frontiers.

The conquests were advanced in effect that same year towards the south and the east of Evora. After taking all necessary means to realise the establishment of new colonies to the north of Alemtejo, the

King departed from Coimbra, and proceeding to that province, opened the campaign recalling the glorious days of the reign of Alfonso I. The Portuguese flag waved beyond the Guadiana. The Mussalman towns of Moura and Serpa opened their doors to the Christians, and the defence of those dangerous places were entrusted, it appears, to the Hospitallers. A youthful knight lately associated to the Order there, quickly became renowned by his daring and his success. This knight was Alfonso Peres Farinha, who had distinguished himself in former civil wars, and then entered the Order of the Hospital. This knight, who so often couched his lance and brandished the sword in combats which brought no glory, commenced here a long and honoured expiation in encounters with the Saracens, practising to become in course of time the chief of the Order in Portugal, and later on one of the most notable personages of that century.

The passage of the Guadiana and the conquest of Serpa and Moura were one more brilliant proof of the warlike instincts of Sancho, who, in restoring to the kingdom the military activity which for a time had been laid aside, was manifesting at the early age of twenty-two that he was a worthy representative of his noble great-grandfather Yet this was not all. Like him, to the gifts of a warrior were added a pious spirit—at least, in conformity to piety as it was understood in those days. The political proceedings of the prelates were sufficient to nourish animadversion in the King, and the events which had compelled to put into action the laws against the licentiousness of the clergy would have cooled the common belief in the sanctity of their character. Corruption was no less prevalent among the Monastic Orders, and the gross devotion of those times, which tended to associate religious ideas with individuals, turned naturally towards the new Mendicant Orders. It was to these, after the Military Orders, that the King of Portugal manifested greater affection, and to which he granted favours with a more liberal hand, imitating the example of his cousin Louis IX. of France, who incorporated himself to the Institute of Penance, a kind of secular friars minors, which the reformer of Assissi established in order to enlist many individuals. From thence probably proceeded the designation of Capello to Sancho, given to him by his enemies. And in effect, although he did not deny his protection to the various monasteries of the kingdom as his predecessors had done before him, and he even endowed them, but the predilection he manifested for the new Orders is clearly seen in the influence some of their

members obtained during his reign, and also the rapid increase of convents of both the Dominican and Franciscan Orders.

This prince, gentle in times of peace, was violent on the field of battle; and if the blade of his sword weighed heavily on the brows of his enemies, his arm weighed no less heavily over his own soldiers who hesitated in combats. Notwithstanding all the complaints of the prelates, all the threats of the Pontiffs, they were unable to induce him to desist from compelling the individuals composing the body of the clergy to take part in military expeditions. This proceeded from the fact that any slight pretext sufficed for individuals to consider themselves exempt as belonging to that class, and the privilege of the tonsure had been abused to its highest degree. Many of these were even criminals, who sought refuge under the shadow of the Sanctuary, thus eluding the severity of the tribunals, and by their acts increasing the scandals of the clergy. It became, therefore, indispensable to diminish these clerical exemptions, while seeking a remedy against the proceeding of the prelates, a proceeding which called forth from Gregory IX., in 1234, a severe Encyclical Letter addressed to the Portuguese bishops, to compel them to respect the ecclesiastical right.

The war with the Saracens continued meanwhile with prosperous results. An individual who was destined to become one of the most terrible scourges of Islamism, had already merited to be chosen by the Portuguese Spatharios as their chief. This was D. Paio Peres Correia, the illustrious knight of Alemdouro. The friars of Saint James (Santiago) still held their principal residence in Alcacer, but since the reduction of this important stronghold in 1218, invasions had not been extended on that side towards the south, and if, as is believed, many a fight took place between the monk-knights and the Saracens beyond the Sado, no great results accrued, since no memory of these remain. In the year 1234, however, Aljustrel was submitted. The conquest, which up to that time had advanced through Alto Alemtejo, along the Guadiana, and to the east of this river, now changed its scene of action, and the neighbourhood of Alcacer shows us that the Spatharios principally intervened, because soon after Sancho gave them Aljustrel (March, 1235), with all its surrounding territories, as well as the seigniory of the castle and town of Cezimbra (January, 1236), where prospered, it appears, the colony of Franks which Sancho I. had established thirty-six years previously. Such had been the services of Paio

Peres Correia and two of the friars about this epoch, that they received from the Crown, in behalf of the Order of Santiago, not only the patronage of the churches of Cezimbra, but also of Palmella and Alcacer, reserved in previous donations, and in 1237 were added those of Almada as a new title to favour the Spatharios.

These victories and conquests were most valuable aids to the Crown against the higher clergy. Rome hesitated between the two opposed interests—the clergy who sought to defend the pretensions of civil power, and Christianity triumphing by means of the arms of the brave King of Portugal. The agents of the Portuguese prince in Rome had obtained severe providences against the abuses in the ordination of the clergy, and now a bull was expedited in which Gregory IX. exhorted generally the subjects of Sancho to take up arms to assist him in his glorious undertakings, which he extolled highly. "It was God," said the Pope, "who made and still was making the Saracens disappear before the face of the warriors of the faith. It was to the blessing of Heaven that the increase of the adorers of the Cross was due, in the cities which the Mussalmans had left deserted." Hence it was the duty of one and all to concur, not only in defending the lands already acquired, but also to help their prince in prosecuting the noble cause he had so generously espoused. Those who should follow Sancho in the incursions against the Saracens, or form part of his army, the Pope granted to them, during four years, the same indulgences which the councils had decreed to such as vowed themselves in the far-distant expeditions beyond the seas. In this way did the animadversions of e prelates fall down before the glory of the conquests.

But the individuals who would repeat with better fortune the attacks against the Crown already occupied the two principal Sees of the kingdom, Braga and Coimbra—the first the metropolitan, the second the capital. By the death of the celebrated Stephen Soares, the chapter of Braga elected as the Archbishop Silvestre Godinho, who departed to Rome to receive the pallium, from whence he returned in 1231. Meanwhile the Bishop D. Pedro, who in the midst of his demency was more prudent than the other prelates, proceeded to Italy to lay down at the feet of the Pontiff the pastoral staff, thus avoiding strifes with the civil power, and also the consequences of the animadversions of the clergy on that account. The successor of Stephen Soares, as Metropolitan of Coimbra, was entrusted with the execution of the punishment which the Pope had resolved to visit upon

the members of the Coimbra clergy, who, with their bishop, had preferred tranquillity to the risks which the rest of their body had undertaken without hesitation. But whether the Archbishop carried out to the letter the determinations of the Curia, or if he modified them, is unknown. We only know that two years after the death of D. Pedro in 1233, a new bishop, Master Tiburcio, was elected to that diocese. This prelate was one of those who were to prepare, with the fall of the throne, the vengeance which for years the Church had vainly attempted to obtain.

The errors of those who govern ever influence, more or less, the revolutions which cast down princes and change dynasties, notwithstanding that these may have sprung from causes purely fortuitous, from the intrigues of the ambitious, from political innovations, or from the violence of human passions. Dowered with a noble character, popular as a king, a valiant and successful warrior, what was wanting to Sancho to prevent him from bequeathing a glorious name to history? He was deficient in the administrative energy of his father, he was wanting in the strength to repulse those who flattered him in his appetites and passions, and in surrounding himself with ministers sufficiently active and severe to restrain, as far as possible, violence the contempt of laws, covetousness, the laxity of customs, disorders common to those rude and ignorant times. Fiscal harshness and the jealousy of authority, which Alfonso II. carried to excess, were qualities which in his son, as in the rest, was far from inheriting. At least, this is the result of the facts which, if not the only ones, nor the principal cause of the fall of this prince, nevertheless contributed towards facilitating the victory of the clergy and palliated their work of iniquity.

The Portuguese prelates, and many other influential members of the Church, were at that epoch generally the most cultured men in the kingdom. Ordinarily speaking, the principal offices of the chapter and bishopric were filled by individuals who previously had attained to the degree of *Magister*, and proved that they had followed regular studies either in Italy, France, or Salamanca, where Alfonso IX. of Leon had established the study of letters with far more success than Alfonso VIII. of Castille in Palencia. The lengthened residence of the bishops in Rome, the experience they gained in business and State affairs, conducted by the most skilful diplomatists of Europe, were circumstances which, joined to their individual culture of mind and natural genius,

enabled them to become distinguished at Court intrigues or by the moral force exercised by the clergy.

But all things were indicating that a storm was brewing over the country. The clamours of the prelates of Oporto and Braga, more or less exaggerated, increased, and affairs in the diocese of Lisbon looked grave. The Infante Ferdinand was about nineteen at the time of the campaigns of Sancho, and had received a military education. Yielding up to the Crown, in return for a certain sum, all he possessed—the inheritance of his father and of his sister, the Princess of Denmark, as all else—he established his residence in Serpa, a fit place for a young knight to exercise himself in the profession of arms, and the seigniority of which his brother had given him. He seldom, it appears, frequented the Court, but he nevertheless served Sancho with sincere good-will.

After the death of D. Sueiro, a certain D. Paio was elected Bishop of Lisbon, who survived his election but a short time. After D. Paio's death two individuals disputed the mitre—Sancho Gomes, who had the sympathies of the Court, and Master John, an individual greatly esteemed in Rome, who filled in the chapter the dignity formerly exercised by the Bishop of Guarda. As might be expected, the choice of the greater number of the chapter fell on the Dean, for the very reason that his contender was the favourite of the Court. But the votes of the clergy were not uniform: Sancho Gomes had a party, and was also elected, but not legally, yet it sufficed to warrant the decided protection awarded to him, and persecute the Dean, who, from his relations with the Roman Curia, had lost the favour of the King, and had already more than once experienced violence from the civil powers. The Infante of Serpa undertook the charge of compelling the Dean to yield up the field to his adversary. We can easily imagine the character of Ferdinand to be similar to that of other knights accustomed, like him, to a life of warfare—proud, irascible, and brutal; and his action in this affair proved it. Accompanied by his men, he entered Lisbon, and took all that Master John possessed, destroyed his house, and reduced to ashes all his household effects and vessels. Not content with thus visiting the Dean with this retribution, he sequestrated all the property belonging to the relatives of the newly elected, banishing and compelling them to become exiles, and conceal themselves, to avoid meeting the same fate as some of the clergy of Santander, whom the Infante ordered should be put to death. An impious circumstance occurred at the time in Lisbon, which showed his ferocious character.

While Ferdinand was witnessing the destruction of the residence of the Bishop elect, a few of his friends endeavoured to save some effects, and hastened to place them in a church. These were pursued, and when they bolted the doors he ordered the soldiers to break down the roof and descend to open the doors, but these soldiers refused to violate the temple. The Infante then called some of the Saracens who dwelt in Lisbon, and being less scrupulous, they promptly obeyed him. They descended, and made the altar a footstool, and tore down the cross, which rolled in pieces, and was crushed under the feet of the Mussalmans, and the sacred Forms and holy chrism and oils were trampled and dispersed on the pavement. The last hopes of the victims were then extinguished on beholding the fierce wrath which did not recoil in presence of this act of sacrilege, and therefore would not be contained within bounds by any respect for heaven or earth.

The accounts of the events which were taking place in Portugal daily reached Rome. Gregory IX. at length endeavoured to put some bounds to the evils. The Bishop of Salamanca and others were appointed to investigate the disorders which had taken place in Oporto, and these had employed canonical censures to intimidate the King. The Pontiff commenced by reinvalidating, in an encyclical letter, addressed to all the prelates of the kingdom in January, 1238, the sentence of interdict fulminated by the Apostolic commission, and ordering them not to attempt to annul them. Other energetic provisions followed from the Pope. The Dean, Archdeacon, and Treasurer of Orense were appointed to constrain Sancho by censures to respect the rights and immunities of the Church, and the bishop of that See to watch that no ecclesiastic held any communication on religious matters with the excommunicated prince. To obtain the desired end, the Pope suspended the especial exemptions which in cases of interdict the Dominicans and Friars Minors enjoyed, among whom, it appears, the King found spiritual shelter when repelled from the communication of the faithful by the bishops. At the same time it fell to the Primate of Toledo to succour, in their want, through the cathedrals and monasteries of Leon and Castille, not only the Bishop elect of Lisbon, but likewise any ecclesiastic or secular persecuted for his cause, and, like him, fugitive and needy. Two letters, addressed to the Portuguese prince, completed the series of providences by which Rome attempted to place barriers, at least temporarily, to the daring of the civil power—one, violent and threatening, turned in general upon the vexations of the

Church; the other in an especial manner concerned the Bishop elect of Lisbon, whose banishment Gregory IX. wished to end by employing more gentle means, although not free from serious menaces.

In view of that storm, Sancho and his veteran knights recoiled in terror. The facts which had so greatly excited the indignation of the Pope had not sprung from the doctrines and profound convictions of enlightened ministers, but from the wrath of an ignorant and warlike Court, which clashed against the resistance it met with in the organisation of society—the instigators of the deplorable policy which only leads princes on towards a fearful situation, in which they are to crush or be crushed, hapless when vanquished, and no less hapless when victors. Sancho and his advisers were offering a sad spectacle of redoubled weakness. The same blinded imprudence which instigated the atrocities of the Infante of Serpa now led his brother, the King, to represent a scene of unworthy subservience towards the Prelate of Braga. In truth, could the affairs of earth awaken the eternal sleep of the dead, the corpse of Stephen Soares would rise up from the tomb, to greet the victory achieved by his successor—a complete victory, were deep hatreds to be satisfied with less than complete annihilation. Sancho acknowledged the truth of all contained in the accusations of Silvestre, and promised, by letters patent, to keep without restriction the articles concerning the ecclesiastical liberty in general, stated in the bull which the Pope had addressed to him, a copy of which had been sent to the Archbishop of Braga. Nothing was reserved, not even that which under difficult circumstances his tutors had otherwise reserved. And as though this were not enough, and he wished to prove how completely the laws of amortisement promulgated by his father and by himself were abrogated, he made over large gifts to the Metropolitan of goods, seigniories, and patronages. In compensation, the prelate yielded up appointments which neither he nor his immediate predecessors had filled—those of chaplain and chancellors of the King—and he even gave up the right of coining money conceded by Alfonso I., when yet an Infante, to the renowned D. Paio, for the erection of the cathedral, and the use of which no vestiges remain.

It is said that Silvestre Godinho replied with scorn to the submission of his prince. Some months previous to this fact, which took place about the end of 1238, Sancho was already proving that in political contentions which required perseverance and skill, rather than impetuous valour and unreflecting audacity, he was a weak opponent, since

he easily passed from blind wrath to extreme despondency. It was in respect to the complaints of the Bishop of Oporto that Gregory IX. first attended to, as more pressing and first on the list, because in the documents relating to these discords Rodrigo Sanches, the uncle of the King, and his lieutenant in a large portion of the territory between Lima and Douro, was towards the Oporto Church, more or less brutally, what Ferdinand of Serpa had been to that of Lisbon—that is to say, its scourge. In view of the threats of the Pope, Sancho II. endeavoured to afford plenary satisfaction to Pedro Salvadores. One of the preliminary conditions towards a composition was that no courtier should be allowed to intervene, suspected of opposing the intentions of the King. Of those who in effect intervened, and not averse to the Bishop, were Martin Annes, the first subaltern, Gil Vasques, Lord of Soverosa, and his two sons, Martin Gil and Vasco Gil, as also his new chancellor, Durando Froyaz, and some other individuals, who, fearing the consequences of those contentions, had laboured to put them down. In the concessions then made to Pedro Salvadores, Sancho had shown himself equally weak, but he still attempted to save the royal jurisdiction in civil causes between the clergy and the seculars, stipulating a middle term, that is, that these causes should be judged jointly with the Bishop and civil judge. This point, however, of the concordat depended on the consent of the Pope, a consent which was sought for later on, yet never obtained.

But the people of Oporto, the ever-faithful ally of the Crown, continued to combat even after the prince had been declared vanquished. It was the same as they did when Sancho I. on his death-bed was left alone on the field, to combat against the implacable Martin Rodrigues. Pledged among themselves as formerly, the Compostellians against Diogo Gelmires, and joining with Rodrigo Sanches, who, it appears, was one of the bitterest enemies of Pedro Salvadores, and with Ferdinand Annes, Canon of the See of Braga, a man of power, who disputed the patronage of the Church of Monte-Cordova with the Bishop, they sustained for more than two years (May, 1238, to September, 1240) the field which Sancho had forsaken. It was a long and angry strife, in which on one side were employed force, and on the other force and excommunications. From this is seen the want of sincerity of the prelate, when he lamented the vexations which he said the civil power employed against the inhabitants of Oporto, where at the same time was carried on the shameful dispute between the Bishop and chapter, with the Dominicans, as

to who should have the preference, a dispute in which both the King and Pontiff were obliged to intervene, to avoid scandal and save the friars.

It was said that the tempest arisen between the Altar and the Throne became entirely dispelled in 1240, while the Bishop of Coimbra, Tiburcio, and the aged Lord of Lumiares, Abril Peres, the elected arbitrators by the contenders, arranged the misunderstandings between the citizens of Oporto and their pastor, both being wearied out by mutual persecutions, and the Bishop of Lisbon, D. John, whose election had been confirmed by the Pope, although he still resided in Italy, yet authorised his successor, as Dean and near relative, to terminate the question with the Crown, which was eventually effected in the following year, in a similar manner to the concordat effected with Peter Salvadores.

After having practised many acts of impiety and brutality, the Infante of Serpa experienced bitter remorse. His conscience constantly reproached him with being an assassin and a sacrilegious man. Terror of his evil doings constantly assailed him, particularly during the night and hours of solitude. There was no peace for him, a reprobate and accursed, nor hopes of obtaining by proofs of repentance pardon for the past, and his crimes were such that only the Pope himself could absolve him. Ferdinand departed from Portugal, and proceeded to Rome, where he was to meet the persecuted Bishop and some of his victims. He cast himself at the feet of Gregory IX., who absolved him, yielding to the petitions of the very ones whom the Infante had offended. The penance enjoined on the delinquent was proportioned to the gravity of the crimes, and the reparation such as, humanly speaking, could be exacted. The Pope bade the Infante return to Portugal, and not only restitute to the Church all he had taken, but likewise redeem, as far as he could, conformably to the will of the prelates, the damages and affronts made generally to the Church; and that, far from persecuting the Bishop of Lisbon and his relatives and friends, he should protect and defend them, and abstaining from again placing violent hands on ecclesiastics, he should deliver up the price of the blood he had spilt to the relatives of the dead or to the Church to which they belonged. Yet this was not all that the repentant Infante had to perform. During Lent he was to go through a long process of expiation. With unshaven beard, and head covered with ashes, he was to assist, at the porch of the temple, all the offices and services of the forty days, and during these days he was forbidden to wear silk, scarlet, or embroideries in gold. On Good Friday the bishop

or priest should then come to him according to the ceremonial of the ritual, and taking his hand, admit him to the communion of the faithful, and on that day to clothe ten poor persons, after washing their feet. During the whole of Lent he was to feed five beggars at his own table; but on Fridays he was to eat his meals on the ground, from only one dish, and served solely by one servant.

After his admission into the Church on Good Friday, he was to proceed bare-footed to all the churches of the town, and then be permitted to shave and wash himself. Besides this, for seven years he was to perform a great number of fasts, and to abstain from flesh-meat on Saturdays, except in urgent cases, or on Christmas Day, should it fall on that day.

The penance enjoined especially for the deaths which took place in Santarem was more severe. After the first week of his arrival at that town, the Infante, simply clothed in a tunic and cloak, bare-footed, and cords around his neck, was to quit the Dominican Convent, and passing through the Monastery of the Hospitallers, proceed to the Church of Sancta Maria da Alcaçova, and in the porch be scourged by a priest, the Psalm *Miserere me, Deus*, being meanwhile intoned. Besides this, he was to redeem twenty captives, have no alliances with Saracens, nor live in their midst, or assist them against the Christians, but, on the contrary, combat them unceasingly for three years, particularly on the frontiers of Portugal. Before departing, Ferdinand swore, in presence of the Pontiff, to be the defender of the Church, obeying the Apostolic legates, and honouring them. In order to soften the bitterness of such a lengthened expiation, and afford him means for the war, Gregory IX. granted a general absolution from all censures to such as should follow the standard of the Infante, or afford any pecuniary assistance to his undertakings in which the prelates especially should be obliged to give. He likewise authorised him to restitute to the Mussalmans, instead of captives, any spoils of war. And in order to obtain further resources to fulfil the obligations he was accepting, the youthful knight obtained from the Pontiff the permission to sell the seigniority of Serpa—a truly strange act, since it was his brother the King of Portugal who was the only one to give or refuse the permission, should he require it. These affairs cooled the friendship existing between the Infante and Sancho, but the clergy not only gained a great conversion, but acquired a new ally. Before departing from Rome, Ferdinand obtained from the Pope a bull

expedited to the Bishop of Osma, charged to watch that his promises be carried out, with the object of regaining a portion of the property inherited by the death of Leonor of Denmark, on the plea of youth, and had been deceived when effecting the contract with his brother. These and similar pretensions reveal to us the motive sought for by the sale of Serpa which Sancho II., in view of former contracts having been severed, could deprive him of. This was an apple of discord cast between the two brothers, who had hitherto lived united, and these discords necessarily weakened the Crown.'

Sancho appeared to feel instinctively that danger existed in the retirement of his palace, and not beneath the war tents of the battle-field, because it was there where he sought refuge—it was there where he felt kingly energy and all strength renewed, and which were wanting when he put away his arms. While these affairs with the Bishop were going on, the conquests on both sides of the Guadiana had rapidly advanced up to the shores of the ocean. Successively, the Castles of Mertola, Al-Fajar de Pena, and Ayamonte had fallen into the power of Sancho II., yet he witnessed, when reducing the last one, brave knights slain before him. These castles, particularly the first, were very ancient and renowned, and commanded vast tracts of land, which were given to them for a term. Thus, the district of Mertola, bounded on the north and north-east by the rivers Cobes and Terges, met on the east and south-east those of Serpa, Al-Fajar and Ayamonte, and this last one included the whole territory extending to the districts of the Mussalman towns of Saltes, Gibralcon, and Huelva; the Portuguese dominions thus extended by this conquest up to the margins of Odiel, where never before it had reached, and where never again it was included.

The seigniority of these towns was given to the Spatharios, under condition that they should defend them, and a convent was established of their Order in Mertola, as being nearest to the new line of frontiers. To the extreme east of modern Algarve, the two important towns of Tabira (Tavira) and Hisn-Kastala (Caçella) had also submitted to the Christian yoke in 1239, although it is probable that this fact dates as far back as the conquest of Mertola and of the territories extending up to the Odiel. The two castles were delivered to the same Order—Cacella in the same year, and Tavira in 1244. Hence the Military Orders were in possession of the greater portion of the territories united to the Crown of Portugal during the course of half a century, in the

provinces south of the Tagus. The seigniorities of the Temple, most extensive in Beira-Baixa, still included the northern edge of Alemtejo. The possessions of the Hospital and Calatrava were in Alemtejo sufficiently numerous and extensive, on the south of those of the Templars along the centre and to the north of the province. The Hospital established there the principal residence of their Order, the Crato; and the Order of Calatrava, a no less principal one, in Aviz. Placed, so to say, on the vanguard, the Spatharios overlooked the districts of the west and south, and almost always held possession of the castles and places which the victorious sword of the Portuguese prince wrenched from Islamism up to the mouth of the Guadiana.

The efforts made in 1228 to restore Old Idanha, if sufficient to instil new life into the ancient episcopal city, were nevertheless insufficient to preserve it. Surrounded by places belonging to the Temple, withdrawn from the territory comprehended in the donations made by Sancho I. to their Order, it would naturally place every possible obstacle to the increase of ancient Egitania; and, as a fact, the decrease of the restored city is attributed to the influence of its powerful neighbours. When the questions with the ecclesiastical State had to all appearance terminated, Sancho attempted to remedy the evil by giving providences for a more efficacious restoration, and one which he had in mind for twelve years. Passing on to Beira-Baixa in the year 1240, he recalled by letters patent those who had received plots of land in Idanha, and came to dwell in them, these said plots to be held as their own free properties, on a three years' residence, after which they could be transferred. Those who should not come to the call were to lose for ever the right of what they had possessed, while the obedient ones would have the protection of the King, who threatened to visit with exemplary chastisement whosoever offended or disturbed them in their possession. This system was followed in a similar manner when repopulating Salvaterra do Extremo, which was likewise deserted. We know that Sancho restored the seigniority of these places to the Temple, and it is probable that this was effected about that epoch, because we find, among the number of knights attached to him, a noble Templar, D. Martin Martins, a youth who had been brought up with the prince, and who, even in his youth, became so distinguished among those illustrious warriors that he merited, two years later, to be elevated to the dignity of Master of the Order in Castille, Leon, and Portugal.

A glance over a topographical chart of Modern Algarve and the

portion of Andalusia between the Odiel and the Guadiana will show the part of Saracen dominions to which, after reducing Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, the King of Portugal directed his forces. What remained to the Mussalmans in the province of Chenchir was the largest and most populous portion. Besides Silves the capital, which had remained free since it was retaken from Sancho I., there were other towns on the west of Tavira which had continued separated from the rest of Andalus, since the time when the Christians lorded both margins of the Guadiana up to the sea. On the east communications were thus intercepted, and to the north, beyond the range of mountains which encircled that lovely band of land, extended the plains of Alemtejo, which were either deserted or sparsely dotted with watch-towers, forts, and Christian castles. Towards the south and west the province was surrounded by the ocean on both sides of the Cape of the Arabs, or of Saint Vincent. Hence all things seemed to counsel the King of Portugal to attempt an expedition on that side. Simultaneously attacked by the garrisons of Mertola, Al-Fajar, Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, and by the royal troops across the Serras of Caldeirão and Monchique, and by a fleet which, departing from the Tagus, threatened them on the littoral side, prevented aid coming from Huelva, Seville, or other ports of Andalus—Silves, Faro Loulé, and the rest of the towns of Al-Fajar very quickly bent to the yoke which threatened them. Sancho, towards the end of 1240, was preparing for a new expedition, with the object of reducing the remnants of the Mussalman Gharb. In this way would be repaired the affront and damage received by Portugal in the loss of Silves half a century earlier, and which had not yet been avenged.

The efforts, however, which the country required to make were great, as it was not the submission of a castle or a village which was projected, but that of a province, although that province might be a limited one. The Pontiff was appealed to, in order that by religious promises he might enkindle the less ardent spirits. The King and his knights, with their land and naval forces, were ready for that action; but the excessive concessions made to the clergy, joined to the exactions of the nobles and the wasting of the public rents, had exhausted the resources of the Crown, and cooled the good-will of the people to make sacrifices for warfare. Similar undertakings always found the spirit of Gregory IX. propitious, and a bull, dated 18th of February, 1241, addressed generally to all the inhabitants of Portugal, urged them by

indulgences to associate themselves with the undertaking, either personally or by contributing to the expenses of the army and naval forces, which, it appears, had attained to a certain increase, and merited especial attention during that reign. So many efforts, however, were useless, because this expedition never took place; at least, we find no vestige that the Portuguese territory increased during the reign of Sancho by new dominions, besides those which, as we have seen, were confided to the keeping of the Spatharios.

We must now glance over what passed in Rome and the internal state of the kingdom, since these two diverse facts offer the proximate causes for the last events of the reign of Sancho, and, in part, of the failure of the projected scheme. Gregory IX., with the object of employing all the moral force of the Church in his violeet contentions with Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, convoked a Council for the summer of 1241, to be held in Rome. In virtue of this call, which compelled the prelates of Europe to proceed to Italy, the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Oporto, and others departed from Portugal. The Council was never held, because the fleet of Frederick, who was opposed to this meeting, broke up, near Pisa, the Genoese fleet, which conveyed the prelates of France and Spain (May, 1241) to the Pontifical States. Many were taken captives, especially of the French, but the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Oporto fortunately escaped. The Portuguese clergy, deprived of their most notable chiefs, became weakened at the very juncture when they needed greatest vigour to maintain the advantageous position which the bishops had, through the last concordats, obtained from the Crown.

Yet it was not alone the want of sagacious ministers which caused Sancho to hold the reins of government in a weak manner, but a certain contempt for the ancient ranks into which the various degrees of the nobility were divided. Formerly the *Ricos-homens*, or Barons of the kingdom, entrusted with the government of the districts, were those who alone confirmed by their approval the favours of the reigning head, and the names of these barons, with the declaration of the territories they held, were mentioned with the names of the bishops, and solemnised and legalised royal decrees. This was the ancient usage transmitted by the monarchy of Asturias and Oviedo, from whence it sprung, and from which it depended. In the issue of the decrees, however, was expressed only the free and spontaneous will of the King although the final confirmation of the barons and prelates was added,

which implied that there were others in the kingdom who could restrain him. These styles of Chancellorship, preserved since Portugal existed, almost without exception as regards at least what appertained to the favours of land and patrimonial public property, became completely altered as soon as Sancho was surrounded by his turbulent Court of youthful knights. In the decrees after the year 1236, there appears a confusion of classes, and the pretensions of nobility in general to assume a more direct part, and more directly characterised in those acts which, up to that time, had been spontaneous and purely of the King. From thence was expressed in the concessions of lands and seigniorities the consent and the authority of those who arrogated the titles of lords and magnates. These vague denominations were evidently meant to express the complex idea of *ricos-homens*, of peers, of knights, distinct classes, and whose gradation was precise and defined, but which favour, intrigue, or superiority of military gifts in individuals of lesser rank were constantly confounding. Thus we may easily imagine the consequences of this species of aristocratic anarchy, for, while public authority became daily more uncertain, the emulations, intrigues, and quarrels among courtiers multiplied. Many of the veteran barons of the kingdom and other noblemen, who had been vanquished in the strifes for favour, retired to their homesteads, where they oppressed the people, and, by their close contact, found occasions for inciting conflicts with the clergy. Discontent and perturbations extended, and the action of the Crown became, in a great measure, annulled.

An accidental circumstance happened at this epoch to complicate the embarrassment of the kingdom. Among the Court ladies of D. Berengaria, mother of Ferdinand III., was D. Mecia (or Mencia) Lopes, daughter of the Lord of Biscay, Lopo Dias de Haro, and granddaughter, by her mother D. Urraca, of Alfonso IX. of Leon, and niece of the King of Castille. This lady was the widow, yet still youthful, of Alvaro Peres de Castro, who, having repudiated Aurembiax, Countess of Urgel, married her, and died in 1240 without issue. Sancho, who had attained his thirtieth year without having married, now married this lady, tradition attributing to the monarch an ardent love for this woman, over whose memory their lingers grave accusations. At a former epoch, when royal authority was rigorous and public order existed, this marriage of Sancho would have offered great advantages and afforded an heir to the throne; but now this affection only served to withdraw the King from the duties and cares of war and from

seeking a remedy for the internal disorganisation of the kingdom by enkindling new jealousies, in proportion as courtiers would more or less captivate the favour of the Queen, to whom tradition accuses of having contributed to public disorders, due to the fascination she exercised over the spirit of her husband, a fascination to obtain which she had employed black arts, if we credit the legends of ancient chronicles.

Such was the situation of the King and kingdom during the years 1241 and 1244. The Portuguese prelates, who had escaped when the Genoese fleet was broken up by Frederick, remained in Italy, where they resided during the long term of two years which elapsed from the death of Gregory IX. (August, 1241) to the accession of Innocence IV., with the interruption of the election of Celestine IV., who died a few days after, it is said, from poison. We infer all this from the absence of any vestige of their residence in Portugal, and it appears the Bishop of Lisbon no longer existed at the end of the year 1241, but the interminable combat between the clerical and civil power was due to the conjunction of circumstances which afforded to the bishops a means of gaining a decisive battle against the Crown. The idea of impelling the fall of a prince from his throne through the impulses of the Church was ancient, and was judged so feasible that in grave cases the Popes did not hesitate clearly to allude to it in their threats. In Portugal, as a kingdom in a certain way dependent on the Pontifical throne, the realisation of this fact was rendered more easy as soon as means, both moral and material, of defence should be wanting. Concerning this point the language employed by the Roman Curia, even in the reign of Alfonso II., was well understood. We know that the first revelation of the plot against Sancho was in the allegations made before Innocence IV. about the year 1244. What did all this imply? The inability of the King to govern, and consequently the need of depriving him of the supreme command. In order to obtain this end it was needful to annul moral and substitute material force to which he would have recourse to save his political existence, by a greater one which should crush him. The first might be attained up to a certain point by stamping on his brow the odious mark of inaptitude, and it could be completed by the accusation of cowardice.

The Prelates knew this, that military glory had ever been the shield of Sancho against their attack. The second condition could be satisfied by finding a chief capable of disputing the throne with him, and who should be illustrious by birth, valour, and of sufficient influence in the

kingdom to gather around him all wounded interests, all hatreds against the prince, all turbulent ambitions, and besides this offer a guarantee of peace and order, or at least hopes to the masses, which, doubtless oppressed by an unbridled nobility, were therefore indifferent to the fate of the King. To all these qualities must be added that of being a Portuguese to avoid the difficulties which, moreover, might spring from national pride and love of independence. Such an individual could only be found among the relatives of the monarch, because only in some of them could be united together all the indispensable requirements.

Of the uncles of Sancho, Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, died in 1233, and the eldest one, D. Pedro, a finished type of the restless knights of that epoch, still survived. Towards the end of the reign of Alfonso IX. of Leon, he contracted a marriage with Aurembaix, Countess of Urgel, who had been previously divorced from Alvaro Peres de Castro, and proceeded to Aragon, probably after the death of his cousin, in whose Court he had for so many years exercised the highest influence. Soon after his union with the Countess of Urgel, she died, leaving as heir the Portuguese Infante. At this juncture the King of Aragon, James I., submitted the islands of Mallorca and Minorca (1230) after a long resistance. It was expedient then to unite the crown to the county of Urgel, and to obtain the cession of D. Pedro, he gave him in feud the seigniority of the two islands with the title of kingdom, to which the Infante soon added that of Iviça, which he took possession of with the assistance of the Archbishop of Tarragona. A fief of a conqueror prince as James I. was, the Infante could well deliver himself up to his bellicose propensities, by serving Alfonso IX. But in the same way as in Leon, the war against the Mussalmans of Spain appeared to him too circumscribed a field for his immense activity, he offered Pope Gregory IX. in 1229 to combat the Emperor Frederick, under the banners of the Apostolic See. Thus in 1236 he proceeded to the East to aid the Empire of Constantinople against the Saracens of Syria. On his return to the Peninsula the Infante resided in his dominions, or at the Court of Aragon until the year 1244, during which time he ceded the seigniority of the Balearic Islands to the Crown in exchange, it appears, for various lands and castles newly conquered in the kingdom of Valencia. Hence, involved in the discords which at this juncture were raised between James I. and the heir to the throne in whose favour the Infante declared himself, he could give but little attention to

the affairs of his country; moreover, it more directly concerned the brothers of Sancho and his nephews as more nearly related to the King, to one of which, in the event of dying childless, the crown would naturally fall.

Hence it was towards the Infante D. Alfonso or to Ferdinand of Serpa that the clergy should turn to further their dark designs. In Ferdinand, remorse had produced such a vivid and lasting impression that he strictly fulfilled to the end the long and difficult expiation imposed. The deplorable inaction of Sancho joined to the disunion of the nobility had necessarily weakened the military ardour of former times. This and the vexation which he had given rise to in the spirit of his brother the King, prevented Ferdinand of Serpa from making war to the Saracens on the frontiers of Portugal. Hence the Infante passed on to Castille, where he married a daughter of Count Fernando Nunes de Lara, and became the vassal of Ferdinand III., fighting against the infidels under the victorious standards of Prince D. Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso X. The absolute want of records concerning the Infante of Serpa from the year 1243 renders it probable that he died when engaged in those religious wars, and therefore his name does not appear as intervening in the grave altercations which soon after agitated his native country.

There remained the Infante D. Alfonso, who had departed to France for the marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor with the Prince of Denmark (1229), although we have no proofs of his residence in that country until 1238, when he obtained the seigniority of Boulogne by his marriage with the Countess Mathilde, or Mahaut, who inherited that county from Ida and Reinaldo de Dammartin, one of the allies of Ferdinand of Flanders, and his companion in misfortune at the battle of Bouvines. Mathilde was the widow, since 1234, of Philip Hurepel (the Hairy), son of Philip Augustus, King of France, and Ignez de Merania. It is said this union was due to the influence of the Queen D. Branca, his aunt, whose Court he followed at the time. Alfonso had manifested himself, like his brothers, to be a worthy grandson of Sancho I. and of Alfonso Henry, and in the celebrated battle of Saintes, given by Louis IX. to Henry III. of England (July, 1242), the Count of Boulogne greatly distinguished himself, as he was the first with his men to break the English squadrons. But the amnesty established between France and England in 1243 afforded some repose. It was this prince who was chosen the instrument for the designs of the

clergy. In the event of Sancho dying without issue, he would be heir to the throne, and surrounded by persons who belonged to the illustrious families of his native country, he could not be indifferent to what took place there. He was valiant, and the manner he behaved when he substituted his brother to the supreme power, proved that he possessed the ambition which confronts any moral respects, and this affair was discussed between him and the heads of the clergy. Yet it would be impossible to find the first sign of the dark plot which smouldered at the end of the year 1244 and beginning of 1245. Either the Count of Boulogne, knowing what passed, offered himself to the prelates to head this project, or they, which is more natural, sought him as the only man capable of carrying out the scheme, not only on account of the influence of his name, but also that of the nobles who had accompanied him from Portugal. Alfonso might create a party of malcontents, a party which would be irresistible should the clergy attain to unite the threats of the Church to the arms of earth and justify breaking loyalty to the prince with the sanction of the Pope. To the Count of Boulogne would be thus secured the inheritance of the crown, to the malcontents revenge of their rivals, and lastly to the clergy a terrible example for the civil power, which in future might serve as a security to the conditions which they might impose on the prince who opened the road to the throne.

There were various circumstances which favoured, more or less, the designs of the conspirators in and out of Portugal. The first was the actual position of the Pope, whose intervention appeared indispensable in that affair. A fugitive from Italy, and resolved upon combating unceasingly the Emperor of Germany, at the same time that he projected celebrating in Lyons a Council which his predecessor had been unable to hold in Rome, Innocence IV. endeavoured to obtain from all sides, and by all possible means, the money he required, not only to maintain the splendour of the Curia, enriching his relatives and partisans, but likewise to induce enemies and difficulties to his adversary. On the other hand, as the motives which directed the proceeding of the prelates of Portugal against Sancho were analogous to those which influenced the Pope against Frederick, it was evident that in deposing the Portuguese prince would be afforded a strong proof of the superiority of the ecclesiastical power over that of the civil, while the conveniences of policy and the generosity of the con-

spirators would necessarily move the heart of the Pontiff and the Cardinals to consider and take pity on the evils of a country which, as tributary to the Apostolic See, was more immediately dependent upon it.

Such were the circumstances which externally favoured the undertaking, while the internal ones were no less favourable. Among the nobles who had followed the Infante to France were Pedro Ourigues da Nobrega and Stephen Annes, son of a peer of Alemdouro. Besides these, there were in his suite some members of the Pereiras, who belonged to the resolute adversary of the Crown, Martin Rodrigues, or, at least, of some others united to him by blood relationship. Pedro Ourigues descended, on his mother's side, from the line of the Cunhas, and his cousins Egas Lourenço, Martin Lourenço, and John Lourenço figured among the most turbulent and covetous nobles of that epoch. Likewise one of the members of the illustrious lineage of the Portocarreiros, Raymund Viegas, was married to a sister of Pedro Ourigues. Added to this, the protection of the family of Soverosa, whose chief, after the death of Gil Vasques, was Martin Gil, had awakened the envy and odium of various noblemen, at the head of whom stood Abril Peres, the Lord of Lumiares, who excited to vengeance, sword in hand, other nobles, among which, in all probability, was the uncle of the King, Rodrigo Sanches, besides many other nobles who were adverse to Sancho, either through emulations or strifes which quickly arose between house and house, or through ambitious calculations. Such appeared to be those of the lineage of Valadáres and Mello. One of the most ardent of the conspirators was Rodrigo, or Ruy Gomes de Briteiros, a simple peer, married to a daughter of John Peres de Maia. No less were the brothers Portocarreiros, one of them, D. John Egas or Viegas, was elected Archbishop of Braga as soon as the death of Silvestre Godinho became known in Portugal, an election which was supposed due to the conspiracy.

Hence there existed sufficient elements for attempting a revolution in Portugal, but before doing so it was necessary to impart to so hazardous an undertaking a certain character of legality and prevent the precautions that might be taken, when it became known at the Court of Coimbra that the Count of Boulogne was arranging to depart for his natal country. D. John Egas, since he was to receive the pallium from the hands of the Pontiff, had a plausible pretext for proceeding to

Lyons, and Gomes Viegas de Portocarreiro, one of the chief conspirators, could, without attracting notice, accompany the new Metropolitan, who was his brother. In this way did the heads of the intended revolt work together in France and Portugal. An unforeseen event occurred meanwhile to enable the Count of Boulogne to quit France and proceed to Lisbon, as the common route of those who went on to Palestine, among the inhabitants of which, as became known later on, the conspirators had numerous partisans. At the commencement of the year 1245 sad news from the East resounded throughout Europe. The *choresminos* (chowaresminos), expelled from Central Asia by the Mongols, had descended to the West, and, incited by the Sultan of Egypt, Saleh Ayub, had invaded Syria. It was an irresistible torrent, whose passage was marked by devastation, and Jerusalem soon fell into their power, while a decisive battle which they gained (October, 1244) against the Christians and against the Sultans of Damascus and Emesa, who were allied with the Christians, reduced the vanquished to the last straits. The details of this pitiful event were not known until the end of May, 1245, through a letter from the prelates of Ultramar, but the reports which flew before the arrival of this letter were most alarming, and attracted universal attention, notwithstanding the height of the strife between the Pope and the Emperor and the agitation it produced. It was this circumstance which so skilfully was taken advantage of. A letter exists addressed by Innocence to the Count of Boulogne, dated 30th of January, 1245, in which he counsels and implores him to depart to the Holy Land, whose deplorable situation he vaguely implores to aid. This singular bull, addressed to no one else but the Count, seems to us to bear a signification diverse from what it inculcates, and which historians with over-much sincerity attribute. When so many powerful princes and illustrious knights existed, it is strange that Innocence should address himself solely to a man who, though valiant, was master of little more than a feudal State, in an affair of such magnitude. Besides which, the providences for aiding the Christians of Palestine were only taken in the Council celebrated some months later, when the masters of the Military Orders and the Bishops of the East had solemnly invoked the aid of their co-religionists of Europe. In our opinion this decree was solicited by the Count of Boulogne himself, who sought a pretext for making an appearance in Lisbon accompanied by military forces without his presence arousing suspicions, and for this object a voyage to Palestine was an excellent plea.

Another decree, expedited a few days after in virtue of the representations made by the Count, proves that what disquieted him was not the affairs of Syria, but those of Portugal, and affords a degree of probability, if not of certainty, to our suspicions.

The marriage of Sancho offered a serious difficulty to the ambitious designs of his brother. In the event of deposing the King, should there exist a legitimate son, all hopes of assuming the crown would disappear as far as he was concerned, or at least there would be some one to dispute it. As yet circumstances favoured the Infante, for there were no children born to Sancho, and his Queen was related to him, although remotely. In truth, dispensations were becoming more general, and greater facilities of obtaining them after marriage was celebrated; besides which, in Spain, marriages among relatives were very usual, as the Portuguese prelates stated to the Pontiff in their complaints on the matter, nevertheless when through political or other motives any one was interested in promoting divorce, the Court of Rome was ready to maintain the rigour of its discipline. And in effect this took place: Innocence expedited a bull in February to the Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Astorga, in reply to the manifestations laid before him by the Count of Boulogne concerning the scandal which the marriage of his brother had given, and the danger to his soul by this union, ordered them to examine if in truth Sancho was related to his wife, and in that case to divorce them and compel them to separate, without granting any appeal, while abstaining from having recourse to excommunication—a natural limitation which showed the conscience of Innocence and the remorse felt for debasing the moral force of the canons in a political intrigue.

At the time when Alfonso of Boulogne was making these direct demonstrations against the King of Portugal, D. John Egas either arrived in Lyons, or was already at the Court of Innocence IV. Then was reconsidered, it appears, the plea for the departure of the Count from his States. Louis IX., during a dangerous illness, made a vow to go to the Crusade should his life be spared, and after his convalescence, far from contemning, as he was advised, a promise made during the delirium of fever, resolved to fulfil his vow, and commenced to arrange affairs for the undertaking. Hence it was necessary to follow another course. Pretending to obey the bull concerning the aid for the Holy Land, Alfonso, as feudatory of the Crown, had to accompany his suzerain, should he proceed to Palestine, which would, moreover, alter

the designs which he covertly planned. At least, it is in this way that we can explain the new bull impetrated by the Count in April of the same year. Were the singular expressions of the bull sincere, and did they not convey the hidden thought which dictated them, we should believe that a sudden, ardent zeal for the cause of God had become enkindled in the spirit of the Infante. After praising him for the noble design which he manifested of making war against Islamism in Spain, towards which he had resolved to proceed, Innocence, desirous that all should assist the Count of Boulogne in the undertaking, particularly *the inhabitants of the Peninsula*, granted him and the *Portuguese* soldiers who might join him for this holy end the indulgences decreed by the Church in favour of those who should combat the Saracens of the East. To add any reflections in view of such a decree would be unnecessary for the enlightened reader of history. We shall continue, therefore, to profit by the monuments which the hand of Providence has saved to denounce to posterity a great deed of darkness, corruption, and hypocrisy.

The scenes of the drama whose plot was arranged in Lyons, and the terrible solution which ended under the sepulchral slab in Toledo, followed each other rapidly. Taking up the Cross to proceed to the defence of Christianity victorious in the Peninsula, and forgetting its almost annihilated state in Syria, Alfonso prepared to depart, while his party smoothed the path for conquering not the Mussalmans, but the conqueror of them. All the complaints aforementioned made by the prelates against Sancho had been carefully recorded in a lengthened bull addressed to the King, and communicated to the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra, and the Prior of the Dominicans of the latter city. In this bull, expedited nineteen days after the one passed in favour of the crusade of the Count of Boulogne in Spain, it was enjoined to the Portuguese prince to correct all the abuses and public evils, and which, should they be so grave and deep-rooted as was stated, would demand a long time and extreme activity to remedy or destroy.

Innocence further remarked that, should he be remiss in fulfilling the obligations imposed, the tolerance of the Apostolic See would be ended, and proper providences taken. To the delegates were simply enjoined to admonish Sancho and observe his proceedings in this respect, and in the coming Council, where they had to appear, give an account of his procedure, as also the manner in which they had fulfilled their mission. On this occasion the Pope did not forbid expressly the

delegates under canonical compulsion, but hindered them indirectly, reserving to himself the solution of the affair, a solution which, we are fain to believe, was arranged beforehand.

Events in Portugal followed with equal rapidity. It were impossible to suppose that the news of what was plotting would not transpire, or, on the other hand, that the conspirators should forget to organise and swell the party of the Count of Boulogne with all the malcontents. The imprudence of the latter, or the distrust of the royal party, brought on, in 1245, a battle which was fought near Oporto by the principal nobility of the kingdom. On one side stood the leader, Martin Gil de Soverosa, to whom the voice of the people honoured him with the surname of the *Good*, in spite of vague reports, due partly to the bad administration of Sancho. On the other were the two former barons of the kingdom, Abril Peres and Rodrigo Sanches, who perished in the battle, thus leaving the victory to their adversary. The individuals who intervened in the encounter, the position of affairs when it was fought, and the fact that the leader of one of the parties was a man who held the confidence of Sancho—all things convince us that the sanguinary combat called of Oporto or Gaia was perchance the first military manifestation of the project looming in the distance.

The choice of the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra, to whom were entrusted the mission of reprehending Sancho, and exacting at one blow reforms to be instituted which a prince more skilled and energetic than Sancho would only be able to effect after a length of time, the manner in which the two prelates discharged this mission, and their ultimate procedure, and, in a word, the most ancient traditions, all manifest to us that they, accomplices of the Archbishop of Braga by identity of interests, well knew what were the ends of the farce in which they played a part. The letters addressed by Innocence IV. to the King of Portugal and to the three delegates, dated 20th of March, could only have reached Portugal about the end of April; while, on the other hand, the first session of the Council was appointed to be held on the 24th of June; hence the prelates had to leave for Lyons at latest the end of May. Therefore it is evident that the grave and varied questions which the Apostolic letters induced to be proposed, ventilated, and resolved in thirty or forty days, a period insufficient to verify facts and excogitate a remedy, much less apply and comprehend its results, even should Sancho desire to obey all the behests of the Pope without examination or discussion, would be equivalent to accepting the doctrine

of absolute subjection of the temporal power to the spiritual, a doctrine which, moreover, Innocence IV. defined and sustained more clearly and in a more precise manner than any of his predecessors.

If we believe the testimony of the Roman Curia, the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra and the Prior of the Dominicans did not spare any efforts to induce the King to afford satisfaction for the past and repress excesses in future, and they reported immediately in writing to the Pope the fulfilment of that charge which, later on, was confirmed orally by the two prelates when they proceeded to Lyons to assist at the Council. Such, possibly, was the case, but stern documents tell us likewise that, at least, the Bishop of Oporto employed the short space of time granted for this complicated affair with admirable skill, and it is unlikely that his colleagues should manifest themselves inferior to him in dexterity and activity. The character of informers which the Pope gave them, the solemnity of the assembly wherein such information would be presented, and the terrible announcements which loomed amid the threats of Innocence, joined to the fact of reserving to himself the final resolution of that affair by not authorising the Commissioners to have recourse to means of compulsion, were circumstances which, far from diminishing the force of the case, rendered it more to be dreaded by the King. The victory achieved by Martin Gil, so fatal for his adversaries—or rather for the adversaries of Sancho—must carry with it consequences, and it is natural that the conqueror should proceed, reducing the castles of the vanquished in the districts of Alemdouro, where principally ruled the two chieftains Rodrigo Sanches and Abril Peres, who perished near Gaia. In the midst of these events, Sancho, who, it appears, resided in Thomar at the beginning of the year, separated from the Court, accompanied by the friend of his youth, the master of the Temple, proceeded to Oporto, where, at the end of April, we find him surrounded by the Bishops Pedro Salvadores, Tiburcio, and Ayres, and other prelates and nobles, among whom were many known enemies of Sancho, such as Ruy Gomes de Briteiros and one of the Cunhas. No doubt, at this conjuncture was discussed the reparations exacted by the Pope for the evils of the Church and kingdom, which are attributed partly to violence, and partly to the weakness of royal authority. But whether Pedro Salvadores was the most shrewd of the three delegates, it is certain that the Bishop of Oporto especially took advantage of the dependence of Sancho to extort important donations. It was in this way that he endeavoured to remedy the wasting of public rents, con-

cerning which Innocence IV. had received such bitter complaints; it was in this way that he would be enabled, a little later on, to declare in Lyons that the King of Portugal, far from correcting his dissipation, was daily becoming more negligent and unmindful. And even supposing that these royal favours were voluntary, and calculated to captivate his good-will, what virtuous man, or even fairly honest, would dare to accept them on this occasion?

Yet this was not all: the enemies of the King loudly circulated reports that the King was demented; and this accusation, added to his natural prodigality, rendered the legitimacy of his last donations problematical, and these, or some of them later on, were considered null. Of these later donations, none derived more important ones than the Spatharios, to whom Sancho gave nearly the whole fruit of his great conquests; and certainly if any of the favours of the King were to be considered done during his lucid intervals, it would be those in respect to individuals or corporations that were favourable to the Count of Boulogne and the conspirators. In this way may be easily explained the arrival in Oporto at that juncture of the Master of Santiago, Paio Peres Correia, although engaged in the war of Murcia, likewise his lieutenant in Portugal, Gonçalo Peres, Commander of Mertola, where at the time existed the Convent of the Order in this country. The dexterity of Pedro Salvadores was truly admirable: to the concessions of the King he added those of the Spatharios, who ceded to him the seigniority of Odemira, and in order to save the immense donations of Sancho II., it appears, they promised to abandon the cause of the King at an opportune moment. However grave this accusation may be, the ultimate procedure of Gonçalo Peres confirms the strong indications against the chiefs of that Order which the documents offer.

The day for the celebration of the Council approached, and the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra departed for Lyons to join the Archbishop of Braga, accompanied by Ruy Gomes, and perchance by some others of the conspiracy. They took letters from various barons and nobles, from a large number of ecclesiastics, and even from some councils, describing the state of the kingdom in a manner calculated to prove and further the informations of the delegates. We do not purpose to detail what passed in that assembly, it suffices to know that it met on the twenty-fourth of June and terminated before the end of July, during which three sessions were held. The most notable act was passed at the last session, when Innocence issued the solemn sentence of deposition

against Frederick (17 July). The responsibility the Pope took upon himself in deposing a prince who, among the kings of Europe, he himself compared to a dragon among small serpents, and who certainly would give a terrible answer to the Roman Curia, was certainly immense. Moreover, the haughty Innocence, who submitted all other decrees to the approbation of the Council, scarcely allowed them to read the bull, which on his own authority condemned his adversary to lose his empire. And though the subject of the deposition of Sancho II. was likewise debated in the Council, it did not merit any consideration for the man who had spent the best days of his life combating the enemies of the faith, and upon whom the Roman Curia had showered so many praises for his victories. A bull was issued a week after the closing of the Council, addressed to the barons, councils, and knights, and the people generally of Portugal, manifesting anew the various crimes of omission and commission practised by the King, and declaring that all admonitions proving useless, and also the efforts employed by the Pontifical commissioners to move him to amend, the Pope and the Cardinals had seriously weighed the deplorable situation of the kingdom, and besides other circumstances, alleged the kingdom being tributary to the Apostolic See, they had seen the necessity of entrusting the restoration of the kingdom to some active and prudent person. The Pope set forth that the personage most qualified for the post was the Count of Boulogne, who was brother to Sancho, and his successor in the event of the latter dying childless; moreover, he was a person virtuous, religious, and circumspect, possessed of deep love for the kingdom and its inhabitants, and lastly dowered with sufficient power and magnanimity to remedy the public evils, as it was firmly believed that this choice would be of universal advantage to the kingdom, and even to the King, as in this way the churches and monasteries, the asylums and clergy, both secular and regular, the widows and orphans, and, in a word, all would find in him a defender, while repairing what was ruined and lost. Hence he ordered that on the arrival of the Count to Portugal, he and his partisans should be received gladly throughout the cities, castles, towns, and fortresses of the kingdom, severing any contracts, tributes, treaties, and sworn pledges, and to resist all expressed orders of the King, at the same time treating him with courtesy, respecting his life and his legitimate son, should he have one; that in all things they were to obey the Count, aiding, favouring, and counselling such as resisted; and lastly, to deliver up scrupulously rents, tributes, and

seignioral rights of the kingdom, to enable him to maintain his position, supply the expenses and general outlay of the State, as time and circumstances might demand, and in the event of non-executing all aforesaid, he from this time ordered the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra that, after proper admonitions, to compel them with the threats of the Church without admitting any appellation, since they had no intention of wresting the crown from Sancho or his legitimate son, but of saving the King, the kingdom, and themselves from utter ruin by the solicitude and prudence of the Count of Boulogne.

In this way ended the ardent desires of Innocence that Alfonso should proceed to Syria to combat the Chowaresminos, and the pious fervour of the Infante against the Mussalmans of Spain. In a short time both these ideas had completely vanished, and if any one thing could, however, urge us to forget that the accusations against Sancho were far from being unfounded, is the repugnant spectacle of these tortuous designs. The bull in substance is an indisputable document of exaggerated interested complaints of the conspirators, and its conclusion offers a notable contrast with its long tale of crime, violence, and misfortunes, in which Portugal is involved. Barons, knights, councils, whole towns are threatened by the entire weight of canonical censures if they do not hasten to break the pledge of loyalty to a King who tyrannises over them or allows tyranny, and the Count who comes to liberate the kingdom requires to shield himself with the comminations of the Pontiff to overcome resistance. The efforts made in the bull to remove the idea of usurpation on the part of the Count of Boulogne clearly show the fear lest the circumstances should prove overmuch grave. The King deposed, yet Sancho II. was left with an empty title, and the hope of saving his own dynasty, should he have a successor, which, as we shall see further on, the conspirators had purposed to prevent. This ideal reserve was a political subtilty worthy of modern times.

On obtaining this important decree from the Pope, the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra proceeded to Paris, to arrange mutually with the Count the conditions under which he and the clergy were to be restricted in the event of the undertaking having a fortunate result. Pedro Salvadores, who, it appears, withdrew from intervening in the realisation of a fact which he had assisted to prepare, probably remained with the Curia to promote the concession of numerous bulls by which the Spatharios endeavoured to arm themselves

against any results from the coming storm. On arriving at Paris, Tiburcio fell ill, but this did not prevent the arrangement of the stipulations which Alfonso was to keep, as regent of the kingdom. It is easy to foresee that in the promises solemnly pledged by the Infante in return for which he was to gain a kingdom, the greater and best part would be in respect to the clergy. As regards the reform of civil administration the promises were sufficiently vague, either because the situation of Portugal was not so desperate as was affirmed by the bull of deposition, or the means placed for its remedy were insufficient. On this head the Count of Boulogne restricted himself to pledging that he would maintain the nation generally in a good state and follow the customs of the time of his grandsires, abolishing the abusive styles introduced during the government of his father and brother, and among these abuses he specified the imposition of fines on the inhabitants of any place in consequence of homicides there perpetrated, and which, moreover, would be avoided when the assassin became known. He would nominate just judges within the Crown lands by allowing the people to elect them or by any other means, but without allowing any choice to be made by suborning, oppression, or pleadings of those who held lands on tenancy or by prestimony, ordering an annual examination to be made in order to punish the magistrates who should fail in their duty; that he would visit homicide by the rigour of the law, especially those who, either themselves or through others, should arrest, wound, or slay priests or monks, and would visit on them an exemplary punishment in order to prevent the recurrence of similar attempts.

This last article was the leading one to those which referred especially to the clergy. The advantages assumed for the ecclesiastical order were more precisely stipulated. Alfonso promised to protect and support the churches, the monasteries, and other charitable institutions, the clergy and all other persons in religion, and their properties and rights, restoring as far as possible what they had lost, and compelling the defrauders to restitute what had been unjustly drawn, be whomsoever they might be, not excepting the collectors of public finance, ordering them to be indemnified for the damage and injuries received from patrons, heirs, or other individuals, the power to do this being vested in the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Coimbra, and other men of known probity and stainless character, who should examine attentively the state of the kingdom and the needs of the country.

The Count, on his part, promised likewise to level to the ground all farmsteads or houses erected in the time of his brother to the prejudice or disadvantage of churches, monasteries, or religious persons; to defend these especially against those who through their wickedness had lost the right of patronage, and shun the excommunicated, knowing who they were, and to the obstinate he would deprive of their services, imposing a greater punishment, subject to the will of the bishops, should they continue in their impenitence, and in accord with the prelates assign the penalty to those guilty of spoliation or in any way injure such who had fulminated censures against them, this penalty to be applied without distinction of persons; that he would not receive collections in current money, nor more than those exacted by his grandfather, and only once a year, and solely when passing through places where they were obliged to pay them, nor would he delay in these said places; and, lastly, he would observe and compel the observance of the articles of ecclesiastical liberty contained in the bulls of Gregory IX. in favour of the Archbishop and his colleagues, meanwhile remedying the past and preventing in future the evils enumerated in the bull of Innocence IV. addressed to him, the prelates, nobles, and councils of Portugal. Alfonso furthermore promised in general to govern well and fully, to be obedient to the Roman See, and loyally to consult the prelates on all matters of public interest. To this proposition D. John Egas and D. Tiburcio declared that, in regard to the concession or withdrawal of tenancies and governorships, or the distribution of public rents, the Count would not be bound by his oath to follow the votes of the Bishop, in this matter using his free will. This was a favour they conceded him.

The reader, no doubt, will feel perplexed, as we do, to judge which was greater, the demands of the two prelates or the abjection of the ambitious Infante. This act of his was almost equivalent to an abdication of royal authority at the beck of the episcopacy, and although at the conclusion of these multiplied promises the Count of Boulogne vaguely saved his rights and those of the Crown, he had to add that in every case the preceding conditions would be executed without fail. In this act intervened Master Pedro, Chancellor of the University of Paris, in whose residence this meeting was held, the Dean Master Lucas, a chaplain of the Pope, the treasurer of the See of Braga, the chapter of Ciudad Rodrigo, the guardian of the Franciscans of Paris, three Dominican friars, a Portuguese Franciscan, the Peer Rodrigo Gomes de

Briteiros, Gomes Viegas, brother to the Archbishop, and lastly Peter Ourigues and Stephen Annes, Chamberlains of the Count of Boulogne. The oath was personally taken by the Infante at the hands of the Metropolitan and a chaplain of D. Tiburcio, because the latter was prevented from attending through illness. On the conclusion of the ceremony, the acts of that shameful convention were wrought, and authenticated by the seals of fourteen individuals present (6 September, 1245).

These treaties being effected, in virtue of which the clergy were supposed to obtain unlimited preponderance in Portugal, nothing else remained but to arrange the departure. Meanwhile, as resistance was expected, it was as well not to contemn any elements of triumph. The uncle of the two brothers who were to dispute the power, D. Pedro, whose reputation for valour was well known, might prove a valuable ally, should he wish to favour the undertaking by the aid of his arm. Hence, either before quitting Lyons, or soon after, the conspirators induced the Pope to address a letter to the warrior-prince, bidding him succour the Count in his project of restoring Portugal. We know not whether it was owing to this letter or through other means, but it is certain that D. Pedro hastened to the Infante as soon as he reached the kingdom, at the latter end of 1245 or beginning of 1246, entering Lisbon by sea.

This city, which on account of its situation was necessarily becoming wealthy, populous, and of some importance, at once declared for him. He was met by Gonçalo Peres, the Commandeur of Mertola, who thus repaid Sancho II. the great favours he had made to his Order, and whose chief in Portugal he was. Grateful for the welcome he received from the inhabitants of Lisbon, Alfonso confirmed to the Council the preservation of all their rights and ancient customs, promising to abolish any which might have been introduced to the detriment of the inhabitants of the city.

Meanwhile Gomes Viegas, Rodrigo Gomes, and the other knights engaged in the attempt were visiting the provinces, inciting the malcontents, and, it appears, none accompanied the Count of Boulogne but the two prelates of Braga and Coimbra, and the Commandeur of the Spatharios. The necessity of seeking means to overcome the resistance which Sancho would naturally oppose to his enemies, rendered it needful for the Infante to remain in Lisbon, who assumed the title of "Visitor or Curator of the Kingdom." In order to reduce a country covered

with castles, and where the greater number of towns were fortified, it was not sufficient to fulminate censures, it was needful to resort to sieges and combats or to corruption—means which were successively employed according to circumstances. Hence, to further the war, as well as for suborning the disloyal, even should Alfonso reckon on a numerous party, large sums were necessary, and among the expedients resorted to, with the object of raising money, was the alienation of the Crown properties in places that acknowledged the authority of the Infante. Therefore, although the carelessness and prodigality of Sancho, as the prelates affirmed, had completely wasted the public treasury, there yet remained some vestiges which his brother took advantage of in the patriotic project of delivering the nation of its evils by a truly novel one—by continuing to depredate it.

The war which waged between the King of Portugal and the Count of Boulogne is one of the events of our history of which we have the least details. The conquering party had necessarily to lay aside the process of the varied strife that was a formal protest against the exaggerations of the bishops concerning the evils of the country, and against the hypocritical language of the Infante whom the resistance offered by the kingdom at its very outset proved that he was only a usurper. It is believed that many documents which might illustrate the events of the year 1246 were purposely suppressed; but there was one fact which it was not possible to destroy—the lengthened term of the contention, which was sustained by the King for some months at an epoch when there did not exist permanent armies. In truth, it was only after this that we see Sancho having recourse to the Castillian arms. Tradition preserves the records of the loyalty of various Alcaides of castles and their exemplary heroism, for which, unfortunately, we have no proofs to offer the severity of criticism; but to us these traditions are the echo of the repugnance which this usurpation met with in generous souls. It were impossible that Sancho, although careless in peace and ruled by his favourites, should not have a numerous party, at least as a noble and valiant soldier against the Saracens. Besides this, notwithstanding the powerful invectives levelled at him by the clergy, they dared not tax him personally as an oppressor excepting towards the Church, and what this oppression was we fully know—it was especially his refusal to accept the shameful conditions of subservience imposed later on in Paris to the base ambition of the Count of Boulogne.

Hence a people whom it appears loved him, although the victim

of the covetousness and laxity of customs of the clergy and the nobles, might be generally indifferent to the fate of the gentle monarch, yet not detest him sufficiently to combat for a band composed of ecclesiastics and nobles no less, or rather more, unbridled, covetous, and corrupt than the minions of the King. Hence it is most natural that not only among the rural knights, but even among the peers who had fought by the side of Sancho along the margins of the Guadiana and on the ramparts of the numerous subjugated castles, many a sword should be unsheathed to support the throne which was tottering. It is an undoubted fact that many important towns held faithful to their pledged allegiance to the monarch in spite of the excommunications fulminated by the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra, and that it became necessary to subdue these by sheer force. Obidos suffered a close siege, and in Alemdouro Guimarães, the former Court of Count Henry, and the Castle of Faria, were brought to submission by force of arms. Yet violence was not employed in every case: money was made use of, and promises and seductions of every kind were resorted to, to impel the Alcaides of various strongholds to refuse obedience to the King.

The greatest and most decisive argument, that all means served the enemies of Sancho to oppress, and secure to his brother the possession of supreme power irrevocably and perpetually, was the abduction of D. Mecia from the royal palaces of Coimbra, an event which, if true, must have taken place during the civil war of 1246. It is said that Raymund Viegas de Portocarreiro, a brother of the Archbishop of Braga, probably accompanied by others, entered in disguise into Coimbra among some squires of the favourite, Martin Gil de Soverosa. The implicit confidence which the King had in the warriors of this noble and brave nobleman facilitated a free access into the palace to the conspirators, and one night they were able to snatch the Queen, and flew with her to the fortified seat of Ourem. Vainly did the King march to liberate his wife: the troops of the Count of Boulogne had already taken possession of the castle, and replied by shots and lance-thrusts to the intimations of the prince, who, bereft of forces to combat, was obliged to retire. But was the Queen really abducted? The freedom with which, at the end of the year, when Estremadura and a large portion of Portugal already obeyed the Count of Boulogne, she peacefully disposed of various properties, surrounded by relations and by her own countrymen, one of whom held the highest military appointment there, the omission of any reference to Sancho in the

decrees which tell us the fact, besides the difficulty of robbing a wife from her husband, induce the suspicion that if tradition is exact, this departure from Coimbra partook more of the character of a flight than of abduction. There is no doubt it was to the interest of Alfonso to employ every means to secure for himself the inheritance of the throne, and to effect this it was necessary to prevent Sancho having a successor. Had his first step in the conspiracy been to institute against the King a process of divorce, it would in any case be a long cause, and should, before its termination, Sancho have an heir born to him, the latter might in future invoke against the Count, or against his dynasty, rights which several examples in the various kingdoms of Spain assured him. With the undoubted ambition and shrewdness of Alfonso of Boulogne, the abduction, real or simulated, is far from being one of those absurd legends which history is bound to reject without discussion.

Nevertheless the revolution was progressing slowly. The territory which had spontaneously accepted the Count was only on the south of the kingdom, and, perchance, absolutely only the larger portion of Estremadura. The King and his favourite, Martin Gil, were making desperate war. On the north they dominated nearly the whole, and any partisans of the Count that fell into their hands were either put to death or despoiled and placed in irons. In a faction against the inhabitants of Leiria, which had declared for the Infante, and where, it appears, the royal troops fared the worse, some nobles of distinction were slain or taken captive. From this sprung odium on the part of the King and his favourite against the Leirienses, whom they persecuted to death, whenever they could. The vengeance, however, of Sancho and those who continued faithful were not limited to such as combated sword in hand. The clergy of Coimbra, particularly the chapter, had become suspected, and, perchance, there were proofs of accord between him and the turbulent Tiburcio. We know that hardly had the revolution commenced in the south of the kingdom than the two prelates of Braga and Coimbra ordered the bull of deposition to be read everywhere, to which the Court retorted by ordering the sequestration of the properties of Tiburcio and, probably, of the Archbishop. Martin Gil, with his men-at-arms and other knights, not only took possession of all belonging to the mitre of Coimbra, but they sacked the houses of the members of the chapter, expelling some out of the city and casting others into dungeons, where they obtained

their release later on at the price of large ransoms. Only one canon, Sueiro Ermigio, was respected in person and property, perchance because he was the only one who proved loyal to the King.

Sancho did not conceal his indignation against the clergy, and these acts of violence were no more than the result of the threats he published publicly. In the midst of these combats the knights had quartered in the cathedral, and turned into ridicule the episcopal dignities: one of these, by name Gomes Annes de Portocarreiro, who had obtained considerable spoils in the despoliation of the clergy, and who was, it appears, of a merry mood, took the title of Bishop of the Coimbrians. Meanwhile the progress of the arms of the Count de Boulogne was not very great. In truth, Lisbon, Santarem, Montemor Velho, and various other lands had offered their obedience. In Leiria the people and the clergy had likewise acknowledged his authority, but the castle only yielded to force, as also Obidos, as we have seen; and in this way the war became protracted without any decisive advantages on either side. From existing documents it appears that a species of frontier was established along the line of castles of Montemor, Obidos, Leiria, and, perchance, Ourem, where the brothers had concentrated their principal efforts—one for defence and the other aggressive—while the partisans of each, engaged in obscure combats throughout the kingdom, were unable to turn the balance definitely in favour of either contender, but which certainly largely increased public calamities, to which was sought a term by usurpation. At length, whether because he was betrayed or the fate of arms manifested itself adverse, the King of Portugal sought foreign aid against his brother. The spectacle of the civil war which devoured Portugal could not be viewed with indifference by the princes of Europe; and, in effect, the fate of Sancho II. was soon after singled out by the Emperor Frederick to Ferdinand III. of Castille as an example of the preponderance of the Papacy which nearly affected them. Probably, foreseeing the result of the contention with his brother, to whom many advantageous circumstances seemed to promise a triumph, Sancho decided at length to have recourse to the former alliance with Castille in order to obtain the aid he desired.

While the Portuguese were thus combating against each other without advantage or glory, Ferdinand III., the unflagging conqueror, was besieging and reducing Jaen (March or April, 1246), at which he was

assisted by his son and successor, the Infante D. Alfonso, who for a long time had been engaged in submitting the kingdom of Murcia. After residing in Jaen some months to arrange the affairs of his new conquest, Ferdinand resolved upon attempting an undertaking of greater value —the taking of Seville, a city which was then the capital of Andalus, and most opulent and vast of the province. After collecting together the troops and ammunition from the various provinces of the monarchy needful for besieging and combating so powerful a city, he marched with one thousand and three hundred knights to devastate the neighbourhood of Carmona, and from thence to Alcalá de Guadaira, which submitted without offering resistance. The news of the death of his illustrious mother, the Queen Berengaria (November, 1246), surprised him in Alcalá. The grief of Ferdinand was very great, not only on account of his love for her, but also because to her he entrusted the cares of government in order to more fully dedicate himself to warfare. Yet neither the cares of administrating the kingdom nor the sorrow which overpowered him were able to withdraw him from the intended project. During the spring of 1247 the Christian army pitched their camp around Seville, whose siege became renowned on account of the many feats of arms practised there, and which ended in the complete submission of the inhabitants of Seville at the end of the year 1248.

It appears it was after the conquest of Jaen that the King of Portugal besought aid from Castille. The affair was discussed not directly with Ferdinand III., but with his son, the Infante D. Alfonso, who already in his youthful days had attained the renown of being an able and valiant soldier, by reason of his success in the recent campaigns of Murcia. Whether due to his former friendship, or in order to interest him to favourably aid him in his perilous situation, the King of Portugal bestowed on the Infante generous grants of land, properties, and rents in his own dominions. The youthful conqueror of Murcia judged, perchance, that his ardent solicitations to the Pope might at least take away from the Count of Boulogne the immense advantage over his brother which relatively the Apostolic censures afforded him. He wrote to Lyons, where he was aware his recent campaigns against the Infidels were greatly lauded, and drew a sad picture to the Pope of the situation of Portugal, and his own astonishment at the proceeding of the Count—how he was despoiling the King of his States in a most barbarous manner, conquering the cities and

houses and fortresses, destroying them, violently invading the towns and practising evils to ruin the King and kingdom. Personally, he complained that he did not even respect the lands, castles, and properties Sancho had granted him, and on both accounts besought a remedy from the Pope. The reply of Innocence (June, 1246) briefly destroyed the illusions respecting the political state of Portugal. In the letter to the son of Ferdinand III., the Pope defines the grounds he had for taking the government from Sancho and giving it to his brother, adding that it was never his thought to offend in the smallest degree the rights and dignities of the sovereignty, should the King be able to govern by himself the kingdom in a proper manner. In these words, which appear to limit the effects of the bull of twenty-fourth of July of the previous year, there is an evident allusion to the state of demency which the enemies of the King attributed to him. How could it ever be known, if he were deprived of the administration, whether Sancho was competent to be restored to the plenitude of his rights and authority? The truth was that Innocence was certain that the day for the radical cure of Sancho would never dawn. Meanwhile, in order to afford some satisfaction to the Prince, he addressed a bull to the invader, mentioning the complaints against him, and bidding him respect the properties and rights of the son of Ferdinand III., and not to trespass on the power given him in relation to the King, his brother. All these were no more than palliatives to satisfy the Castillian prince, but, nevertheless, the latter did not forsake the persecuted monarch. The fortune of war was, as we gather from the words of Alfonso of Castille, manifesting itself daily more propitious for the Count of Boulogne. Not only did the Infante D. Pedro come to lay on the balance of contention his terrible sword, but even the former Queen of Leon, D. Theresa, whose close relations with a great number of the nobility are well known, and who was the constant defender of the turbulent and ambitious prelates, quitted Lorvão, and joining the usurper, afforded him the aid of her name and influence. The Mendicant Orders likewise turned their backs on the star which was declining, and under whose beneficent light they had taken root and grown up. If any of the religious institutions sympathised with the monarch, it was the Order of the Temple, whose Master, D. Martin Mendes, retained a lasting friendship for him from infancy. In the course of that year, however, the illustrious Chief of the Templars either died or resigned his post, and was

succeeded by one who followed the party of the Infante. One by one Sancho beheld, reduced or destroyed, nearly all the strongholds, and his kingdom desolated, and compelled to cast himself into the arms of the Infante of Castille as his only refuge. And in effect, at the commencement of 1247 a body of Castillian troops, under the leadership of the Infante, among which was Diogo Lopes de Haro, brother-in-law to Sancho II., marched towards Portugal. During the first days of February, Bishop Tiburcio died, and a successor was elected by the Chapter, and confirmed by the Metropolitan, of a certain Domingos, who also substituted him in the political mission obtained from the Pontiff by Egas and Tiburcio. As soon as the entry of the invaders became known, the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop-elect of Coimbra ordered the guardians of the Friars Minors of Guarda and Covilhan to endeavour to prevent the progress of the troops, by showing the Prince D. Alfonso the monitory they conveyed, and admonish him not to prevent the execution of the Pontifical determination. In the event of being disobeyed, they were ordered to excommunicate him and their partisans, and this excommunication to be published in Guarda and all other lands they might reach. The existing documents not only show that this march took place along the frontiers of Cima-Coa, but that likewise the Infante contemned the admonitions of the prelates and the censures which in effect followed. Thus it appeared that the eventualities of war were becoming more equal between the contenders.

Coimbra, and, it appears, the greater portion of Beira, continued faithful to the legitimate monarch. Sancho remained in his capital, and was not disposed to pardon his enemies, notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation. Tiburcio had willed to be buried in Coimbra, and they attempted to take the body to the city; but the King positively refused to admit the remains of the traitor Bishop within the walls; and the Bishop-elect, Domingos, never dared to present himself in his See, nor did the rigours against the clergy of Coimbra become lessened.

The constancy of the party of Sancho had, indeed, been persevering. In spite of excommunications, corruptions, of defeats, and losses of castles, the King does not seem to despair of the prowess and loyalty of his knights and councils, while seeking outside the kingdom brave auxiliaries. And not only among the laity, but among the clergy he found partisans who desired to die for his cause; and the Bishop of Viseu, D. Gil, even after the coming of the Infante, acknowledged the

authority of the King, and sought to remedy, as far as in him lay, as head and chief of his diocese, the sad effects of the evils which afflicted the kingdom. Yet the indifference of the many, the impetuous valour of Alfonso, the threats of Innocence IV., and the favour of the greater part of the clergy and nobility induced, notwithstanding the aid of the Castillians, the balance to turn decisively on the side of the Count. It is said that, during the latter time, of all the important towns of the kingdom, scarcely the capital remained to the King. A tradition, which is, however, of uncertain foundation, is related to the effect that when Sancho II. departed for Castille, he left as Alcaide of Coimbra one Martin de Freitas. The Count of Boulogne placed a strict siege around the castle, but neither promises nor combats were able to reduce the besieged, who resisted for a length of time in the midst of the greatest privations, until the news came of the death of Sancho in Toledo. Then the loyal Alcaide, soliciting security from Alfonso of Boulogne, passed along the camp of the besiegers, and proceeded to the ancient capital of Spain, and asked that the tomb of the King be opened, that he might, with his own eyes, see if in truth he were dead. Assured of the sad event, he placed in the hands of the royal body the keys of the castle, the guarding of which had been entrusted to him. Then, withdrawing them anew, he returned to Portugal, and delivered them up to Alfonso, opening the gates to the soldiers. The prince, admiring his fidelity, wishing to retain him as governor, offered him the post, but far from accepting it, cursed any of his descendants who might receive the castle from any King which through him had been detained. The history of the siege of Coimbra, without being improbable, is, perchance, no more than one of the legends wherein the masses love to invest the facts that characterise a notable epoch. Martin de Freitas is the type of those who, at the fall of Sancho, respected the punctiliousness of the knighthood, and the religion of a sworn pledge.

The resistance which Sancho alone had offered probably aggravated the evil to such a point that a remedy was impossible. The Count of Boulogne had ample time to gather together all the resources at hand against his brother. He was lord of the kingdom, and perchance the forces of the Infante of Castille were not sufficiently numerous to engender the secure hope of a favourable ending to the undertaking, since his father, attending solely to the war with the Mussalmans, did not openly and directly intervene in the question.

Hence, while moving the army in favour of his friend and in defence of his own interests, the Infante renewed the attempts to induce the Roman Curia to alter its policy in regard to Portugal. The conspirators had, however, conducted the affair with such art that all his efforts were of no avail. The Castillian prince again laid before them the violence and injuries done to Sancho, to himself, and to the kingdom, and beseeching the Pope to remedy, with his aid, so many evils. He likewise bitterly complained, it appears, of the excommunications fulminated by the prelates of Braga and Coimbra, published by his delegates, the Friars Minors. To this, Innocence IV. partially responded by adding a rescript to the effect that none should extend to him the censures comminating those who might act contrary to the bull of deposition. As regards the essential object of the letter, the Pope solely announced by another rescript that he was about to send to Portugal an individual of probity and culture, his penitentiary, Friar Desiderio, who would, after a careful inquiry and examination, report to the Curia the state of affairs in order to take proper measures. On his part he besought the Infante to have confidence in the Apostolic delegate, to acquiesce in his counsels, and obey his admonitions.

This letter clearly shows that Innocence was not inclined to prevent Alfonso of Boulogne from accomplishing the usurpation. If he judged it necessary to obtain information concerning the proceeding of the Count, and take steps about the question debated in Portugal, his first act ought to be the suspension of hostilities, and prevent the party of Sancho from becoming completely crushed, after which it would certainly not be the penitentiary who could prevent the Count from using the victory. On the other hand, by exhorting the Infante to be guided by the inspirations of Friar Desiderio, he indirectly endeavoured to prevent a military intervention in favour of the expelled monarch. Lastly, by exempting him from the censures imposed by the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra, he quieted his conscience and gratified his self-love, at the same time that by allowing these censures to work on his knights and men-at-arms, he did not decrease or augment the moral force which the party of the Count drew from that dangerous weapon. Hence we must confess that if the policy of the Roman Curia at that juncture was not the most straightforward, it was at least far-seeing.

But whether the arrival of the penitentiary and the acquiescence of Alfonso of Castille to his admonitions and counsels—if the inequality

of forces, or any other motive, unknown at the present day, influenced the resolution of the affair, we know not; but it is certain that the aid of Castille brought no favourable result to Sancho. It behoves us, nevertheless, to believe that in the midst of so much underhand work the proceeding of the Castillian prince was straightforward; at least, this is indicated by the subsequent persistence of the Archbishop D. João Egas in holding him excommunicated in defiance of the rescript of the Pope, likewise the rest of the knights and warriors who had followed him to Portugal. Of the latter, we know that at least a part of them remained in the country, not only defending Coimbra, but also invading the territories to the south of the Mondego, when Sancho, despairing of gaining his cause, had crossed the frontiers as a fugitive. In January, 1248, there took place an encounter near Leiria between the Castillians, who assailed the neighbourhood, and the troops of the Count of Boulogne, an encounter in which they were defeated with a loss of over two hundred men. It was the last gleams of an expiring light, for the cause of the monarch was irretrievably lost.

If we admit the narratives of our chroniclers, which are often far from true ones, Sancho II. had left the kingdom, and returned again with the Castillian troops, who advanced to the environs of Leiria, where the Infante of Castille, knowing that he could not restore the throne to the deposed monarch, retired to the States of his father. On crossing Beira the army stopped in their march at the environs of Trancoso, where various nobles of the party of the Count had met together. These nobles were some of the most illustrious of the kingdom, among them members of the family of Sousões and Bayão. Leaving the castle fully armed, but followed by only one shield-bearer, D. Fernão Garcia de Sousa, son of Garcia Mendes, proceeded to the camp and challenged Martin Gil de Soverosa, accusing him of being the cause of the public evils, and at the same time offered the King to take up his cause in Trancoso and neighbouring places, in union with other knights, once he withdrew conqueror of the combat of Oporto. It is said Sancho refused the offer, and that Martin Gil, declining the challenge, attempted perfidiously to slay D. Fernão Garcia. But whether this tradition be true or false, we shall not dare to say, since there are discrepancies in the details. Nevertheless, in the same manner as the case of Martin de Freitas is a symbol of the stubborn resistance which the loyalty of many offered the Count of Boulogne, so also does the history of the knights of Trancoso offer us a proof of the

profound odium which existed among the nobility, and subsisted for many years; for while it afforded the clergy a grand victory against the Crown, it opened the road to the throne, and furthered the ambition of Alfonso III.

Losing all hopes of recovering power, Sancho preferred exile to an obscure life in his own land beneath the yoke of his brother. He elected Toledo for his residence, where he died in January, 1248, at nearly the same age as Alfonso II.

During the first years of his government he made a will, wherein, following the custom of the preceding kings, he ordered the succession to the throne; but this will was, however, of no avail. In the palace of the Archbishop of Toledo, where he awaited the fatal hour, he disposed of the few goods that remained to him, and it is worthy of note that at this solemn act there were none present save the Chancellor Durando Froyaz, twelve knights sufficiently distinguished to witness the testament, four friars, two Dominicans, one of which was confessor to the King, and two Franciscans of Toledo. Nothing else remained to the poor exile of his brilliant Court, and it is notable that Martin Gil de Soverosa was absent, who, perchance, had already forsaken him. Closing his eyes far from his native land, Sancho yet turned with longing looks towards it, asking for a few feet of earth in the land where he once was master, to sleep the long sleep of death by the side of the remains of his grandsires. Yet the article in his will which ordered his sepulture in Alcobaça was not fulfilled. In vain did the monks demand the body of the Portuguese prince, in vain did Innocence IV. order it to the Toledan prelate. Neither living nor dead Sancho II. was ever more to cross the frontiers of Portugal.

Misfortunes are expiations, and expiation sanctifies the unfortunate. It is not for us to sit in judgment over the sepulchral slab of a prince who died in a foreign land, betrayed, abandoned, covered with opprobrium and calumnies, to sum up as a final judgment any disadvantageous inferences deduced from the history of his reign concerning him. To punish, proof in hand, his hypocritical enemies is our duty; it is the compensation of four ages of contempt, against which one of the noblest intelligences which Portugal has produced * was the first to protest. We who, in the order of time, as in all else, are far from the illustrious restorer of the nation's history, do no more than collect the materials to complete the great work of justice which he commenced, because, more

* Friar Antonio Brandão.

blessed than he, we live in an epoch which respects entire truth of facts and liberty of thought. On concluding the Fifth Book we end with a reflection which, to the advantage of society in general, we deem proper to be meditated upon.

Alfonso II., a leper, sought a pretext for despoiling his sisters of their paternal inheritance, and uttered over the scarcely cold body of Sancho I. the insulting epithet of lunatic. His son and successor is despoiled of his crown by a brother, while his depredators, in order to annul his grants and gifts, declared him to be insane.

Perchance in the exiled King is verified the mysterious Biblical sentence that the punishment of a criminal father is visited oftentimes on his children? Probably human wisdom, which considers itself more profound than the wisdom of God, may smile at this idea, which is repugnant to itself, because it knows not how to explain it.

END OF BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

1248—1279.

Alfonso III., King of Portugal—Conquest of Algarve—State of the Christian and Mussalman dominions in the Peninsula—Origin and cause of the contention respecting the seigniority of Algarve—War between Alfonso III. and the Infante Alfonso of Castille—Peace—Internal disorders in Portugal, and means of repressions—Death of Ferdinand III. and succession of Alfonso X. —Alfonso X. renews his pretensions in the Algarve—Mediation of Innocence IV., and conditions of the reconciliation—Illicit marriage of Alfonso III. with Beatrice of Guilhen—New dissensions arise between the princes—Internal questions of the kingdom—The Cortes of 1254—Alliance of the Kings of Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal against Alfonso X.—Alfonso III. despoils him of the usufruct of the Algarve —Effects of the economic situation of the kingdom—Attempts to alter the current coin—Precautions on the frontiers of the South—Alfonso X. recovers the usufruct of Algarve—Development of public wealth in Portugal—Fiscal system of Alfonso III.—Contentions are renewed concerning the Algarve, and definitely arranged—Cortes of 1261—Appeals are made to Pope Urban IV. to re-validate the marriage of the King—Aid is sent to Castille—Alfonso III. obtains the full and pacific dominion of the Algarve—Commencement of discords with the Bishops—Administrative abuses are repressed, and their effect in relation to the clergy—Bishops leave Portugal and proceed to Italy—Their grounds of complaint—Character of Alfonso III.—His favourites—Intrigues at the Roman Curia—Skill of the Portuguese Prince—The providences of Clement IX. are not effected—Death of the Pope, and election of Gregory X. —Contentions between the Crown and the clergy—Decision of the new Pope on the matter—Cortes of 1273—Gregory X. fulminates terrible censures against the monarch—Succession of Innocence V., Adrian V., and John XXI.—Procedure of the Nuncio Fr. Nicholas in Portugal—Civic tumults—Obstinacy of the King—His tardy repentance and death—Epilogue.

THE death of Sancho II. placed the crown of Portugal on the head of the Count of Boulogne, completing and legitimising the authority which he had wielded since the commencement of 1246, and peacefully confirmed the power he had so ambitiously desired, and to obtain which he had resorted to concessions, humiliating promises, and followed tortuous designs. On the news arriving at Lisbon, he at once cast off

the hypocritical appellations of "Curator," "Visitor," and "Defender of the Kingdom," and assumed the title of King of Portugal (which a former testament of his hapless brother had bequeathed to him), without, however, forsaking the title of Count of Boulogne, due to his marriage with Mathilde. He then departed from the city which, from the commencement of the strife, had manifested itself favourable to him, and proceeded to Alemdouro, visiting the northern districts, no doubt to avoid any resistance, or to prevent by prompt measures the consequences of civil strifes in the more remote districts, where the effects of the long discords and devastations had been felt with greater violence, since Alemdouro held the properties and homesteads of the most powerful families and was densely populated. For a length of time Alfonso III. established his Court in Guimarães and successively visited various districts, retiring to Coimbra, which at the time was still considered the capital of the monarchy, towards the end of July, 1248. But both here, and while visiting the northern districts, the new monarch appears to have followed a judicious policy. While confirming to Lisbon the charters and privileges granted by other kings, and which as regent he had increased by new favours, he likewise flattered the military council of Freixo, which had merited the full confidence of Sancho II., by equal confirmations, as also that of Mos, assuring the latter of his protection against various knights whose vengeance the council feared. These first acts of his reign are in truth insufficient to characterise any system of government, nevertheless they indicate up to a certain point that Alfonso III., at enmity with a part of the nobility, sought to strengthen himself with the goodwill of the councils, which were daily gaining importance, wealth, and political influence.

The state of the country at that epoch was necessarily critical, due to the deplorable consequences of a weak government and civil war. The weapons of the less loyal subjects of Sancho II., which the Count of Boulogne had made use of to dethrone his brother, were turning against him to wound. Further on will appear the consequences of the absurd promises made in Paris to the clergy, of the zeal which Alfonso had manifested for the glory of Christianity, and the simulated ardour for combating the infidels which imposed upon him the duty of an immediate attack of the Saracens, since he had contracted a debt of blood in the presence of Rome and the whole of Europe which it was necessary to satisfy. On the other hand, the deposition and flight of Sancho to Toledo had in such a manner complicated the question of the

southern frontier that it was imperative to reduce, without delay, the portion of the ancient Mussalman province of Alfaghar, which the victorious arms of his predecessor had not attained to submit, because in view of the way Castille was progressing in its conquests, only a prompt invasion might perchance secure to Portugal the dominion of the territories adjoining the mouth of the Guadiana. This consideration, added to his solemn promises, constrained him to undertake, ere he was firmly established on the throne and with the weakened resources of an impoverished and devastated kingdom, a war of conquest, which under existing circumstances it was a grave error to attempt.

For the space of one year, during which Alfonso III. resided in the north, the capital, and in Estremadura, he gathered together soldiers, money, and materials of war for the undertaking. It appears that, besides the men-at-arms who were obliged to follow the King to war, the councils, who by their municipal charters were bound to serve, were summoned to take part in the expedition, and a sum exacted from those who excused themselves from serving. At least this was the case with the inhabitants of Oporto. The knights of the Military Orders, especially of Aviz, Calatrava, and Santiago, whose principal establishments were in Alemtejo and along the territories of the Algarve, which had submitted during the former reign, were also powerful auxiliaries in that faction, as not only were they bound by their institutions, but by interest also, because by extending the conquests, they assured more firmly what they already possessed, and obtained new seigniories. The castles of the Spatharios spread along the side of Ourique for some fifteen leagues were veritable seminaries of men habituated to continual encounters with Mussalmans, and the stronghold of Aljustrel, the most important of all, served as an arsenal of the Order, where they accumulated arms, horses, and military armaments. There were at the time many illustrious knights absent from the kingdom, probably a certain number being nobles of the party of the late King, while others had gone to combat beneath the standards of Ferdinand III., to return laden with glory from the siege and taking of Seville. Some of the latter knights, however, came at that juncture to join Alfonso III. Among these was the Commandeur and head of the Spatharios in Portugal, Gonçalo Peres Magro, who was the companion of Master Paio Peres Correia in the affair of Seville, and the Infante D. Pedro, the uncle of the new King, who, ever restless, after intervening in the contention of the nephews, proceeded to the memorable siege, and before returning to

Aragon took advantage of the new project offered him of fighting against the infidels.

In the spring of 1249, Alfonso III. rapidly advanced to the Algarve. Besides his uncle and the Chief Commandeur of Mertola leading the Friars of Saint James, he was accompanied by the Master of Aviz at the head of the knights of Calatrava. Among seculars, the most notable were the brothers Cunhas; Egas Lourenço, the former favourite of the Count of Boulogne; Stephen Annes, now raised to the office of chancellor; Mem Soares de Mello, and lastly the sons of Ruy Gomes of Briteiros and Pedro Ourigues, two of the most resolute champions of his party during the last civil contentions. Beyond these, it appears that the barons and prelates of the kingdom, who generally were at Court, did not join the undertaking, probably because either the unquiet state of the country rendered necessary the presence of the governors in their respective districts, or, what is no less probable, this invasion had been prepared secretly and swiftly in order to take the Saracens unprepared. Moreover, Santa Maria de Faro, one of the principal towns of the Moors, had been submitted to the Christians in March, 1249. Albufeira, Porches, and other places shared the same fate, and on the following year the project of subjugating the territories to the west of Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, which Sancho II. had prepared during the last days of his government, had now become realised. After the conquest of Faro, Alfonso III. left the conclusion of the undertaking to the friars of the Orders, no doubt assisted by auxiliary troops, and retreated towards Alemtejo, retiring to Coimbra, from whence he only returned to the Algarve on the following spring to divide a portion of the new conquests among his favourites and those who had more greatly distinguished themselves in the campaign.

This is all that is positively known in our day respecting the last Portuguese conquests in the Mussalman province of Alfaghar, so greatly reduced from its former grandeur. In process of time the details of this war became so intermixed with gross inaccuracies that it would be only a vain attempt to afford in this history any trustworthy evidence, or impute a greater value to this event. What renders this event of some importance is the fact that it proved on the west of the Peninsula the termination of the strife of years which had waged between Christianity and Islamism. Portugal had at length reached its natural limits on the south, that is to say, the margin of the sea, and on the west she had attained her bounds long ago. It

only remained now to establish and secure her limits to the north and east against Leon and Castille—that gigantic monarchy which encircled her, and disputed jealously any increase of territory. This jealousy, joined to the relations, more or less hostile, which the deposition of Sancho II. had induced between the two kingdoms, soon occasioned grave difficulties to Alfonso III. by reason of the present conquest. Before proceeding in our narrative, it will be expedient to trace in substance some of the historic details previously narrated. When the Christian reaction, which started from the Asturias, commenced to reduce the frontiers of Mussalman Spain, the Christian dominion was extended by working its way always from the northern border of the Peninsula towards the south. In the twelfth century the relative extent of the territories belonging to each of the races was nearly equal, but this extension later on quickly increased on the Christian side, and consequently the Saracens lost ground. Besides the Navarrese, four people of Visigothic origin, viz., the Aragonese, Castillians, Leonese, and Portuguese, constantly encroached on the Mussalman territories by working towards Andaluz. Towards the west combated Portugal with Leon, followed by Castille, and Castille by Aragon. The leaders of these four armies, rather than nations, at times employed their weapons one against the other in long and bitter discords, but at length, on becoming reconciled, they turned anew against their common enemy, and continued to break up the colossal Saracen power.

Of the four rival powers which beneath the standard of the Cross thus fought the battle of ages against the Infidels, the least powerful, undoubtedly, was Portugal, although from its birth she never manifested herself inferior to the others in energy, prowess, activity, and success, because even before the Aragonese expelled the Moors from Valencia, and the Castillians approached the walls of Seville, Sancho II. had brought his army to the mouth of the Guadiana, and permanently established his authority on both sides of the river.

But ever since the death of Alfonso IX. had placed the double crown of Leon and Castille on the brow of Ferdinand III., a prince equally grand in peace as in war, the disproportion between the importance and resources of the central monarchy, considerable in relation to Aragon, became even more disproportionate between the two united States and the small States of Portugal. The increase of the latter country by Sancho II. extended as far as it was possible on the south, but this extension was small in comparison to the rapid and important

conquests of the King of Leon and Castille. When Murcia was reduced by the efforts of the Infante D. Alfonso (afterwards Alfonso X.), and Seville had submitted to his illustrious father, the two united kingdoms embraced two-thirds of the Peninsula, while Aragon, Portugal, Navarre, and the Mussalman States constituted scarcely the third portion. Moreover, the Infante of Castille, to whom the death of Ferdinand III. brought so rich an inheritance, but who never forgot the injury received from the Count of Boulogne when he mediated in favour of Sancho II., skilfully found motives or pretexts, in the invasion of the Algarve, for renewing the contention, not now under a foreign name, but invoking his own rights. How far in his opinion, or on what title he based his pretensions, real or unfounded, it is impossible in our day to say. We shall, however, endeavour, as far as the dark shadows around will allow us, to unfold one of the most controverted points in the history of our relations with Castille, a point which the historians of the two rival nations have never discussed with proper impartiality and justice.

Ever since the reign of Alfonso I. of Portugal, and of Ferdinand II. of Leon, some rules had been laid down, be what they may, according to which the two border monarchies were to proceed when extending their rule within Saracen territories. No positive records remain respecting the demarcations which were then established; but probably it was, as we said before, the current of the Guadiana which determined the future boundary of the two States. As it was impossible to raise bulwarks on alien territories, the possession of which was as yet only a wish or a project, common sense bade them adopt a dividing line which no future events should be able to alter, such as the current of a powerful river.

But during the long succession of years from that epoch up to the reign of Alfonso III., the many accidental circumstances produced by the internal revolutions of Andaluz and the Christian States, and also from the desolations of war between the Gothic and African races, had obliterated the former conventions, of which scarcely any vestiges remain in our days. On one side Castille and Leon constituted one only country, on the other side the territorial divisions among the Saracens had become altered in a thousand ways. The Almohade Empire was falling to ruins, and various bands fiercely disputed one with another the dominion of the blood-stained remains of Arab Spain. Each leader, taking possession of one or other stronghold or important

place, assumed the character of an independent ruler. The Christian arms, or of their rivals, were not long before they destroyed these obscure dynasties, with their thrones of a day. Hence it would be impossible to follow all the transformations which the western districts of Andaluz passed during that period. As a rule, however, the territories or districts of the Gharb formed, during the Lamtunite dominion, a vast province annexed to Seville, and probably this was the case when Sancho II. extended the Portuguese territory up to the mouth of the Guadiana, striking out of the metropolis the districts of Okssonaba, or Faro, and Shelb. Seville, the centre of the expiring power of the Almohades, being now reduced (1248), Alfonso III. flew to take possession of that fragment which, acknowledging the legitimacy of the conquests made in the preceding reign, had a right, it appears, to join the Portuguese Crown. But it was this very right that the Infante of Castille resolved to dispute.

Sancho II. had delivered up to the knights of Santiago the greater and best portion of the lands acquired during his reign, and the dominions of the Order included the large area within the three points of Mertola, Tavira, and the mouth of the Odiel. We know truly that towards the end of the twelfth century, all beyond Ayamonte was a deserted waste extending for some leagues, and it is not probable that the Mussalman population, already in its decadence, should have increased in those parts. Beyond the Guadiana, on the contrary, a well-populated territory existed, where the policy was followed of allowing and protecting, up to a certain time, the Moors who preferred to reside with the Christians and had abandoned their homes.

By utilising the tributes paid by the conquered, and other rents of the new dominions, the Order of Santiago was a veritable power, and the freedom with which at that epoch they disposed of castles and lands they had received from the Crown proves that the accession of power of the King in the districts possessed by the Order was very limited.

Meanwhile the Spatharios knew, in the midst of the perturbations which visited Portugal during the last years of the reign of Sancho II., how to skilfully preserve what they had acquired. After inducing the Pope to confirm the donations of the deposed monarch, they endeavoured to obtain from Ferdinand III. a decree to the same effect. Shortly before the death of Sancho II., the King of Leon and Castille had confirmed those donations on the battlefield of Seville, at the time when Master Peres

Correia was with him. But whether the latter would not definitely take upon himself to acknowledge the right of the monarch to territories which he well knew had cost so much Portuguese blood, or because Ferdinand III., a prudent and just prince, judged this right problematic, it is certain that the confirmation of the donations of Sancho II. was made conditionally, and in the hypothesis that these places might belong to the Leonese conquest. Once assured of their possessions through the decrees obtained from the ecclesiastical and secular powers, the Spatharios did not forget to conciliate the goodwill of the Portuguese King. While history and the Castillian records always show us the Master of the Order, Paio Peres, closely allied with the son and successor of Ferdinand III. in peace and in war, we see his Lieutenant of Mertola, Gonçalo Peres, unite himself to the party of the Count of Boulogne, following him with the Friars of Portugal, after the siege of Seville, to the campaign of Algarve and reduction of Faro. In this way the Order prepared itself against any contingency which might occur.

Among the Saracen chiefs who for nearly two years defended the populous capital of the Almohade Empire in Andalus against the combined efforts of Ferdinand III. and his ally Mohammed Ibn Azar the Amir of Granada, the Wali of Niebla, Mohammed, who led the cavalry of Algarve, more greatly distinguished himself. When the city was given up, after an obstinate resistance, it is said that by the convention celebrated at that juncture, to the Moors of that town were left the dwellings on both sides of the river Tinto, which is confirmed by the Arab historians. The unity of the Lamtunite dynasty, destroyed by the rising of its rulers on all sides, expired with the loss of the capital, and the Wali Mohammed, better known among the Christians by the patronymic of Ibn or Ben Mahfot, King of Niebla, became the only native chief of the Mussalmans of the West, reduced to such circumscribed limits on this side of the boundary of Seville, which, ere another year had passed, was still further curtailed. The invasion of Alfonso III. wrenched the districts, which, intercepted by the seigniories of the Spatharios of Mertola, Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, were scarcely joined to the metropolis by the weak links of maritime communications. Ibn Mahfot endeavoured to defend that important portion of his territory against the Portuguese; but, attacked and expelled from castle to castle, he was compelled to abandon it. But whether owing to the victorious Ferdinand III. having left

Mohammed and his dominions in perfect independence, or because in some way the ruler acknowledged in a certain measure the supremacy of the Castillian King, it is certain that Ibn Mahfot sought to regain what had been lost, at least to take from the conqueror the fruit of the victory. He negotiated with the Infante of Castille to yield up the right he had, or supposed to have, in the districts on the west of the Guadiana, and, as we believe, the Infante assured him the future maintenance of the seigniority of Niebla or of Algarve in a manner nearly feudatory. After this the youthful prince prepared to realise by force of arms the possession of the dominions which he nominally acquired.

As soon as Alfonso III. knew of the plot, he addressed strong appeals to the King of Leon and Castille against the procedure of the son. The resolution of Ferdinand III., whose severe, resolute character is celebrated in history, proves that the reasons alleged by the Portuguese were not to be despised. In view of them the monarch forbade the Infante to intervene in this affair; but the prohibition was useless. The conqueror of Murcia was sufficiently powerful to dare disobey his father in a private question, and which really did not belong to royal authority. In order not to abandon his designs, he had incited in the former misunderstandings with the Count of Boulogne, the jealousy it had caused in him, the heir and successor to the Castillian crown, the progress of the Portuguese arms, which no longer limited themselves to reducing the Algarve, but threatened to devour all the dependencies of Niebla. In effect, the Hospitallers, to whom Sancho II. had delivered up the castles of Moura and Serpa, were not idle, but extended their *algaras* or raids towards the east, and the conquest of Arôche and Aracena took place, it appears, at the same juncture that the remnants of the Gharb were submitted by the King of Portugal.

War, therefore, soon broke out between the Infante of Castille and Alfonso III., when, on concluding the campaign against the Mussalmans, he commenced to distribute among his favourites and the various Orders the lands he had newly acquired. The details of this rupture time has obliterated, but it is conjectured that, united by the firm bonds of friendship with Paio Peres Correia, the Infante could not attack his adversary in the recent conquests without crossing the seigniorities of the Spatharios, and even without constraining them to acknowledge his supremacy in the towns conquered by Sancho II. which were included also in the cession of Ibn Mahfot. But the Master of

Ucles was Portuguese, and the Commandeur of Mertola had declared himself for the Count of Boulogne as soon as he arrived at Lisbon. The Order of Santiago was equally favoured in both countries. It is believed, therefore, that the Master, whose influence over Alfonso X. before and after his accession was very great, employed all his efforts to prevent the strife of the two princes, or at least, that the Spatharios should not become involved in the contention, which they certainly would do, if the war be made along the margins of the Guadiana; and we therefore believe that the theatre of war was Cima-Coa, as it had often been in former discords between Leon and Portugal. The various phases of the strife, the time it lasted, and other details are unknown, but the final results induce us to believe that fortune, which had proved hitherto so favourable to the Count of Boulogne, had manifested herself adverse on this occasion.

Not only Paio Peres, but Ferdinand III. himself, to whom the conduct of the son was displeasing, must have endeavoured to reconcile the two adversaries. The disadvantages of the King of Portugal were sufficient motives for him to accept peace in exchange for grave concessions which clearly indicated how great these disadvantages were. It appears Alfonso III. acknowledged the validity of the donation made by Ibn Mahfot, heir to the Castillian crown, which sooner than he thought would encircle his brow: the Infante attained to unite to it the seigniority of the ancient province of Alfaghar, which from that epoch commenced to be called Algarve. An amnesty of forty years and various other conditions, laid down by the two princes, finished for the time being the disagreement, which, however, soon broke out anew.

Since that event (end of 1250) to the death of Ferdinand III. there appears to have existed pacific relations between Castille and Portugal, and Alfonso III. turned his attention to the internal state of the country, where social relations had become still more weakened by the events of the last years, during which anarchy had induced a frightful increase of violence and rapine. The quarrels between lineage and individuals incited the nobles to frequent vengeance, and it was not unusual to see a noble followed by his dependants and partisans suddenly attack the residence of another nobleman, robbing, illtreating, and even assassinating him. Through vengeance houses were levelled to the ground, and fields were depredated, cattle stolen, and then sanguinary affrays followed. The villagers, fearing to be despoiled, refused to sell provisions and fodder to the knights who

passed the villages, and these resorted to force whenever they could do so. The ferocity of the times and customs had introduced since remote times the right of habitual retaliation, and instead of resorting to the tribunals to demand redress or justice for damage or injury, the ferocious knight would vest his coat of mail and take as the judge of his cause his own sword.

Convoking a kind of Solemn Curia of *ricos-homens* and other nobles of the Court, Alfonso III. in council with them (January, 1251) resolved to place barriers to that destructive state of public order, and provisions were taken against frequent robberies and other evils, such as spoliation of fields. But while the King of Portugal was engaged in these domestic occupations, an important event occurred which was the presage of new storms. At the end of May, 1252, Ferdinand III. died in Seville, in the midst of vast designs for crossing Africa and carry war to the very centre of Islamism. Alfonso X., who succeeded him, was a youth of lofty intelligence, and already renowned since the conquest of Murcia and other military feats achieved by him. To all appearances, the King of Castille was resolved upon carrying on the undertaking projected by his father. He commenced by signing peace with the Mussalman princes adverse to the expiring Almohade Empire, which included in Spain the King of Granada, the former ally of Ferdinand III., and in Africa the Beni-Merines. The King of Murcia, to whom he left the empty title, after submitting that province, was his vassal, and likewise the King of Niebla.

But to further the daring attempt of crossing the sea, it would be necessary to establish a permanent treaty of peace with the Christian States of the Peninsula, such as Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal; yet, on the contrary, the commencement of his reign was signalised by a renewal of hostilities on the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia, and the confines of Castille and Aragon. The war was likewise continued on the western frontiers, because, while renewing discords with James I., the amnesty with Portugal, which was to subsist for forty years, ceased ere scarcely a year had passed, and hostilities again broke out between the two countries.

The subject of the contention was the dominion of the Algarve, but the motives for this we can only conjecture by Alfonso III. not fulfilling the conditions he made. Yet this time the resistance of Alfonso III. was more efficacious than the first. In this he was indirectly assisted by the analogous discords of the Aragonese and Cas-

tillians concerning their respective frontiers. The forces of Alfonso X. on account of these discords were engaged with his more powerful enemy. James I. was not one to yield an inch of territory to his adversary, and in spite of the efforts of distinguished persons in the two kingdoms to reconcile them, combats and raids on both sides became more frequent and fierce. The death of Theobald I., King of Navarre, leaving an infant child and heir, the pretensions of Alfonso X. over the province of Navarre, and the defence of a minor king whom James I. took charge of, all united to complicate affairs for a length of time between the two States, and which only somewhat lessened in 1254. The preparations of the King of Leon and Castille for invading Africa became reduced, therefore, to attempts of aggrandizement at the expense of the other Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula.

No records remain to us concerning the details of the strife between Portugal and Castille, but its duration for many months indicates that the fortune of war at first was varied. Leaving to his *ricos-homens* and Alcaides the defence and war on the frontiers of Aragon, and challenging the Portuguese King, Alfonso X. proceeded to Badajoz, where he could lead this undertaking, which, for some reason, he had at heart. The news of what passed in Spain soon reached Innocent IV., and in January, 1253, the Pontiff, who favoured the idea of the imaginary invasion of Africa, expedited new bulls, tending to facilitate the project, and incited the Castillian prince to realise it. For this it was indispensable that the strife with Portugal should cease, and Innocent IV. exhorted the adversaries to lay aside their arms, and offered his mediation; while assuring them that in doing so, he had no intention of prejudicing the legitimate interests of either contender; and if, as it appears, the Pontifical intervention was not accepted, nevertheless the pacific insinuations produced some effect. Wearied out by the strife, in which little or no advantage was gained, but which the Portuguese King feared a great reverse, the two princes concluded a concord, in which Alfonso X., although the state of the frontiers of Aragon and Valencia where sources of disquietude, was able to draw some advantages from the probable triumph of the Castillian arms. By D. Maria Guillen de Gusman, Alfonso X. had an illegitimate daughter, who at the time was still a child; he himself, although wedded to the daughter of James I., had no issue. Alfonso III. was likewise married, and nearly forty years of age. But notwithstanding all these obstacles, a marriage was arranged, as a basis of reconciliation,

between Beatriz, the youthful daughter of D. Maria Guillen, and the husband of Mathilde of Boulogne. The political conditions were, that the King of Portugal should temporarily cede to his future father-in-law the usufruct of Algarve and the territories to the east of the Guadiana, until his first son, should he have any by D. Beatriz, attained his seventh year, when the entire dominion of Algarve and the strongholds of Moura, Serpa, Arôche, and Aracena would be newly restored to the Portuguese Crown. By this means the discords were pacified, and Alfonso III. met at Chaves his future father-in-law, or his envoys, in May, 1253, and took D. Beatriz to wife. Alfonso X. was then able to turn his attention to other matters of government and the war.

But if reciprocal devastations ceased with the family bonds which united the chiefs of the two States, political contentions were not ended between them. Alfonso X., who was surnamed the "Wise," manifested in various acts of his reign that he did not hesitate to sacrifice any considerations for that of predominance. Dowered with great activity of spirit and prompt action, he was likewise irritable and self-willed, while the Count of Boulogne was no less ambitious, as the sad history of his brother's fall proves, and the peace-making of Chaves, by a family treaty, did not prevent new motives of contention rising over the seigniority of the disputed possession of the Algarve in a conflict of authority between the princes concerning the rights due, to one as head, and the other as receiver of the usufruct of Algarve. This province, which was an integral part of Roman Lusitania, formed even in the third century of the Christian era (except the difference of limits), one of the ecclesiastical dioceses of Spain, vestiges of which are found up to the time of the Arab invasion. The See of the Bishop was the ancient city of Okssonoba. When Alfonso III. again subnitted the Algarve, he delayed to re-establish the Okssonobense See, but as soon as Alfonso X. took possession of those territories, he set about restoring it. Father Robert, a Dominican monk, who was a man of intellectual gifts, and possessed the confidence of the Castillian prince, was elected, and consecrated Bishop of the newly constituted diocese, a perpetual donation being made to him and his successors of the village of Lagos, with the tithes and entry customs fiscally drawn, to which were added various properties in Silves, Albufeira, Faro, and Tavira. The new prelate, who could not be ignorant of the conditions of the union of Algarve to the crown of Castille, proceeded to Portugal to obtain from Alfonso III.

confirmation for acts the validity of which was more than doubtful. The Portuguese prince received him with consideration, but he was deeply irritated by the proceeding of the Castillian, and meeting together in the Cathedral of Lisbon the officers and magistrates of the Court, in presence of these and the Bishop D. Ayres and Fr. Robert, he solemnly protested, not only against the usurpation made to the Crown of the right of presentation which belonged to him as legitimate patron, but likewise against the perpetual donations, repugnant to the temporary nature of the usufruct which the King of Castille solely possessed in that province. The prelate of Silves had an intimation given not to take advantage of the donations made, Alfonso III. declaring that it was his firm intention to reduce to his complete dominion all properties and rights alienated as soon as a favourable opportunity offered.

This event, of little importance of itself, acquired a great historic value as manifesting clearly, how far from the former discords being extinct, they were only hushed up, and if, on one hand, the Castillian took no notice of the conditions concerning the Algarve, his relative only awaited a favourable occasion to regain what he had been despoiled of and what he had ceded.

The opportunity which the Portuguese monarch waited for appeared long forthcoming. While Alfonso X., ever restless, was renewing successive truces with Aragon, only to break them, he at the same time prepared to subjugate the remaining Mussalman towns of Andalusia, which he effected in 1254 or following year by taking Xeres, Arcos, Sidonia, and Nebrixa. Alfonso was compelled to postpone the reparation of his own rights and turn his attention to the internal state of the kingdom, which had not improved with the revolution which placed him on the throne, and, moreover, there seemed looming in the distance fresh storms similar to those which had wrenched the crown from Sancho II.

The principal cause of the discords, however, appears to be the question concerning the dues paid on the merchandise which was brought down the river Douro, and the place where they should unload, whether in Gaia, a borough of the Crown on the left margin of the river, or in the episcopal borough. But this affair did not come to an understanding, notwithstanding the moderation which the King bade them employ in the inquiry. Remembering that it was almost exclusively to the clergy that Alfonso owed his kingdom, the prelate, judging himself

offended, took the expedient of opposing private to public force. Mutinies rose up and disturbed the whole kingdom, already sufficiently scourged by the war with Castille, while the other prelates, it appears, did not take to heart the injury done to their colleague, because the result was that D. Julian yielded and subjected himself to the heavy fine of £6,500 in punishment of the disturbances he had promoted. The irritation of the King was such that he took military occupation of the city, demanding the keys of the castle and towers which defended the circuit. The Alcaide of the borough refused, but finding it impossible to resist, he deposited them on the high altar of the Cathedral, declaring to Alfonso III. that he might seek for them on that spot, but that he would never break his sworn word to the bishop.

Proceeding thus rigorously in relation to the prelate of Oporto, it is not to be wondered at that Alfonso III., in his malevolent manifestations in regard to those who had shown themselves disaffected, should not respect any of the clergy. Of all the Military Orders, the Templars appear to have been most inclined to the party of Sancho II., hence these, naturally, were most abhorrent to the conqueror. In effect, not only does this powerful and warlike Order cease to appear in the monuments of the first year of the reign of Alfonso III. or in the wars of that period, but we know as a positive fact that they were despoiled of their treasures. Hence the kingdom was at the time labouring under similar circumstances which had previously afforded the pretext for a revolution. Contentions with the clergy, wasting of public rents, unbridled state of the nobles, complaints of the oppressed towns—these are the facts which had brought about the deposition of the sovereign, and now all these still existed, added to the example of that deposition. But to counterbalance so many elements of ruin, there was what was wanting to the Crown in the preceding reign, a prince equal to the danger, daring, experienced, and active.

How far Alfonso III. realised the great promises made during the first years of his reign would not be easy to say; but, in truth, the wars with Castille rendered it difficult to carry out. However, at the commencement of 1254 he seriously endeavoured to fulfil them, at least in part, by avoiding the dangers which threatened him, and which had wrecked his predecessor. Convoking a solemn Curia in Leiria during the spring, he debated on the manner of remedying the public evils aggravated by civil and foreign war. Very few records of these

Cortes have been preserved by the ancient chroniclers, but these suffice to show us the importance of an assembly in more than one sense noteworthy, and which signalises an important epoch in the history of our political institutions.

From the time of the Visigoths, the *juntas*, councils, or national parliaments were exclusively composed of members of the higher clergy and principal nobility of the Peninsula. The people, weak, reduced to almost a state of servitude, did not intervene in these grave assemblies, where the most important affairs of religious and civil society were treated. This same exclusion continued during the first ages of the renewal of the Gothic Monarchy in the Asturias, and its expansion through Galicia, Leon, and Castille. It was in the latter end of the twelfth century, when Portugal had long obtained an independent existence, that to the villagers, the burghers, and that vast crowd which in modern times is called the Arm of the People, and beyond the Pyrenees the Third State, the Leonese kingdom opened the portals of its political assembly, the ancient image of a national representation. The councils, images, or rather traditions of the Roman municipalities had passed in Spain, as in the rest of Western Europe, through all the vicissitudes of war, invasions, barbarities, and although weakened and modified by the necessities and conditions of population during each epoch, sprung up anew to a political life, becoming social active elements, in proportion as the raids of the Saracens were daily decreasing in the central and northern provinces of the Christian territories. In Portugal, notwithstanding all the efforts of Alfonso I. and Sancho I. to populate the country by means of an institution which experience proved to be most useful, and in spite also of the favour it met with from Sancho II., the ancient Visigothic and Leonese custom prevailed even longer than in Leon and Castille of convoking for national assemblies the prelates regular and secular, the officers of the Crown, the supreme magistrature, and principal nobility. But from the Cortes of 1254 dates the call of municipal delegates to the Parliaments. The people, slowly constituted and strengthened, at length beheld their representatives taking a seat in the councils of the kings, and the voice of the labouring man was listened to as it solemnly laid its grievances and rights against the privileged classes, manifesting that Alfonso III. acknowledged the relative importance of the popular bodies.

The Assembly of Leiria opened at the end of February, and closed in April, when the King departed for Lisbon. But this short term was.

however, employed in attending to the grievances of some of the councils, in confirming the privileges and liberties of others, likewise making donations, or effecting reparations to various monasteries. Hence, while seeking to conciliate the popular classes, Alfonso III. flattered the clergy by these demonstrations of favour. The severe providences formerly taken against the See of Oporto in a moment of irritation, and which virtually were against the commerce of the episcopal borough, were now suppressed, and conditions established to regulate the entry of goods and merchandise from Alto Douro to the mouth of the river, whether in Oporto or in Gaia. The latter, subject immediately to the Crown, was a rival to the ecclesiastical town on the margin of the frontier. The traffic in salt was again permitted, which in those days was an object of much importance, the buying and selling having been prohibited by the King to any inhabitant of Oporto, in revenge for similar prohibitions being issued against the inhabitants of Gaia. Some properties belonging to the See of Oporto, confiscated in consequence of former discords, were now likewise restituted. At this epoch also was realised the project of populating Alemtejo, by carrying into effect the restoration of Beja, which was in ruins, and probably deserted since the last expulsion of the Saracens from those districts. This was an important point, from its situation on the frontiers of Algarve, the uncertain dominion of which, sooner or later, would induce a renewal of contention between the two crowns. Clouds continued to gather over the political horizon. The barons and knights who during the civil war had followed the cause of Sancho II., and after the hapless ending of the strife had resided in Castille, on finding it useless to overthrow one whom they judged an usurpator, and who really was so, strove to save themselves from the consequences of the political error into which loyalty or interest had induced them to fall, and regain by other means their lost land and fortune. In conjunction, probably, with the King of Castille, they had laid their situation before the Pope, and obtained from him a bull, by which Innocent IV. charged Alfonso X. to protect them, intervening by gentle means with Alfonso III. in favour of the exiles. The domineering character of the Castillian King, and some of his acts, which manifested that he intended to assume the position rather of arbitrator than counsellor, caused serious apprehensions in Portugal. The representation made to the Pontiff on this subject had its desired effect, and Innocent IV. positively declared to the King of Leon and

Castille that in the injunctions of the bull he did not in any way allow him the right of practising anything contrary to the independence of the Portuguese crown from which the smallest prejudice might result to the King or kingdom of Portugal. Hence the confidence which the exiled knights placed in the pride and power of their protector proved vain, and, as it appears, the most rigid partisans of Sancho II. only gradually attained to return to their native land and restitution made of the properties they had been deprived of.

These disagreements between Alfonso III. and his father-in-law, joined to the jealousy respecting the still disputed possession of Algarve, caused the peace which seemingly existed to be no more than a cloak beneath which war was brewing. Alfonso III., who knew by experience how far the favour of the Pontifical Curia influenced political questions, had cultivated the good-will of the Pope, which the intervention made in his favour against the arrogant interference of Alfonso X. in affairs purely domestic clearly proves. During the course of this year, Innocent IV. sent the Minorite monk Father Velasco to the Peninsula, to treat upon secret affairs with the Kings of Portugal, Castille, and Aragon. Was his mission that of establishing a lasting peace among the three princes, and thus enable the Castillian King to carry out the project, deferred for two years, of sending an expedition to Africa? From the energetic measures taken by the Pope to aid the undertaking, it is believed this was really the case.

Never, perhaps, in the Peninsula had covetousness and mutual envy among the rulers of the various States manifested itself in more frequent raids and devastations from frontier to frontier than at this time, nor more speeches spoken respecting peace and good-will.

Civil tumults were agitating Aragon and Castille, and the former resentments among the nobles rose up anew, to complicate the strifes between the Kings. There are no definite narratives to explain how in two or three years the entire dominion of the Algarve fell again into the power of Alfonso III., although there are existing documents to prove the fact. Meanwhile, this rupture of former conventions, it appears, did not call forth any military demonstrations on the part of Castille; indeed, Alfonso X. seemed to forget the rights resulting from that convention, by omitting among the list of titles which the glory of conquest adds to the names of princes that of King of the Algarve. This was due, no doubt, to the multiplied affairs of graver importance which occupied his attention. The Lord of Biscay had formed an

alliance with Aragon, besides the one with the Infante D. Henry and the knights of his party, the instant the truce expired. Under pretext of combating the Saracens, great military preparations were made in Castille, but the war considered more imminent was that of Aragon. The youthful Theobald enforced with military movements the pretensions he advanced to the possession of provinces some of which the Crown of Castille had formerly despoiled Navarre. On the other hand, the Infante D. Henry, in whose possession were some of the castles taken on the previous year from the Moors, took advantage of this circumstance to harass his brother; and, moreover, it is said that Ibn Mahfot, influenced by him, declined to acknowledge within his dominions of the Gharb and Niebla the almost feudal supremacy of Alfonso X. Added to this, Pope Alexander IV., who succeeded Innocent IV. at the end of 1254, was instilling new vigour into the projected expedition to Africa by enjoining a new Crusade to be preached throughout the Peninsula. As funds were scarce in Castille, the King, being compelled to demand subsidies from the clergy, found much resistance; while the discontent of the people was likewise great, owing to the issue of the new coinage, which was not in proportion to its nominal value. All merchandise in consequence had risen in price, and Alfonso X. added a new financial error by establishing a tariff, or general rate of prices, which served to paralyse commerce, and thereby increased the general discontent. Therefore, in view of all these circumstances, the forced tolerance of the Castillian prince in regard to the procedure of Alfonso III. in the Algarve is easily explained.

If the King of Portugal was not actually surrounded by similar political difficulties, he was at least disquieted by analogous questions. In view of the situation of the kingdom and the wasting of the rents of the State, it seemed that Portugal would have to follow the example of Castille to remedy the deficiency of public revenues. And not only in the Peninsula, but throughout Europe, one of the means employed by princes to fill their empty coffers, or for amassing treasures, was that of altering the coinage. This was done by coining anew the silver, adding more alloy, yet leaving the same nominal value as formerly. In Portugal this took place, as in the rest of nations, although, it appears, this right was limited to conditions of time and manner. Towards the end of 1253 it was currently reported that Alfonso III. was on the eve of imitating his predecessors in this particular, and this suspicion sufficed to produce an increase of prices which it was endeavoured to

prevent by the only means then known, of issuing a tariff, or rate; and the people were not wrong in their surmises. This rate, or tariff of prices, was no more than the precursor of an alteration in the coinage. Wounded interest once more rose up, and the discontent of the clergy and the people compelled the King to suppress the project. Yielding to the appeals of the prelates, the Masters of the military Orders, and of the masses, he promised to continue the former coinage for seven years without making any change. After this promise, he commenced to exact a remission of that fraud, but the resistance and complaints of the principal vassals and prelates were so great that the youthful monarch was constrained to pledge his sworn word, in presence of the Bishop of Evora, that he would never, directly or indirectly, exact donations from the kingdom in order to preserve the coin of the realm without alteration, excepting such as, from ancient usage, the former Kings had drawn from the breaking of the coin, or the people themselves offered in order to avoid that evil.

In the midst of these contentions, the King did not cease to attend to other affairs of government, some tending to consolidate on the south of the kingdom his vacillating dominion, others to increase the Crown rents. Arôche and Aracena were, on the south-east, the extreme limits of the Portuguese conquests, and the possession of these two castles by Alfonso III. was due, not to the Crown which he had wrenched from his brother, nor to treaties with Castille, but solely to the efforts of the Portuguese Knight Hospitallers and to one of their most illustrious chiefs. The possession of those territories, almost attached to the Leonese conquest, was in a certain manner a denial, or rather a protest against the exclusive pretensions of Alfonso X. respecting the conquest of the former Mussalman Gharb. A castellated town placed on this advanced post constituted a species of barrier, if not invincible, at least of sufficient importance in the eventuality of war. Probably Arôche was deserted since the desolating sword of Alfonso Peres, the Commander of Moura, had passed through it; but it became repeopled by Christians, and municipally organised with the extended privileges and immunities accorded to Elvas by Sancho II.

The royal borough of ancient Oporto was at this epoch of small importance, and even, it appears, its inhabitants were subject to the magistrates of the district, and without municipal organisation. At least, we find no vestiges of this previous to the reign of Alfonso III. Around its environs were vast *reguengos*, or farmsteads, belonging to

the royal patrimony which surrounded the valley where Villa-Nova de Gaia actually had its principal seat. On the height of the rock called in our day the Castle of Gaia existed one of those encampments whose origin is lost in the darkness of ages, and probably was the Roman *cale* and the *portucale* of the Visigoths, which popular imagination invested with marvellous traditions. By inviting dwellers to the old Alcacer, and by transferring the borough to the base of its walls, Alfonso III. erected a town which would on one side be a rival, and on the other a bulwark, to the rich and powerful episcopal city, and constituted a council with important privileges. Instead of effecting a division, between the town and city, of the ships, barques, and merchandise which the King assumed, he decreed a more simple means: the fiscal collector, the chief officer of the Crown in Gaia, should, in virtue of the *foral*, exact from the chief officer of the bishop one-half of the entry dues, customs, and transits received in Oporto, while he deliver up to him one-half of what he should receive in Gaia. And in order further to minimise the jealousy occasioned to the burghers of Oporto by the establishment of a neighbouring rival council, the King sought to flatter them by manifestations of good-will.

While these affairs were taking place (1255-1256) the embarrassed situation of the King of Castille had improved. After his close family alliance with England by the marriage of his sister Eleanor to Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.), and ceding to England his rights to the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil, he had an interview with his father-in-law in Soria (March, 1256), when both agreed to suspend military operations until the definite conditions of peace should be established between the two crowns, which was only effected during the following year. Meanwhile, the electors of the German Empire being divided among themselves by the death of William, King of the Romans, the Archbishop of Treveris, with other electors, resolved upon choosing as successor of the late monarch the Castillian King (April, 1257), whose reputation for wisdom, or rather science, was world-wide. Whether he worked out this election, or from him came the promises of large sums by which the Archbishop induced the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bohemia to agree to the election, is unknown, although it is certain that even should he not attain to ascend the throne of the Cæsars, this very election would add to his renown and moral force. The reconciliation of James of Aragon with his relative compelled the Infante Henry to seek a refuge among the Mussalmans of Africa. The

Moorish rulers, who, in conjunction with the Infante, had refused obedience to Alfonso X., could not with equal facility withdraw from the vengeance of this prince now that circumstances enabled him to proceed vigorously against them, as he actually did. The Almohade Ibn-Mahfot was still Wali of the remaining portion of the Algarve, or King of Niebla, as Christian records call him. It was upon him and his capital that the Castillian King vented his wrath, as upon a rebel vassal. The King of Granada, Ibn Alahmar, was compelled to assist his terrible ally against his own co-religionists, and the Granadine troops of Malaga accompanied the army of Castille to the siege of Niebla. This city was renowned for the solidity of its fortifications, and for a length of time the advantages of the besiegers were reduced to devastating the neighbouring territories. After nine months of useless combats, want of provisions and despair of aid compelled the besieged to surrender. The conditions were the definite incorporation of the small Mussalman State to the great central monarchy of the Peninsula. In exchange for lands and rents in the capital of Andalusia, and the right of continuing to hold the title of King, Ibn-Mahfot ceded to the conqueror not only the complete possession of that portion of the Gharb, but likewise the right which he judged he had in parts of that province which the Portuguese arms had successively reduced (1257). In this manner the last vestiges of the brilliant dominion of the Almohades were completely swept away from the west of Spain.

We know not whether Alfonso X., after this new and complete cession of the last Almohade ruler in the Algarve, endeavoured to establish, by force of arms, his authority in that province, where all things tend to show it had ceased for some time, or whether his relative, on beholding him thus invested with the moral and material force which these successes and the peace with Aragon had afforded him, yielded to circumstances; but it is certain that affairs lapsed into their former state. On consulting documents, we find that the King of Castille no longer mentioned among the titles of his seigniories that of Algarve, which, it appears, he had for some time abandoned; but he, at the same time, commenced to exercise acts of authority, although he might yield up to his relative the rights which resulted from the conventions of 1253, such as restoring to the Order of Aviz the Castle of Albufeira, which Alfonso III. had conceded on the occasion of the conquest, and which the Castillian King now occupied, likewise the gift of patronage of all churches in the diocese of Silves,

and the confirmation to Bishop Garcia, who succeeded Father Robert in 1260 or 1261, of the gifts given to his predecessor, which no doubt Alfonso III. had deprived him of, remembering his solemn protest.

If the project of extending the limits of his dominions as far as the southern shores of the ocean was becoming difficult to the King of Portugal, he did not thereby lose courage. Leaving to time and more favourable circumstances the realisation of this undertaking, he turned his attention to domestic affairs, since he could not, with any good result, arrange external ones by means of policy or force of arms.

Alfonso III. had inherited from his father an ambitious, domineering character, but he possessed greater military skill. He had derived great advantage from his residence at the Court of France during an epoch when the government of D. Branca, and subsequently of Louis IX., had afforded princes brilliant examples in the art of governing empires. From this Court he imbibed ideas of social progress which were sufficiently manifested during his reign; and we must bear in mind the influence which the spectacle of Castillian civilisation effected in our country, promoted by such an illustrious monarch as Alfonso the Wise undoubtedly was, in spite of many defects. From the commencement of his reign the Count of Boulogne followed the severe financial system of his father, by reclaiming and increasing the royal rights. The predilection he always manifested for Lisbon, a city which from this epoch commences to figure as the capital of the kingdom, did not spring from the welcome he met with on his return from France, but it was due to its position, the splendid harbour the bay formed, superior to all other ports of the kingdom for commerce. The same motives which urged Alfonso III. to establish an important municipality on the left margin of the Douro, and deprived Bishop Julian of half the dues, also induced him to promote commerce and shipping in Lisbon, a Crown property, where all entries, customs, and dues generally reverted to the benefit of the State.

From the increase of commerce and population in the city the King derived many advantages. On the outskirts buildings had gradually increased in number, and the ancient Achbuna of the Arabs was now a town in a certain manner independent, whose inhabitants enjoyed especial privileges. The most populated suburb of the city extended to the valley on the east and south of Alcaçova. Eleven parishes

raised aloft from the pinnacles of their belfries the standard of the Cross in the midst of this great city, the history of which, relative to the progress of Christianity, was to become one of supreme importance within the space of three centuries, and for its defence the municipality encircled it with strong walls.

The squares and spaces which a bad system of erecting buildings in a rising town had left open between houses were taken advantage of, as well as the uncultivated ground around the city, by the King, although illegally, and large warehouses were constructed, as well as storehouses and inns for the accommodation of the merchants, retail shops, forges, and all kinds of buildings calculated to yield large rents. Besides this, all properties which the owners desired to sell found a ready purchaser in the King; and in this way Alfonso III. became the owner and master, in various senses, of the most opulent city of his kingdom.

These circumstances, which appear trivial in themselves, nevertheless proved of great value in promoting commercial progress in the country, as well as civilisation, industry, and agriculture, the only science of which we find extensive vestiges, and rendered possible the exchange of fabrics, principally textile, of France and Flanders, the two countries that more largely were connected with Portugal at that period of our history.

The foundation of the Council of Vianna, adjacent to the mouth of the Lima, which was resolved upon in 1258, and actually took place in 1262, leads us to infer, from the especial rules laid down respecting all merchandise which should enter the bar, that mercantile industry was becoming considerable. The existence of a large internal traffic may be easily deduced from the fact of the commerce being so extensive with foreign ports; but we have a more positive proof in the privileges accorded during the reign of Alfonso III., to the greater number of towns in Portugal, of holding fairs and markets.

But yet another fact, still more significative, confirms us in our belief that on terminating the first decade of the reign of the Count of Boulogne the towns of Portugal were already becoming prosperous, notwithstanding the political or financial difficulties of the Government, the disorders among the privileged classes, the rapine and violence practised between district and district. This fact is the increase of precious metal, of monetary wealth, not of the King, or nobility, or clergy, in whose hands, it would seem, this wealth ought to have

accumulated, but in the townspeople, especially of the councils. This circumstance, unheeded, led indirectly to a singular mistake. Alfonso III. figures in history as the rival of Sancho I. in founding numerous municipalities and as the restorer of many deserted towns, which is an error. Some efforts are due to him in this respect, but it is certain that they did not exceed those of his predecessor, and, we may say, even those of his father.

Three or four years passed in these works of internal organisation, and no noteworthy change occurred in the exterior relations of the country: in spite of the perpetual incentive of discord between Portugal and Castille (the doubtful dominion of Algarve), the chiefs of the two States apparently lived in peace. But the fire smouldered, however, beneath the ashes, and in 1261 or 1262 new disturbances, if not open war, arose on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. The events which were taking place in the recent conquests of Castille may give us, perchance, the key to the renewal of the hostile acts which occurred. The Moors, who, a short time previously, had been subdued by the arms of Alfonso X., endeavoured from the first to shake off the Christian yoke. An independent Mussalman State yet remained in the south of the Peninsula. It was Granada, whose prince had saved himself by entering into a shameful alliance with the conquerors, and assisted the son of Ferdinand III., as he had helped his father, to combat his own co-religionists. He was moved to this by political interests and racial odium, which is not to the purpose of our work to particularise. In their plan of reaction the conquered comprehended that to effect this it was indispensable to bring over to their party the Prince of Granada. This was effected, and Ibn-Alahmar up to a certain point agreed in the attempt. The revolt at length burst out in the year 1261, and according to the testimony of Arab historians, as well as Christian writers, not only did it spread through Murcia and many parts of the province of Seville, but it likewise extended towards the Gharb. From this a war was enkindled which, if not of great importance, at least it proved an obstinate one, that lasted, more or less violently, for four or five years, and was terminated, in a great measure by the expulsion of the rebel Moors from Andalus.

But did the revolt extend as far as the districts of the province which at the present day is exclusively called Algarve, and that the Christians, even in those days, called by that name the territories beyond the river Tinto?

Arab records appear at first sight to lead us to that conclusion; but as the signification of the word *Gharb* (West) is so indefinite in Saracen writers, and varies according to the various epochs of the Mussalman dominion in the Peninsula, it would be impossible, in view of the small vestiges remaining to us, to decide which were the limits of this province to the west of Seville where the revolt took place. The discords that were again renewed respecting the Algarve, between Alfonso III. and his father-in-law, also the demarcation of the eastern limits of Portugal and other matters not specified by existing documents, however, induce us to suspect that the Portuguese prince was not altogether ignorant of the Mussalman plot, or, at least, that he took advantage of the attempt to regain the conquests effected by his brother and himself on the south side of the sea.

The particulars of the events which took place between the two countries are unknown, excepting that they were followed by the usual evils and crimes, deaths, robberies, assaults, and sale of castles. The aggressor seems to have been the Portuguese prince, who derived all the advantages of the strife, if any really serious resistance was offered. It is certain that in the spring of 1263 a treaty was contemplated between the two countries, and that Alfonso X. nominated ministers, among them the renowned Paio Peres Correia, to sign the treaty of peace with his son-in-law.

This treaty was concluded shortly after, and the King of Castille declared himself perfectly satisfied with the King of Portugal, and terminated by promises of loyal friendship, all grievances against him being at an end. The actual conditions of this peace-making are unknown, but subsequent documents tell us something respecting the Algarve. It appears the envoys of Castille and the King of Portugal agreed that Alfonso X. should hold the right, during his lifetime, of distributing the Crown properties within that province, and of deciding upon any doubts which might arise on the matter, all donations made by him to be considered valid and irrevocable, while the appeals of inferior magistrates to be taken to the Court of Castille, and not of Portugal. At this time Alfonso III. had a son born to him, by D. Beatriz, the Infante D. Dinis (1261). The indefinite position of the King in relation to the daughter of Alfonso X., although a domestic affair, naturally concerned the public welfare. As soon as the Countess of Boulogne became aware in France of the marriage her husband had contracted in virtue of the conventions entered into

with the King of Castille in 1253, she appealed feelingly to Pope Alexander IV., against an act which policy might counsel, but which morality nevertheless condemned. The Pope heeded the supplications of the betrayed Countess, and in May, 1255, he expedited a bull to the Archbishop of Compostella, to order the King of Portugal to appear within four months before the Roman Curia, in order to resolve the affair in a just manner. As may be imagined, Alfonso III. neither appeared before the Curia nor did he sever the illicit marriage he had contracted. It is probable that Mathilde continued her efforts to break off the odious union, and tradition tells us that she took the desperate step of coming to Portugal seeking Alfonso. We know for certain that the Pope, in view of the conduct of the Portuguese prince, ordered the Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Mondonhedo to command the King to sever his incestuous union within forty days, and in the event of disobeying to fulminate an interdict against both culprits. The death of Mathilde in 1258 did not alter the state of things, nor did it lessen the rigour of the Pontiff. In order to raise the sentence of excommunication and legitimise the act, death had come to remove the obstacle, while the cries of tender infancy seemed to be appealing for mercy. It is true that between the wedded pair there certainly existed impediments of relationship; but Alexander IV., who protected Mathilde, and had issued the interdict, was dead (1261), and Urban IV. had succeeded him. . All these circumstances rendered hopeful the desires to obtain from the Pope remission for past errors. Hence, in the name of the bishops and chapters of the kingdom, a petition was addressed (May, 1262) to the Pope Urban, urging the political motives which had led Alfonso III. to contract this union, and other no less powerful ones for desiring not to sever it, beseeching, therefore, the Supreme Pastor to annul the interdict, and moreover bless the union of the princes, in order to render their children legitimate, so that they should be heirs and successors to the throne. To the appeal of the clergy was added one from the King, in his name and that of the people, and the Bishops of Coimbra and Lisbon were sent to Rome, meanwhile that favour was obtained from the King of France, Louis IX., from Theobald, King of Navarre, and Duke Charles of Anjou. These appeals were not in vain. The Pope relaxed the fulminated threats, and rendered legitimate the incestuous marriage, declaring all children born of D. Beatriz competent to hold any political or civil right.

The efforts which the Mussalmans of Spain were making, in spite of divisions among themselves, to sustain their expiring independence in the territories which were daily becoming more and more circumscribed, still continued. The history of the last throes of Islamism at this period is very obscure, but it is known that, in order to carry on the war against the Saracens, Alfonso X. obtained from Clement IV., successor to Urban, the concession of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues, not only in Castille and Leon, but, what is more singular still, from Portugal. At the same time a Crusade was preached throughout Spain, by order of the Pontiff (1265). War was raging in the province of Murcia, and the King of Granada, displeased with Alfonso the Wise, had returned to the Beni-Merines, who in Africa had arisen on the ruins of the extinct Almohade Empire. It appears Abu Jussuf, the Ameer of Morocco, had in effect sent some troops, while the extraordinary precautions taken in 1265 against the war with the Infidels proves that it was feared the Mussalmans of Africa should make another attempt in favour of their co-religionists of Spain, which, in truth, they actually did.

The concession of a tenth of the rents of the Portuguese Church, made to the King of Castille in order to sustain the strife against the Saracens, was, in many ways, a thorny business, and one which brought grave inconveniences. The Pope, in choosing the Archbishop of Seville to collect this ecclesiastical rent, restricted the concession under two exceptions, either of which rendered the bull of no effect in Portugal. The first was, should Alfonso III. be at the actual point of breaking directly with the Saracens, or the probability of a proximate war with the Infidels; the second, the King of Portugal taking a part in the question of Castille, by helping the King with forces equivalent to his power and the resources of his States. Alfonso III. could not possibly ignore the singular concession made by the Pope, nor its limitations. The first would not be realised, but the second was in his power to effect. By sending considerable aid to Castille, he could convert to his own use the ecclesiastical tithe, and avoid having his kingdom overrun by sub-collectors of the Sevillian prelate, authorised to collect a part of the rents of the Portuguese clergy. Perchance the shrewd Alfonso III. calculated beforehand the effect which this extraordinary aid might produce of putting down the last vestiges of the pretensions of Castille in the Algarve by the spontaneous cession of the grateful father-in-law for his efforts and sacrifices. The character of the King of Portugal

and the circumstances of the expedition convince us that this was induced by these or analogous political considerations. There was still wanting, it appears, the means for the necessary naval and military preparations. A solution of the difficulty was sought for. As the Infante Dinis, who was then about five years of age, represented the *rôle* of feudatory to the grandfather in relation to the Algarve, the King asked in the name of the Infante, from the Councils of the kingdom, an extraordinary subsidary, in order to make the necessary preparations for the fleet which he purposed to send to the coasts of Andalusia, and the body of troops by land to accompany D. Dinis, who would proceed to join the army of his grandfather. This appeal, made thus in the name of a child, transformed into the commander of the expedition, was an act altogether too farcical, and excited great discontent. But Alfonso III., without abandoning his plans, invented a new scene, which, by irritating the people less, they became the actors in place of spectators, and conduced to the same result of action. The payment of subsidies was expressly forbidden to the Councils, as well as for the Infante to receive it; as it was, Alfonso III. declared against political liberties, and imperilled the soul of the monarch. He, moreover, added that, as the war against the Saracens, who were adversaries of the King of Castille, was a pious work, praiseworthy and necessary, he would take as a loan the sums which the Councils were to give D. Dinis, and these he pledged to pay faithfully, or his successors, by establishing as a public and perpetual privilege of the kingdom, that never would a similar appeal be made, and by this solemn decision avoid the introduction of an abuse. Various Councils, in effect, delivered up large sums, as can be proved by the projected journey of the Prince heir.

The manner in which this affair was conducted is in unison with all other acts of the Count of Boulogne characteristic of his crafty, enterprising mind. When difficulties arise he copes with them; when they are insuperable he proceeds to surmount them by craft; but he always goes forward towards the mark he aims at; he never retreats. What matters the conditions or manner of obtaining the desired sums? What was essential was to arrange an expedition to Castille by sea and land. In this way would be severed the last link which bound the Algarve to the sceptre of Alfonso the Wise; and in this way would be realised the whole scheme which had occupied for sixteen years the spirit of the King of Portugal. This thought, which had drawn him

to contract an illicit marriage with a mere child, now induces him to choose a child still of a more tender age to be the leader of his warriors, and whose tiny hands he judged were more fitted to sever that link than the iron gauntlets of the knights sent to Andalusia.

The chronicles of Castille amid much that partakes more of fable and legends concerning this expedition, however, assure us that this scheme had its desired effect, and at its conclusion both the Portuguese and Castillian monarchs met in Badajoz (February, 1267), and amicably ended all their former contentions. Alfonso X. ceded without any restriction all right which might belong to him in the Algarve in virtue of former treaties or in any other way, and ordered the knights who held the royal castles of the province as tributaries to deliver them up to the King of Portugal, or to whomsoever he might delegate.

Alfonso III., on his part, although he scarcely possessed beyond the Guadiana more than the castles of Arôche and Aracena, since Moura and Serpa were in possession of the Knights Hospitallers, ceded them to his father-in-law, definitely establishing the course of the Guadiana as the borders of both States, from the confluence of this river with the Caia to the sea. Arronches and Alegrete, lands situated beyond Caia, about which there existed some doubts between the two Crowns, remained within the limits of Portugal, landmarks being placed to the east of these towns to limit the bounds.

The cession of the seigniority of Algarve established the natural limits of the country, and the Christian reaction against Islamism was consummated on the west of Spain. Encircled by the ocean on the west and south, on the east and north by Leon and Castille, the kingdom had reached its last territorial limits, and even wars or political treaties could scarcely add one or other fragment from the wide monarchy which bordered her, and far superior to herself, she could not hope to derive further advantages. Meanwhile, Alfonso III., peacefully in possession of his oft-disputed conquests, having abandoned in 1259 his title of Count of Boulogne (probably at the death of Mathilde), assumed a few months after the treaty of peace with Castille in March, 1268, the additional title of King of Portugal and the Algarve, which his grandfather had adopted for a time, and which his successors have retained to the present day.

The success and skill with which the son of Alfonso II. had terminated this affair with Castille did not follow him in his domestic affairs, and over the internal horizon of his government brewed a

tempest. The inheritance of the Portuguese Crown appeared to be allied to a terrible legacy, that of contentions with the Church. It was said that it was not given to any King of Portugal to rest in his grave without fighting a pitched battle with the clergy, and Alfonso III. either did not or could not avoid the results of the irreconcilable contradiction of royal power and the almost absolute independence which the ecclesiastical body assumed. In truth, with the exception of the fiscal contentions with the Bishop of Oporto, the successor of Sancho II. delayed for many years the renewal of a combat in which his brother experienced the severe proof that the episcopal staff could at times hurl down the sceptre. The consideration alone of the shameful part he played in the last strife, when the clergy opened to him the path to the throne, sufficed to restrain him. But circumstances soon induced him to act differently.

D. João Egas, the turbulent conspirator and principal agent of the intrusion of the Count of Boulogne, died, in Valladolid, about the year 1255. It is said he died on his return from Rome, after vain efforts to arrange the scandal of the marriage of the King with D. Beatriz. He was succeeded by Martin Giraldes, who was a worthy successor in following the traditions of haughty independence which characterised the Metropolitan of Braga. Julian, the Bishop of Oporto, also had died (end of 1260), without avenging the private affronts received at the hands of Alfonso III., leaving, perchance, this inheritance to his dean, Vincent Mendes, whom the chapter elected to succeed him. Martin of Evora, Egas of Coimbra, Rodrigo of Guarda, successor to Master Vincent, the celebrated Chancellor of Sancho II., and Matthew of Viseu, were the four oldest bishops elevated to the episcopal dignity after the Count of Boulogne had taken the administration of the kingdom. The last elected were Pedro of Lamego (1258) and Matthew of Lisbon, who proceeded to Rome after his election, and continued there, with the Bishop of Coimbra, in the service of the King, until 1263, when he returned to Portugal after the Bishop of Coimbra.

There remained, therefore, none of the former combatants who had revelled in the victory after the battle, when the monarchy, torn asunder in the person of Sancho II., had fallen at the feet of the clergy; but the traditions of inflexibility in matters of interest and ecclesiastical privileges were preserved intact by their successors. Offended and illtreated by the King, who was likewise unbending in

maintaining the rules of administrative reforms he had adopted, seven out of the nine prelates who occupied the bishoprics of Portugal placed themselves in open hostility with Alfonso III. These were the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishops of Oporto, Coimbra, Guarda, Viseu, Lamego, and Evora. The Bishop of Lisbon, who had always maintained friendly relations with Alfonso III., would not take part in a strife which, judging from the past, must needs be violent, while the Bishop of Silves, who had been elected for that See through the influence of Alfonso X., continued to follow the Court of Castille, and kept free from the contentions of the Portuguese clergy until 1267, when he was assassinated in Italy, where he had gone as agent of the Castillian prince. These resolved to fly from the kingdom and appear before the Roman Curia, perchance with the object of affording a terrible lesson to the monarchy. The greater number effected their departure, and proceeded to the kingdom of Leon—at least, we learn that towards the end of 1266 the Bishops of Oporto, Coimbra, and Lamego were in Ciudad Rodrigo. The last, either through infirmity or better advised, returned to his diocese, but delegated a procurator to represent him, an expedient which was likewise resorted to by the Bishop of Evora. In spite of these desertions, Martin Giraldes and the four remaining bishops did not desist from their purpose, an placing the kingdom under an interdict, they proceeded to the Pontifical Curia.

The Papal Tiara at that juncture encircled the brow of Clement IV., an individual of great experience and of an enlightened mind, but in the exercise of his ministry was assailed by many political difficulties. However grave the spectacle might appear of the arrival of the Portuguese bishops to Viterbo (where the Pontiff had retired, owing to the disturbances in Italy), seeking redress from their prince, other duties of greater moment occupied the attention of Clement. Martin Giraldes and his colleagues hastened, nevertheless, to lay before the Pope a lengthened memorial manifesting in detail the causes which compelled them to take that extraordinary step in defence of the ecclesiastical liberties and prerogatives. Bearing in mind that their predecessors, in order to crush Sancho II., had resorted to the expedient of adding to the grievances of the Church the complaints of the people, they made use of the same weapons. To the grave accusations formulated against Alfonso III. as regarded the clergy, they added that of civil oppression, in the forcible and illegal occupation of municipal and private lands in

the interior of the cities and towns with the object of constructing buildings, the rents derived from these being converted to the advantage of the King, and many other complaints too long to mention; but the essential question rested on other matters—the true or supposed grievances against the ecclesiastical orders.

The narrative of the contentions which the King had sustained with Julian, the Bishop of Oporto, and with his successor was placed in its most odious light, and transformed from a special and singular fact into a common abuse repeated in relation to various Sees. This misstatement alone would induce history to condone many faults in Alfonso III., and teaches us to view in this affair the spite of the clergy in consequence of the general inquiries. We do not mean to say that the reign of the Count of Boulogne was a model of religious piety and good government. Notwithstanding the important facts of political and social progress, and his donations to churches and monasteries which historians carefully registered, we do not think that under any aspect can Alfonso III. even remotely be compared to his illustrious contemporary, Louis IX. of France, nor as a good financier with Alfonso II. The laws and provisions effected in the matter of tributes certainly offer us in his reign proofs of greater intelligence and efficacy than in the former prince, yet we see him almost constantly wrestling against pecuniary difficulties.

Had the Bishops of Portugal been moved to proceed to Viterbo from patriotism and the indignation felt for the oppressions practised by the civil power against the weak and the humble, whom, as clergymen, it was their duty to protect against the powerful, these extortions and evil doings would have been the principal theme of the articles touching the political order, in the appeal presented to the Pope, and likewise, as princes of the Church, as ministers of a religion severely pure, instead of many of these grievances, they ought to have borne in mind the depravity of customs which the King authorised by his example, and which belonged to them as to the Pontiff to effect a remedy. In truth, the Bishop of Coimbra, D. Egas, was not altogether competent to treat upon the thorny question, but were all the other prelates in the same condition? By accusing the King almost exclusively of acts which wounded their material interests rather than the doctrines of the Church, they merely covered under an hypocritical cloak of religion human passions, and sought a means of obtaining vengeance for past offences.

But whether due to some political agent at the Roman Curia, or because Alfonso III. beheld the departure of the prelates, he soon became aware of the charges against him, and the administration of the kingdom laid before the Pope, in this respect following the same system which had been so usefully employed against his brother. More active, however, than Sancho II., more skilful, or perhaps better advised, he opposed the tactics of the clergy by others no less crafty. In a short time a declaration was laid before Clement IV., solemnly addressed by the councils of Portugal, wherein they not only excused the procedure of the King, but they extolled him and the administration of the kingdom. No doubt this testimony was not altogether spontaneous, at least his adversaries said this declaration was extorted not from love, but through fear; but, nevertheless, it neutralised up to a certain point the effect of these accusations, and induced public opinion to waver respecting the extent and the importance of the facts alleged. Yet Alfonso III. held in his hand better-tempered weapons with which to oppose the arms of his enemies—to the zeal of the clergy in respect to the immunities of the Church he opposed his own zeal for the glory of the faith. This had enabled him to take possession of the throne, when, under the pretext of enlisting in the crusade against the Saracens of Spain, he prepared the means to overthrow his brother; and now the same favourable occasion offered for vivifying religious ardour. Both the King of France and the Pope were of one accord in the thought of promoting a renewal of the Crusades—the former by taking advantage and employing the Venetians to transport the forces he assigned for that undertaking to the East, and the latter by soliciting the princes of Europe to imitate Louis IX., and endeavour to reanimate the enthusiasm of nations for the redemption of the Holy Places. Hence, many took the Red Cross, not only in France, but also in England, Aragon, Castille, and other nations. Under interdict, and expecting to see poured over him the vials of the Church, Alfonso nevertheless announced in Viterbo his intention of associating himself to the undertaking of the East, and actually prepared for the crusade. Manifesting in this manner that he acceded to the vehement desires of the Pontiff, the King was winning, at a small cost, a decisive battle. And, in truth, this resolve crumbled down, in a great measure, the edifice erected so carefully by the prelates, one of whom, the Bishop of Guarda, dying soon after his arrival at Viterbo, was substituted by a Minorite, Fr. Vasco, the Bishop of Famagusta, an election authorised by the Pope (1267).

Clement IV., believing in the sincerity of the Portuguese prince, expedited bulls to the Dominican Priors of the diocese of Lisbon, to the Franciscan Guardians of Guarda and Evora, not only to suspend the interdicts placed by the bishops who were absent from their Sees, but also to authorise the King to receive during a period of three years the revenues from all pious legacies which had no precise or definite application, or any other alms or gifts left with the object of redeeming the Holy Places, likewise the value of goods obtained by usury, fraud, or violence, which its detainers desired to be delivered up in restitution, the legitimate owners not having appeared. The latter clause, however, was only in the event of the King actually embarking.

Although these concessions of the Pontiff be up to a certain point in contradiction with the acts and wishes of the complaining bishops, it cannot be said that the Pope forsook them. To these bulls he added another addressed personally to Alfonso III., wherein he alluded to the accusations of the political order afore-mentioned, the representations of the councils, and the doubts respecting their spontaneity, and admonished him to repentance, yet barely referred indirectly to the grievances of the clergy. As to what regarded the latter, the means Clement IV. adopted had a greater efficacy. His chaplain, William Folquini, Dean of Narbonne, was appointed Nuncio for Portugal with lengthened instructions on the manner of proceeding in the question of the clergy. No doubt in the midst of the intrigues which were necessarily weaving in Viterbo against and in favour of Alfonso III., the most prudent was to send a delegate to Portugal to examine the truth of the allegations, and settle the affair or enable the Pope by his reports to finish the deplorable strife between the Crown and the Episcopacy. The bulls and instructions which were calculated to settle the difficulties and in part satisfy the bishops, with the hopes of the mission of Folquini, were sent out in July, 1268; but his departure was delayed by the death of Clement IV. on 29 November, 1268.

The Dean of Narbonne remained with the Curia, and the contentions of Portugal were indefinitely postponed. The cardinals collected together in Viterbo seemed disinclined to elect another Pontiff, and for nearly three years the Church remained deprived of a supreme pastor, until the Sacred College, wearied by delays and domestic strifes, elected six cardinals to decide upon the election of the new Pontiff, pledging themselves to accept unanimously whomsoever they should choose. The votes fell to the Archdeacon of Liege, one Thealdo, of the noble family

of Visconti, and an Italian by birth, who at the time was in the Holy Land.

On his arrival to Italy he was consecrated Pope at Rome, under the title of Gregory X. (March, 1272). In Rome, Orvieto, and Viterbo, the three cities wherein the new Pope successively resided during the first year of his pontificate, the prelates of the Portuguese Church renewed their claims, laid aside for so long a time.

Of the five prelates who had proceeded to Italy, the Bishop of Guarda was dead, as we said, likewise the prime mover of this voluntary exile, the Archbishop of Braga, who expired in Viterbo about the time of the election of Gregory X., while Egas Fafes, raised from the dignity of Bishop of Coimbra to Metropolitan of Compostella, did not long survive his new elevation, hence only two remained, the Bishop of Oporto and the Bishop of Viseu, transferred to Coimbra after the promotion of Egas Fafes.

But although the number of the adversaries of Alfonso III. were thus reduced, they did not cease from their project. The events which had suspended the intended negotiations of Clement IV. for a pacific solution of the contention had virtually aggravated the situation of the Portuguese clergy, by affording a repetition of the facts and civil action of ecclesiastical causes of which they complained. To this was added circumstances which rendered the mission of the Bishop of Oporto and the newly elected Bishop of Coimbra one of greater difficulty. The prelates of Lamego and Evora were both dead—the latter immediately after the departure of his colleagues for Viterbo, the former in 1270. As patron of all the Sees of the kingdom, Alfonso III. was very likely to influence in a more or less direct manner the choice of prelates, although the election rested more particularly on their respective chapters; but, nevertheless, he would employ every means to render these elections favourable to himself. And in effect Durando Paes, his confidant, and one of those ministers called Priests of the King, was promoted to the See of Evora. By these changes the procurators of the dioceses had altered the character they represented at the Curia. As soon as the election of Gregory X. was known in Portugal, Matthew, the Bishop of Lisbon, departed in 1272 for Italy. This ecclesiastic lived on good terms with the King, and his voyage was presumed to be undertaken, not to strengthen the complaints against the King, but to bring affairs to a conclusion favourable to the Crown. But, notwithstanding all these advantageous circumstances, Alfonso III could not yet reckon

upon a decisive victory, as much would depend on the opinions and character of the new Pontiff.

While Bishop Matthew proceeded to the Roman Curia, endeavours were made in Portugal to find a successor to Martin Giraldes. The choice fell on a member of the Chapter of Braga, Peter Julian, Archdeacon of Vermuim, who had resided in Italy for years, known by the name of Pedro Hispano, where he had acquired, as throughout Europe, the reputation of high intelligence and vast science. The Archdeacon was very friendly to the King, which leads us to infer that Alfonso III. was the prime mover in that election. When the news of the election of the new Archbishop reached the Roman Curia, the prelate had just been elected to the Cardinalate by Gregory X., under the title of Bishop of Tuscany, and therefore the Pontiff refused to confirm the Portuguese election. Thus the Metropolitan See of Galicia continued vacant, while the Bishop of Vizeu, nominally transferred to Coimbra, was not recognised in Portugal as prelate of the last diocese, the administration of which was, it appears, undertaken altogether by the Bishop of Lisbon. The indefinite situation of the Bishop of Viseu assisted morally to weaken his party, whose chief really was Master Vincent of Oporto, who, in obstinacy and energy, was the worthy successor of Julian and Martin Rodrigues.

In May, 1273, Gregory X. addressed a bull to Alfonso III., in which, after enumerating some of the recent complaints of the clergy, and in moderate language conveying severe injunctions, he said that it was his rule to show indulgence to princes and respect royal prerogatives, from whence resulted the obligation of Alfonso III. to respect likewise the rights and immunities of the Church; hence he besought him, and as supreme Pontiff enjoined him, to cease from molesting men who were consecrated to the service of God, and to restore to the clergy all that had been usurped, or indemnify them, by giving them full satisfaction for all injuries, and other similar instructions, concluding by adverting that, should he not fulfil the Apostolic mandates, he would proceed in a different manner, since it was the duty of the Supreme Pontiff to maintain the peace of the Church and of nations.

This bull, to be presented to the King by the Prior of the Dominicans and the Custodian and Guardian of the Friars Minors, was accompanied by two others addressed to the three Commissioners, one of which was to impose this charge, and the other, in the event of Alfonso III. wishing to come to an understanding, to suspend the

interdict for seven months, while, if the King continued obstinate, they were, according to the spirit of the bull, to renew the suspended interdict before the expiration of the seven months. On the arrival of these bulls at Lisbon, the Commissioners besought permission to deliver them. The clergy had obtained somewhat of a triumph. The exigencies of the Pope were precise and terminating, and Alfonso found himself placed between the threats of the Roman Curia and the fiscal ones, since the stone of scandal of the clergy was principally the providences resulting from the general inquiries of 1258. He had at the time no Moors to combat, and the expedient of a crusade was no longer tenable. He resorted, therefore, to the expedient of temporising. In vain did the three friars beseech an audience: the King, occupied with a multiplicity of administrative affairs, could not grant it. At length, after much delay, he convoked the Cortes in Santarem at the end of 1273, where he proceeded in person. The Apostolic delegates followed, and were able before the meeting of Parliament to obtain an audience. Alfonso III. listened to them, and appeared fully convinced, and affirmed, that in view of his subjects having practised so many evils, he acknowledged that the Pope, in intervening in the question, had proceeded with justice and to the spiritual and material advantage of the monarch and kingdom. The question was then laid before the Cortes, where the *ricos-homens*, the chiefs of the various orders, and the representatives of the municipalities had gathered together.

The result of the Cortes was the election of various *ricos-homens*, members of the clergy, knights, magistrates, and officers of the Crown, to constitute a commission, with power to correct all the acts of the King or of his ministers, practised *unreasonably*, and without redress, Alfonso III. protesting that he would hold inviolable all that the appointed commissioners might resolve upon for the entire reparation of these offences.

But who were those composing that extraordinary juncta? Principally those who by their counsels or acts had perhaps contributed more largely to enkindle a war between the throne and the altar. It was the Bishop of Evora, the former priest-friend of the King, and his confidant; it was the two especial favourites, the Major-domo and Chancellor; it was some of the *ricos-homens*, or administrators of the districts, various privy councillors and judges or ministers of the Supreme Tribunal of the Court, and other officers of the King. The result of this commission was only what might be expected: the

members of this body scarcely found anything that had been *unreasonably* practised. The questions which had induced a convocation of the Cortes remained in the same state, and the protests of the prince and his submission to the Pontifical decrees were manifestly only a comedy which had been acted with all due solemnity.

It may easily be imagined the indignation of the three Commissioners of the Pope when they beheld themselves thus duped. Feeling that all demonstrations would be useless, they resolved not to allow themselves to be again deceived by promises which were never kept, and they exacted a reply in writing to send to the Pope. The King did so, but only as a kind of memorandum, without affixing the royal seal, which alone could render the document authentic, and with this they were fain to be satisfied. The reason for this proceeding on the part of Alfonso III. was because he would have to acknowledge the said abuses in order to asseverate solemnly that he seriously meant to correct them, a confession which would be dangerous to make in a solemn official decree. The Commissioners then wrote to the Curia enclosing this declaration, and explained the affair they were entrusted with, which, in spite of all their efforts, they had only obtained meagre results.

These documents, sent at the commencement of 1274, probably reached Gregory X. in Lyons, where he had proceeded to on the previous November to assist at the Council which had been there convoked. Many grave affairs were discussed at the Council, which rendered necessary the postponement of Portuguese affairs. But when the Council was concluded, and other matters treated upon which detained him in that city for several months, Gregory proceeded to Beaucaire (May, 1275) to meet Alfonso X. of Castille, who pretended to the imperial crown of Germany. The contentions of the Portuguese newly arrested the attention of the Pontiff, and, naturally offended at the duplicity of Alfonso III., at once endeavoured to render null the providences he had adopted two years previously respecting the dissensions between the prince and the clergy. One of his first acts as head of the Church on arriving to Beaucaire was to nominate the Metropolitan of Galicia. And on the 4th September he expedited a bull exposing in strong terms all that the prince had been guilty of, and bidding him under severe ecclesiastical penalties within a year to fulfil entirely the various dispositions therein contained, else the places where these evils were practised would fall under the ban of interdict. If the King, after the specified time, should continue to disobey the Pontifical constitutions,

he would incur excommunication, and if this extended to the space of another month the whole kingdom would be likewise interdicted, and if this state continued for three months the Pope would sever the political bonds of the State, absolving the vassals and subjects of all oaths of fidelity and obedience to the King, and exempting them from acknowledging in the smallest degree his authority so long as he continued impenitent. In an especial manner the Pontiff deprived Alfonso III. or his successor of the Crown patronages so long as the interdict and excommunication weighed upon them.

When this bull of 4th September, 1275, was issued, the agents of the King in Rome were Stephen de Rates and John Paes—the first Canon of Braga, and the second of Viseu. These two returned to Portugal, bearing this sad result of their mission. The rigorous action of the Pope, however, did not produce the moral effect it was expected to do. Alfonso III. appears to have continued peacefully administrating the kingdom with his barons and ministers. We know not the motive why the publication of the terrible resolution of Gregory X. was delayed, but it is certain that before the clergy attained the result they expected, events occurred which deferred the fulfilment of the threats. On returning to Italy, Pope Gregory X. died in Arezzo (January, 1276), and Innocent V., who succeeded him, barely occupied the Pontifical Chair four months, and was followed by Adrian V., whose occupation was still shorter, since he died about one month after his election. The cardinals, in conclave at Viterbo, then raised to the Pontifical dignity the Bishop of Frascati, Peter Julian, or Hispano, who was crowned under the title of John XXI., on 20th September; and during the course of 1276, four individuals had successively sat in the Chair of St. Peter.

Innocent V., notwithstanding that he ruled for so short a time the supreme Pontifical power, at once took up the affair of Portugal, and sent as Nuncio a Spanish Franciscan called Friar Nicholas. After various audiences and vain exhortations, fully convinced of the uselessness of his efforts, Friar Nicholas resolved to fulfil what the bull of Gregory X. had determined. He therefore proceeded to the tribune of the cathedral, and, in presence of a large concourse of ecclesiastics and people, he solemnly published the dispositions contained in the bull, a copy of which was affixed to the doors of the cathedral. Then, quitting Lisbon, the Apostolic Commissioner proceeded successively to the principal cities of the kingdom, renewing in each this terrible

ceremony. At this juncture Pope John XXI. died in Viterbo (May, 1277), and it was not known who might succeed him, or what his intentions might be in relation to the King of Portugal. Foreseeing the effect on the population of the proceeding of the Nuncio—or, perchance, he saw the spectre of excommunication imminent—Alfonso III. sent messengers to Guarda, to where Friar Nicholas was at the time, to inform him of the death of the Pope, and invite him to Lisbon, to treat upon matters of conscience with him, and at the same time confer upon what concerned his own and country's peace. The Nuncio at once returned (July, 1277), but the conference ended without any result. After waiting nearly a whole month, and seeing that the King did not manifest any signs of renewing the negotiations, Friar Nicholas departed to Evora, where he publicly and solemnly published the interdict. He hoped by so doing that Alfonso III. would call him anew; but it appears this did not take place, although, on returning to Lisbon, he obtained an audience from the King. At this audience assisted the Infantes D. Dinis and D. Alfonso, besides the officers and ministers of State; and in their presence the Nuncio declared that, wearied out by many delays, he had decided upon quitting the kingdom, and therefore he would pronounce the last anathema, as the term had expired. He then, addressing himself to the King, said that he had delayed so long in the hopes of seeing him take a definite resolution; but the debate only seemed to further irritate Alfonso III., and it ended with no good result.

Such was the last scene which has reached us of the long strife between the craft and pertinacity of Alfonso III., or of his counsellors, and the pretensions for absolute dominion of the ecclesiastical power. No doubt the Minorite Father fulfilled what he had said, and applied to the Portuguese prince the terrible penalties against a definite disobedience. Hence, on departing from Portugal, Friar Nicholas could not do aught but cast over the kingdom an interdict, and with it the political dissolution and the ultimate ruin of the throne. Since that day, in virtue of the decrees of Gregory X., all duties of obedience, as regards subjects to their prince, had ceased.

No contemporary memoirs inform us what were the results of this violent situation, but the few documents of that epoch cast over the last days of the reign of the ambitious successor of Sancho II. sad gleams. We know that during the year 1277 civil wars rose up in Portugal, and that among the various bands bloody combats took place. Such

was the one of Gouveia, where on one side perished Gil Vasques, nephew of the celebrated Martin Gil, and on the other, brave knights, shield-bearers, and men. If, in reality, the tumults which agitated the kingdom at the end of the reign of Alfonso III. were due to the mission of Friar Nicholas, other circumstances existed, independently of the want of a head, to render more difficult the attempt to dethrone the King. The thunderbolts cast by the Roman Curia, although not to be despised, had during the space of thirty years lost part of the moral force which they possessed in the time of Sancho II., while, on the other hand, the Pontifical throne was deficient of a Pope with the character absolute and energetic of Innocent IV. Added to this, although Alfonso III. had not the military energy of his brother, yet he manifested in many acts of his long reign a great superiority of political talent and firmness of will, gifts which were more necessary in civil discords than the bravery of a soldier. Lastly, unlike Sancho II., he had a son, heir to the throne, who would find enough affection in the country to oppose those who should attempt to deprive him of his paternal inheritance. D. Dinis was over sixteen years of age in 1277. And, in effect, within a few months the heir to the throne was surrounded by a court of vassals and officers, and enjoying an annual rental of forty thousand pounds, when he departed from Lisbon (June, 1278) to visit the kingdom.

Oppressed by the weight of years, and still more by illness and the moral pressure of the ecclesiastical censures, Alfonso III. laid on the youthful shoulders of his son the charge of administration, although business was done in his name, and in all else reserving to himself the royal prerogatives.

On his bed of suffering, the King of Portugal manifested a memorable example of Divine justice. When during the long, weary days of pain which at times presage the advent of death, or in the wakefulness of nights of suffering, his spirit dwelt on the past days, when gold and the sword disputed with his brother a despicable crown; when the curses of the Church marched in the vanguard of his soldiers, and wounded loyalty and misfortune; when he, now cursed likewise, was declared unfit to govern the empire, could see the whole iniquity of his own conduct pass in review before him, and increase the anguish of sickness by remorse of conscience. It is natural that the scenes of the past must have contributed to shorten his existence, and the terrors of death aggravated his suffering. However, there are no documents existing to

show us that Alfonso III. betrayed any such weakness in his external actions. After an interval of six months (November, 1277), the Cardinals elected Pope Nicholas III., and no records exist to show that Portugal effected anything with the newly elected Pope to put an end to this violent position of affairs, or that the absent prelates attempted to return to the kingdom. The relations between an interdicted country and an excommunicated prince with the Holy See must necessarily be restricted, and Nicholas either was too much occupied with the affairs of Italy, or else, convinced that it were useless to pursue further, with any good results, the attempts against the civil powers, confined himself to preventing the vacant Sees of Portugal from being filled through the influence of the King. Hence, when Friar Vasco, the Bishop of Guarda, died, Nicholas III. transferred to this diocese (December, 1277) one John, of the Order of Friars Minors, and Bishop of Guadix. Shortly after, on the Bishop of Braga being promoted to the Cardinalate (March, 1278), the Pope hastened to appoint a successor. This was Friar Tello, also a Franciscan and head of his Order in Castille. But none of these elections were acknowledged in Portugal until after the death of the King, when his successor endeavoured to arrange affairs with the clergy by making various concessions.

This was the position of the country when the year 1278 ended. The new year brought with it the conviction to Alfonso III. that his last hour was approaching. Incessantly assailed by the fears of death, and unable to offer any longer an obstinate resistance, he at length declared himself conquered. On 17th January his sufferings became so intense that it was thought it was his last hour. Summoning to his bedside Durando of Evora, two canons of the same See, vicars of the diocese of Lisbon, and two friars, the Dominican Prior, and the Guardian of the Franciscans, the dying King solemnly declared in their presence and of his ministers and counsellors, that although it had been his intention long since to take the oath exacted, and obey the Apostolic mandates, reserving the rights of the kingdom and of his children and vassals, he now wished to take the oath without any such reservation or conditions. Then one of the Vicars of Lisbon received the oath from him on the Gospels. In conformity with that declaration, the Infante D. Dinis, who was present at the sad scene, pledged himself to fulfil the promises which his father might not be able to effect. After this, D. Stephen, the former Abbot of Alcobaça, pro-

nounced the absolution over him; and immediately afterwards a deed was drawn up of that act, signed by all the persons present.

But the last hour of the terror-stricken monarch had not yet struck, and his agony was prolonged for twenty days, his death taking place on 16th February. Master Vincent and the other clergy exiled in Italy, as well as their partisans, had good reason to rejoice at this event. Not only were they freed of their obstinate adversary, but they saw him descend to the tomb repentant, and humbled by the solemn confession that he was conquered.

Thus ended Alfonso III. Obtaining the crown by dishonest and ungenerous means, he strove to manifest that he was not altogether unworthy of wielding supreme power. In war less illustrious than his brother, and in peace less farseeing than his father, he, nevertheless, united together the gifts of both in an eminent degree. The most distinctive feature of his character appears to be a crafty obstinacy, which did not exclude an excessive indulgence towards his favourites, especially those who had helped him to attain the brilliant position of King. His reign, as may be inferred from the narrative, was an epoch of true social progress, during which he widened civilisation, and the popular classes obtained important conquests. However, in relation to his proceeding with the clergy, viewed in a certain light, he might well be taxed with ingratitude; but it is, nevertheless, true to say that in the acts which gave rise to so many grievances there was, on his part, a motive which condones his conduct—the organisation of public finance. Lastly, if during the course of his government oppression now and again took the place of justice as regards what concerned the people, we must also condone these impulses of tyranny in a prince who opened to the municipalities the doors of the political assemblies of the country, thus enabling them to constitute one of the bodies of the State, and leaving them free to wrestle collectively in favour of their own rights and liberties.

END OF BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

THE STATE OF SOCIETY DURING THE FIRST EPOCH. ORIGIN OF POPULATION—INFERIOR CLASSES.

PART THE FIRST.

Considerations on the study of social history—False idea generally held respecting the population of Christian Spain during the ages previous to the foundation of the Portuguese Monarchy—Causes which have led to this error—Characteristics of the wrestling between the Mussalman conquest and the Neo-Gothic reaction—Differences and assimilation of this struggle compared with the Visigothic conquest—Position and history of the Mosarabes—Their voluntary and enforced migrations offer an explanation for the rapid increase of the Leonese population—Vestiges and effects of these migrations on Portuguese territory during the eleventh and twelfth centuries—Saracen element, and its direct action scarcely perceptible until the reign of Alfonso VI., when it acquires new strength—The Jewish population—Frankish colonies—Historical summary.

In the course of the narrative we have given in the six preceding Books, the reader has seen unfolded before him the scene of the political events which took place in Portugal, from its first days of infancy and weakness until the epoch when, having obtained a complete territorial development, she may be considered to have entered into full age. Her great scheme in the work of Anti-Mussalman reaction was completed towards the end of the reign of Alfonso III., when the pretensions for supreme power advanced by the Crown of Leon had been completely put aside, while the species of vassalage to the Papal tiara, although still at times asserted by the Roman Curia, was, as regards Portugal, no more than an historic tradition. And although in her institutions and national customs there might still linger a remnant of Leonese origin, they had become greatly modified, and the language itself altered to form a separate tongue, which civilisation was perfecting, and the Galician language no longer spoken but in one province, although still employed in the songs of the Troubadours.

The epoch had arrived when Portugal was, in view of its financial and political development, firmly and definitely established as an absolute independence, while the system of its organisation offers us an explanation for the action of this people and land, so territorially and numerically unimportant in the progress of the civilisation of Europe, and enables us to comprehend the insuperable resistance it offered for seven centuries to assimilation with the rest of the Spanish Peninsula. The study of the organisation of a country is ever independent of the influence of political events of grave importance, more particularly at this epoch, when the nations of Europe, painfully wounded by the incompleteness or evil of their organisation, are agitated, seeking new conditions of existence. In the midst of this great work of the human race, whether manifested in wrestlings of intelligence or in the sanguinary combats of the multitudes, the ages have been questioned, generations gone by have been asked for a revelation of its organism, of the conditions of the infancy of modern nations. The political revolutions of the last half-century have accompanied, in their march, the admirable progress made at that epoch by the science of history. To collect facts which constitute the life and development of the people is the principal profession of history, because by an orderly exposition of these facts it becomes converted into a science, useful in its application to the grave questions which laid the foundation of modern societies. With this intention do we endeavour to trace the internal situation of Portugal during the first epoch of her history. Generally, when reading the narrative which historians or chroniclers have left us of the Christian reaction against Islamism in the territory called Portugal, where a torrent of armed men crossing the Douro, and later on the Mondego and the Tagus, commenced gradually to curtail the Saracen dominion in the Gharb of Andalus until they cast them beyond the Guadiana, the idea arises that in the varied events which constituted this grand fact we see in imagination the wrestling of two peoples, each one united, and bravely seeking not only a simple triumph, but the exclusive existence of the disputed land. We imagine that the holder of the Gospel and the retainer of the Koran can only meet sword in hand or with lance couched; that from these no concord, truce, or mercy can be expected; that not even injury, as it flies from one or other side of the battle-field, is understood, because to the Gothic warriors, as well as to the Saracen legions, the language of the enemy sounds as strange and uncouth as their creeds are impious; that the odium existing between the two races, immense, inex-

tinguishable, has carved out an abyss; that the soldier, on crossing uncertain frontiers, which the fate of war changes year by year, and even day by day, casts himself into an algara, or nightly attack across fields and villages, must needs sink his weapon deep into the breast of the first whom he meets, or fling a burning fire-brand upon the first harvest-field or cabin it finds in the darkness. These are the food of the accursed infidel; and that compassion in their regard would be not only senseless, but even criminal; cruelty, piety, and atrocities being holy acts. That when engaged in annihilating the enemies of God, the conqueror has obtained remission of his sins, and the conquered the palm of martyrdom. To obtain heaven it suffices to combat and desolate; and that all paths lead to glory in life and in death.

Such is the idea which results from historic events seen in the light of our ancient historians—a false idea, owing partly to an incomplete or erroneous appreciation of the facts, and partly to ignorance or a voluntary omission of them.

It cannot be denied that in the territories which now constitute Portugal, as well as in the rest of Spain, the wars which took place during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, between the Christians and Saracens, and even in earlier times, partook of the character of a grand ferocity and of firm heroism, which induces the imagination to exaggerate the reality, and to forget that the historian ought to contemplate, not impassively, but above the poetry of human acts, in order to value them with true equity. Fascinated by the spectacle of religious enthusiasm which is the salient point of that lengthened strife, historians forgot that by its side existed other human passions, doubly violent and fierce, during this epoch of barbarism, and that these passions became daily converted to indifference or incredulity, not through perverted intelligence, but by brutal ignorance of these ardent beliefs: they forgot that ambition of power, vengeance, pride, fear, or covetousness, or, indeed, any of the numerous human passions, by counteracting or subduing the fervour of belief, were severing that social union due to the religious idea, and created, in contradiction to it, relations and ties that had their origin in political interests. It is unnecessary to adduce new proofs. The reader will find ample proofs in the preceding narrative. It suffices to remind him of the alliances which the Mussalman Ameers effected with the Leonese in odium to their co-religionists during the reign of Alfonso VI., and the adventures of the renowned Cid, ever combating whether the Christians at the

front of the Saracens, or these in front of the former, forgetting and recovering with singular facility ardour for the glory of the Cross. Even if we reject the fables which surround the memory of the famous Castillian *Condottiere*, he stands, as it were, as a symbol of the contrary idea, which predominates in the modern history of those eras—the unlimited repulsion between the sectaries of the two adverse religions. In Portugal itself, already dismembered from Leon, the union of Alfonso Henry and Ibn Kasi manifests to us an example of how easily policy or passions may cast into oblivion the identity of belief and religious odium. Hence it was not uncommon to see a Christian knight combating by the side of a Mussalman against the defender of the Cross and against the believer of Islam. The battle of Zalaka, in which thirty thousand Saracens combated on the side of the King of Leon and Castille, while numerous squadrons of Christian cavalry defended the standard of the Almoravide Yussuf, is one of the events which more clearly shows us how easily the barrier interposed between the two contending races became transposed. In this way do we also find mentioned in contemporary memoirs, or nearly so, that Alfonso VI. had taken to wife Zaida of Seville, and his pretensions that the son of this Saracen woman should reign in Christian Spain, which, in all probability, would have taken place had the Infante Sancho not perished in the battle of Ucles.

The explanation of these and many analogous facts is not difficult. In the wrestling which resulted from the Arab conquest and the Gothic reaction were repeated the phenomena usual to all conquests. The two nationalities absolutely repel each other, and the natural repugnances felt for the character, language, customs of the opposite race are manifested with ferocious energy; but by degrees the natural tendency for assimilation among men who are always coming in contact with each other begins to show itself. It was in this way that the Saracens and Leonese began to feel that their adversaries were fellow-beings, capable of good and bad effects; that they could appreciate their civilisation, compare it with their own, and appraise more or less imperfectly mutual superiority or inferiority. This comparison soon influenced both civilisations and modified them, and in course of time, in the midst of wars and devastations, or in servitude and dominion, sprang and multiplied kindly relations between the two people, notwithstanding that a division always existed, due to the diversity of origin and of faith, and of emulation for predominance

Those who read consecutively contemporary chroniclers who relate the phases of the great struggle between Christians and Saracens, from the invasion of the latter until the epoch when Portugal became dismembered from Leon, will perceive, in the complex of facts which each narrates, and which each, perchance, witnessed, and in the language and style of the writer, a reflection of the ideas and passions which dominated the race Hispano-Gothic, in relation to the Mussalmans. In the pages of Isidoro de Béja, who bears testimony to the horrors of invasion, and witnessed the end of the Visigothic Empire, is perceived a certain bitter tone of helplessness, of terror, in harmony with the scene of desolation and ruin which he drew; while in the chronicles, however, of Sebastian of Salamanca, and of Sampiro, and in the chronicle of Albaida (ninth and tenth centuries) appear the facts alluded to, and in the tone of the narrator, in the first a certain barbarous enthusiasm, in the latter an insulting phraseology or of odium, when he alludes to the Mohammedans, a style often repeated in the documents of those eras. To terror succeeded odium, since the reaction which was obscurely commenced in Asturias extended by frequent victories. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries are the period of greatest wrestling, until the balance turns against Islamism. Then do we feel that the spirits lessen the tension of the continual war sustained for so many years, and in the documents, in the style of the writers, the facts they describe, the irritation, the mutual malevolence, becomes softened, and manifests that these exist more on the lips than in the heart. The friendly relations which often become established between the Christian chiefs and Mussalmans, the usages, customs, and even the institutions which have passed from one society into another, show us that notwithstanding the opposition of beliefs, emulation, dominion: even of rivers of blood spilt, the two races become modified by the contact of one with another, and in studying the subsequent history of any of them we must needs bear in mind the action of its rival society, in order to appraise and duly understand the respective conditions of existence.

It was from analogous influences that in ancient times the Hispano-Roman society, which had itself resulted from a still more ancient fusion became incorporated into the Germanic society of the Goths. That fact, however, was more complete, principally because to the predominance of the barbarians had not succeeded the reaction of the vanquished —because among them, generally speaking, there existed the same religious belief, and also that in the epoch when the Visigoths

established themselves in Spain their customs and character had already in part become altered by the Roman civilisation. Hence, the primitive division of the two peoples is characterised by the diversity of jurisprudence, and in its subsequent fusion by its identity with it. During the sixth century, when the Visigothic Empire became definitely established in the Peninsula, preserving scarcely a limited portion of the vast territories of Gallias, the conquerors ruled themselves by their traditional customs, reduced in part, or altogether, to writing, from the reign of Alaric, at the commencement of the sixth century, and the Hispano-Romans, by the Roman law (*lex Romana*), compiled at that same epoch, and known among modern writers by the denomination of *Breviário de Aniano*. However, previous to the middle of the seventh century the two races had become sufficiently assimilated to establish a common legislation, as laid down in the so-called *Codice*, or *Book of Laws*, or of *the* Goths, and later on, *Foro dos Juizes*, the celebrated Visigothic Code, wherein the various barbarian and Roman institutions became mingled and modified, and where the last legal distinctions between conquerors and conquered were at length abolished. These two chief phenomenons in the history of laws in Spain are scarcely a manifestation of two diverse social situations. The promulgation of the *Brevario* by the side of a code of barbaric jurisprudence not incorporated by the iron hand of conquest signifies that the two combine, but in juxtaposition; and a common code reveals, on the contrary, that in the century and a half which had elapsed from the reign of Alaric until those of Chindaswintho and Receswintho were not passed in vain. The laws which provide the two races in rights and duties, laws which exclude any jurisprudence not contained in the national code, that sanctions the union of families of Hispano-Roman origin, as well as those of Gothic origin, are the effect, and not the cause; they are the recapitulation of a great social work, and not means sought for by princes to found a political union.

What passed in the Peninsula during the wrestling of Saracens and Leonese had, therefore, some analogy with that incorporation, more or less complete, which we shall have to consider under a diverse aspect. The mutual influence of the two societies, Christian and Mussalman, was inevitable, although it acted in a diverse manner. The natural antagonism of the Leonese and Arabs promoted it, besides the opposition of beliefs, although not intolerant, exclusive, or absolutely strange to the respective tongues, the continual battling of interminable, warfare, and

the complete separation of territories. Between the Goths and the Hispano-Romans there were none of these contradictions. Through the irresistible force of a superior civilisation, the vanquished had gradually introduced among the conquerors their language, although corrupted. When the whole of Spain was subjugated by the Visigoths the war ceased, and nothing more remained but passive malevolence on one side, and on the other the ruling without contradiction—odious and enforced relations that could not long resist frequent and close contact; hence it was not the country which was divided between the races by provinces or regions, but the soil that was curtailed, the Goths taking for themselves two-thirds of the properties, and leaving to the former inhabitants one-third. Hence, when these important circumstances, which had so largely contributed to form the Hispano-Gothic nationality, no longer existed, the mutual action of the Saracen and Leonese races became less active and rapid, although there remained the relative superiority of the two civilisations, whose reciprocal influence was undoubted. If, for example, the Saracens exceeded the Leonese in industry, luxury, cultivation of letters, and even in their administrative and fiscal system, the Leonese excelled them in their moral doctrines, due to a more perfect religion, in knightly honour, and in their political institutions, in which the never-forgotten traditions of Germanic liberty formed a notable contrast to the turbulent despotism which weighed upon the Spanish Arabs, and that seemed shaped for people of Semitic origin. It was by reason of these and other particular advantages that the two rival nations influenced one another; and at times, in order to explain the facts of civilisation among the Portuguese, it will be necessary to recur to the history of Arab civilisation.

The principal means by which the diverse elements of Saracen culture became introduced into the great Leonese family was due to a great portion of the Peninsula appertaining to the Mussalman society, although their way of living, customs, and even blood relationship, belonged by religion and civil laws to the Hispano-Gothic family. We refer to the Mosarabes, whose especial influence in the primordial organisation of the Portuguese Monarchy was, it appears, not appreciated. By limiting themselves to the investigation of political and military successes, historians only view superficially or altogether ignore the existence of the Mosarabes, whose intervention in the strife was scarcely more, generally, than indirect or passive, but whose action on civil society was, nevertheless, undoubted.

The invasion of the Mussalmans in Spain was not a conquest of extermination. But, as occurs at all times, the passage of the invaders was signalised by blood and ruin in proportion to the resistance offered; yet even in places where they had met with a more obstinate repulsion the Mussalmans did not always accompany victory with useless slaughter. After a long and daring opposition to the conquerors, the Gothic leader Theodomiro, who was defeated on the plains of Lorca, attained to effect with Abdu-l-aziz, the son of Musa, an advantageous arrangement. In the treaty, Theodomiro was acknowledged prince of the provinces of Valencia and Murcia, territories he had so fearlessly defended, the Gothic ruler accepting the supremacy of the Caliph. To his Christian subjects was assured the preservation of their property and the free possession of the Christian religion, the new masters of Spain pledging themselves to respect sacred places and the domestic sanctuary of home. The tribute which was exacted in compensation was moderate and proportioned to the means of individuals. During the period of greatest enthusiasm for conquering, the rule followed by the Mussalman generals, when taking other provinces of the Peninsula, was that laid down and established by the prophet for such cases, when a great number of inhabitants of the most notable places were left in pacific possession of their properties on subjecting themselves to the conditions of Islamism. These consisted in equalling those who should embrace the religion of the Koran to the Mussalmans by origin, and in fully protecting such as continued faithful to the religion of their infancy, so long as they paid the territorial and capitulation tributes established for infidels. Covetousness or individual violence at times offended against this just and prudent system, but the chiefs endeavoured at once to put down these disorders. Abdu-l-aziz-ben-Musa, Ayub, and other governors of Spain generally treated kindly the Spanish Goths. The Caliph Omar-ben-Abdu-l-aziz, ere scarcely a conquest had been effected, used to enjoin that the Christian worship be respected everywhere, which was fulfilled during the severe administration of Al-horr; and if any Ameer practised or allowed any such grievances to be done against their religion, he would be substituted by another Ameer, who would effect a remedy to the evil, and up to a certain point lessen the idea of lost nationality in the vanquished.

Therefore, while the nobler and more energetic spirits were taking refuge in the untractable mountains of Asturias, in order to form there an obscure nucleus of a new Christian monarchy, the greater number of

Goths, far from forsaking their homes, resigned themselves to the dominion of the invaders.

The chroniclers, when speaking of the Saracen conquest, depict to us the Christian population as, so to say, annihilated, a few of these saving themselves from the great cataclysm in the mountains of the north, these weak vestiges later on becoming the glorious race which was destined to liberate anew Spain from the yoke of Islamism. In this way did inexact traditions place facts in a false light. The history of the refugees in Asturias was for many years that of an obscure and exceptional event, while truly that of the Mosarabes is the history of the Spanish Gothic race. Free to follow openly their religion, protected by public authority, and preserving their properties in return for paying a tribute, in truth aggrieved by the covetousness of the Ameers, the people gradually became reconciled, since, perchance, they did not find foreign rule harder than the rule they experienced before the battle of Guadalete and of their natural chiefs, which would impel them not to sacrifice all these advantages simply for a vague sentiment of ambition. This is what is perceived, notwithstanding the exaggerations of Christian writers (nearly all of whom belong to the sacerdotal order) concerning the barbarism of infidels, and even the efforts of some Arab historians who wished to exalt the glories of the warriors of Islam by more highly colouring the scene of their ferocity.

We do not mean to say by this that during the first impulses of the conquest the ordinary scenes of horror were not enacted in these combats between nations against nations, or that the tyranny of Ameers and Walis and other public officers did not oftentimes embitter the existence of the vanquished; but it is our duty to examine in Arab memoirs whether these tyrannies did not weigh, at the same time, more or less heavily over the Mussalman population, which increased by degrees, not only on account of its natural development, but likewise through their migrations from Africa. If we give its proper due to the rudeness of the times, the despotic form of administration, and to human passions, in the history of the violences practised in the Peninsula during the Saracen dominion, we shall perchance find that never was absurd right of conquest so little systematically abused, never was tolerance associated in a more singular way with religious enthusiasm.

This tolerance, which proceeded from the character of Islamism, its maxims, its canons and laws, was not limited solely in Spain to concessions to follow silently their own creed, given to the inhabitants who

had been subjected to their power by the sword of Islam, or to celebrate their rights publicly; but it was manifested also in the respect shown to the institutions of the conquered and to their property. According to Mussalman jurisprudence, the pay or ground tribute (*karadjii*) and the capitation tax (*djzihed*) enabled the Christians to retain in their possession the lands they cultivated; and although by some subtle distinction their direct seigniority was held as a species of reserve bound to the benefit of believers, those possessing these properties were only deprived of them when they ceased to cultivate the lands. Besides the benefit derived from this general principle, the Hispano-Goths continued to be ruled by their civil laws, preserving not only their ecclesiastical hierarchies in the sacerdotal order, but also the distinctions of their peerage. Whether through bribes or natural indulgence, it is certain that the Christians, during the government of some of the first Ameers, obtained greater concessions than those assigned by treaties at the time of the conquests. As it was not possible to raise suddenly mosques for the worship of Islamism, the Arabs had consented to leave to the Hispano-Goths a certain number of temples, these yielding up others to them. During the government of the Ameer Al-haitham, or of his predecessors, this treaty was always strictly observed. Some churches had been robbed from the Nazarenes; but they had likewise erected others, which fully bears out the wealth and means of these men whom chroniclers would wish to depict to us as despoiled and reduced to the deepest misery. On being entrusted with the administration of Spain, in order to put a term to the disorders which were taking place, Abdu-rahman-ben-Abdallah (730) ordered the new temples of the Christians to be cast down, at the same time restoring to them those which belonged to them, and in this way strictly carrying out the treaties. A noteworthy example exists of the faithfulness of the Saracens in fulfilling the obligations contracted with the subjugated peoples in an anecdote recorded by Ar-razi. Abdu-rahman Ad-dakhel, the founder of the Ommyada dynasty, wished to erect the splendid monument, which still exists, known as the Mosque of Cordova (784), when he beheld himself in peaceful possession of Andaluz. The site chosen for the erection was an ancient Gothic church, which, on the occasion of the conquest, perchance, from the proportions of the erection, the Mussalman sanctuary was desired to be placed by its side. As, for the new mosque, it became necessary to take the land occupied by the Church,

the powerful Abd-u-rahman summoned together the principal individuals among the Christians of Cordova, and proposed to them the sale of the temple. This was refused, and the Ameer insisted in his pleading, offering them a large sum. At length they yielded, but on condition that they be permitted to rebuild a church which lay in ruins outside the city walls, yet receiving, nevertheless, the sums offered by the Ameer, sums which some historians say amounted to a hundred thousand *dinars*.

If the narrative of Ar-razi sums up in a characteristic fact the religious tolerance of the Saracen princes, and their respect for pledged conventions, the biography of two illustrious Mosarabes of Saragoza, written impartially, offers us a no less singular example of civil tolerance. Some phrases in the Acts of the Saints Voto and Felix afford us a glimpse at the position of the ancient Visigothic nobility under foreign rule. This rule must needs be light, since it allowed them to live, surrounded by clients and servants, in the midst of opulence and luxury, which left the profession of military glory open to them, and afforded them the pastime of hunting, an amusement almost exclusive to warriors in semi-barbarian epochs. The history of these youths seems to refer to the most brilliant epoch of the Visigothic Monarchy, had the pious hagiographer omitted to say that it belonged to the period of the *cruel* dominion of the Arabs.

But whatever be the political system adopted by a conquering people in relation to the conquered, the two societies, as we said, mingled with each other, more or less, and the two civilisations became mutually modified. Superior in letters, possessing a language which was incomparably more cultured than the Visigothic, gifted with more luxurious customs, more urbanity of intercourse, added to gentleness towards those whom the fate of war had placed at their mercy, the Arabs beheld in a short time the Hispano-Goths becoming accustomed to their customs and ideas, except their religious beliefs, in which, in spite of the dominators not acknowledging it, the latter possessed the advantage. In the century immediate to the conquest the influence of Mussalman civilisation had produced in them natural effects. National customs were obliterated, and the new generations transformed. The most brilliant minds became immersed in Oriental literature; philosophy, science and Arab poetry carried everything before them; and even barbarian Latin, the written tongue of the Hispano-Goths, became lost and forgotten in the midst of the pomps and elegance of the Arabic

dress, fashions, usages: all that constituted external life was Saracen. Some even went so far in imitation as to admit ceremonies which apparently placed them in the category of Mussalmans. On the other hand, the tolerance of the latter reached its height. At first the churches and monasteries were limited to a certain number, but now they were multiplying on all sides, while the ancient parishes ornamented their churches with the exquisite works of Oriental art. Entrusted with civil appointments, admitted into the military service, and the most noble among them receiving their education in the palaces of the Caliph of Cordova, in all externally the Hispano-Goths were only distinguished by the difference of places wherein they worshipped God. The voice of the Muezzin, calling the Mussalmans to prayer, became mingled with the ringing of the bell which announced to the Nazarenes that the hour for solemnising their worship had arrived. On proceeding to the Basilica, the Bishop would pass the Imaum, who was hurrying to the mosque; the priest would meet the Mohadi; and in the temples, standing together, would be heard in one the psalmist entoning the hymns of the Gothic ritual, and in the other the Alime, or Ulema, invoking in the Chotha the blessings of Heaven upon the Caliph. Lastly, the frequent marriages between individuals of both races prepared the complete fusion of them, which would eventually have taken place, had not the diversity of beliefs placed an insuperable barrier. The intolerance on one side of the Christian priesthood, and the excessive zeal of some ardent spirits, brought about irritation and odiums which degenerated into persecution. But although depicted in darkest tints by ecclesiastical writers, it appears this persecution was not so violent as they presumed to say. The persecuted considered it both their duty and right to proceed to the courts and mosques to hurl invectives against the Prophet of Islam. The judges, in obedience to the law, would then punish with death those who without any provocation insulted the dominant belief. Up to this point, notwithstanding the apologies of Eulogius and Alvaro in favour of those whom they considered as martyrs, and even granting that there had been excess in carrying out the rigour of the law, we cannot accuse the Saracen magistrates of exercising tyranny. At length the indomitable intolerance of the instigators awakened intense indignation in the breasts of the provoked ones, and Islamism, which held the greater power, passed at times the limits of justice and legitimate rights, the innocent becoming confounded with the guilty, and forgetting that the greater

number of Mosarabes of all conditions and hierarchies disapproved of the proceedings of their co-religionists, who not only rushed to death themselves, but brought on men of their own race and creed the animadversions of the Mussalmans by performing acts which, according to the rules of human prudence, were highly reprehensible.

Hence, the oppressions, whether great or small, which weighed over the Christian population of the Ommyade Empire during the last years of the caliphate of Abdu-r-rahman II. and the first of his successor, Mohammed, either never were so intense as we are led to suppose, or else they shortly ceased. Prelates, the lower clergy, the nobles and magistrates of the Christians used voluntarily to recur to the Saracen tribunals to protest against this fervour or zeal, which accused of cruelty the lords of Spain, because they would not allow that the conquered should insult their belief in the market-places and within their own temples. This procedure on the part of the greater number of Christians was sensible, judged humanly, and was calculated to produce on the spirit of Mohammed a good effect, because, having expelled from the palaces the Christian Mosarabes, and deprived those who were knights of their stipends, he sent for them a few years after to join the ranks of the army, or to employ them in his private service, without regard to their religious opinions. On the other hand, it appears this repression had contained the more turbulent in their exaggerated zeal for the propagation of Evangelical truths and the confutation of Islamism. About the middle of the tenth century, during the government of the celebrated Abdu-r-rahman III., the Mosarabes had generally adopted more moderate ideas, or rather less warm ones, and lived in sufficiently peaceful relations with their countrymen of diverse origin and faith.

Therefore the population of Hispano-Gothic origin, which continued to inhabit the provinces of Andalus, or *Spania*, as was generally designated by Christians the territories of the empire of Cordova, far from diminishing, was likely to increase in the succession of two or three centuries, according to the ordinary laws of the development of the human species, by the side of the colonies of Asiatic and African origin which the invasion and the dominion of the Saracens had brought from beyond the strait, and had progressively accumulated in Spain. It is to the association of these two elements that we are enabled to explain satisfactorily why in the course of the protracted and desolating wars with the monarchy of Asturias, and with the rest of the Christian States which were successively established on the eastern side of the

Peninsula, she did not become changed into a wild desert. In truth, the Mosarabes, in the midst of invasions, changes repeated over and over again of dominion, of breaches and raids, were those who necessarily suffered less in these violent political transitions and in these repeated devastations. In towns peculiarly situated along the changing frontiers of the two races, where it was not unusual within the course of a twelvemonth to be under the yoke of Spanish Caliphs or of the Leonese Kings, the Mosarabes, in their dual social character, could easily accommodate themselves to each of these dominions. The Saracens spoke the same language, wore the same dress, and were similar in customs, and even in family relations. On the other hand, between the Leonese and the Mosarabes there existed identity of origin and religion, community of laws regulating the civil rights and dues, and, in a word, the living traditions of the glories of the Gothic fatherland. Thus, if it was easy to the Mosarabes to accommodate themselves to one or other seigniority, it behoved the warriors, whether of Islam or of the Gospel, to respect the honour and property of those whom they could never hold as actual enemies.

The primitive monarchy of Oviedo, which had commenced by a few exiles, who were circumscribed within narrow limits, were compelled to live always with weapons of defence in their hands, and as a consequence partaking more of the pastoral than the agricultural element, and its population hidden, so to say, within the tangled forests of the Asturias, was necessarily weak in its origin, and most weak in relation to the Mosarabes. Reduced to the condition of warrior savage tribes, their development was naturally slow, as it is and has been in similar tribes at all ages and in all climes. But assisted by prowess and fortune, the Kings of Oviedo gradually widened the limits of their dominions. Scarcely more than half a century after the Saracen conquest, Alfonso I., taking advantage of the elements of reaction collected in those rough, wild places, sent them towards the south-east or the south-west, to repulse the Saracen forces which were invading the province now called Old Castille, and along Galicia. In the swift narrative of these events the monuments have preserved to us a noteworthy fact. While putting to the sword the Mussalmans who were unable to avoid falling into their hands by flight, the Asturian King sent all the Christian population of the devastated provinces to take shelter in the territories wherein the Visigothic independence had been preserved. This fact, which was repeated in subsequent raids, explains at once the rapid

increase of the monarchy of Oviedo, and the insuperable difficulties which the powerful empire of Cordova experienced later on when endeavouring to effect a decisive campaign against the fierce resistance offered to its absolute supremacy. The new State, while it became strengthened by the artificial development of the population, formed a barrier of defence, with its surroundings of waste places. But these men, who came more or less willingly to incorporate themselves with the Goths of Asturias, had lived for years in the midst of the Arabs, had altered, up to a certain point, their customs, and if they were as yet only imperfect Mosarabes, in the strict sense of the word, they had already experienced the influence of Saracen civilisation, which had commenced to act on the Asturian monarchy from its very birth. When speaking of Aurelius, the immediate successor of Alfonso I., contemporary historians mention a wrestling between masters and servants, a strife in which the latter, who had momentarily rebelled, were at length reduced to their former servitude. Who could these servants be but the numerous colonists of territories twenty times more extensive than the rough gravel plains of the Asturias, constrained, but a short time previously, to live subject to an unbridled soldiery? The existence of men of the lower classes among the exiles of Asturias, and in such numbers that they were able to effect a revolution against the warrior caste, would be incomprehensible unless explained by the forced migration during the epoch of Alfonso I.

Notwithstanding the submission of the colonists brought into the Asturias, the few historic vestiges which remain to us of those periods, respecting the two following reigns of Silo and of Mauregato, reveal a preponderance of the Mosarbe element. The Monk of Albaida tells us that Silo was at peace with the Saracens on account of his mother. What does this indicate but that the mother of Silo was an Arab, and his father probably one of those nobles who, though subject to the Mussalman dominion, had formed an alliance with the daughter of the conquerors—unions of which we have many examples, principally in the memorials of Eulogio? The Bishop of Salamanca informs us that Mauregato was the son of Alfonso I. by a servant. By fraudulently depriving his nephew Alfonso, elected King by the chiefs of the Goths, he took possession of the crown. The elevation of Mauregato, who was the son of a servant-woman, expelling the one chosen by the noble successors of the followers of Pelagio, and the maintenance of peace with the Saracens, fully offers, in our opinion, another evident sign that the

colonists were in preponderance once again among the warrior class. By the death of Mauregato, it appears, the latter recovered their supremacy in the election of Bermudo, who quickly forsakes the throne in favour of the youthful Alfonso, the elected of the Counts of Gothic rulers; but the idea of a violent reaction against the Mussalman conquest triumphs at once, because the social element which represents it again predominates. Alfonso II., in Oviedo, founds a presentment of the Visigothic capital of Toledo, and restores the ancient hierarchies of the Court and Church. The thought of the first exiles of the Asturias, vacillating during some years, becomes fixed, and the tendencies of political assimilation with the Saracens, brought by the migrations of the Mosarabes, grows weaker, until they disappear altogether during the two subsequent centuries.

One of the events which characterises not only the importance of the Mosarabic or nearly Mosarabic population of the new monarchy of Oveido, but likewise the close relation they bore to the Hispano-Goths, who continued living under the tolerant dominion of the Ameers and Caliphs of Cordova, is the introduction of the heresy of Felix of Urgel among the Christians of Asturias. A venerable old man, Elipando, the Bishop of Toledo, is the one who by his influence induced many to adopt the errors of Felix; and to him appealed the Asturian priests in their apologies of Catholic doctrine, and it is against him that they combated. The history of this heresy manifests to us that the moral action of the prelates residing among the Mussalmans was most efficacious in regard to the people subject to the crown of Oviedo.

We shall not, however, continue our investigations further during the ninth and tenth conturies for the reason why new migrations of Mosarbes came besides the first and most notable one ordered by Alfonso I. This research belongs to the historians of Leon and Castille, and one most interesting, as showing many events, especially in relation to the social order, under an aspect both novel and exact. To us one fact suffices—the rapidity with which waste places became populated that Alfonso, the Catholic, had placed between his States and the Mussalman frontiers. A century had scarcely elapsed since his death, yet Ramiro I. was raising an army in Galicia to invade Asturias, the principal province of the monarchy, which had revolted against him; Ordoño was repeopling Leon, Astorga, Amaia, and Tuy; while Alfonso III., following the example of his father and grandfather before

him, was widening the permanent limits of his own States as far as modern Beira-Alta, and, as it were, transporting the line of waste land to the south of the Herminian Mountains, and distributing Christian dwellers among the most notable cities of the territories of Leon and Astorga, and between the Minho and Mondego, or rebuilding others and expelling the Saracen tribes. On comparing the extension of the monarchy of Oviedo during the latter half of the thirteenth century, as far as we can judge from the narrative of contemporary monuments, with what we find had been acquired at the end of the ninth, it appears impossible that the colonies which had quitted that circumscribed extent could of themselves have sufficed to repeople these vast provinces, more particularly as the existence of these cities presupposes a rural population around them, as we find in records relating to Portugal to have been the case since the last epoch.

Hence it must be admitted that on beholding the Asturian monarchy, which at first was disorderly and uncertain, extending and constituting itself, and restoring more or less the traditions of the Visigothic empire, a portion of the Hispano-Gothic race which had bent to the foreign yoke came, notwithstanding Mussalman tolerance, to incorporate themselves into a society which, although less cultured, offered them greater affinities. The nobility, the turbulent, warlike spirits, all those to whom love of property or especial circumstances did not bind them to the land of Spania, had a powerful incentive for preferring to live under the sceptre of the Kings of Oviedo. This incentive was that of religion. In epochs of ardent beliefs tolerance was not sufficient for Christianity, at least for Christians of fervent minds. These needed to rule. It attributed to itself the right to cast injury and curses on the memory of the Prophet of Mecca. The desire of reprisals against this proceeding, the tyranny or individual fanaticism of the Mussalman chiefs, was frequently manifested in these imprudent demonstrations of some Christians to persecute them without distinction, and to satisfy evil passions. Hence the natural attraction between men of the same faith became strengthened by religious contentions, and these, again, multiplied its effects by the numerical development of Leonese society.

But restricting our observations on the elements of population which originated the modern Christian States from whence Portugal became constituted, we shall find that the Mosarabe element acted in a more distinct and efficacious manner in the midst of her other elements.

Towards the last quarter of the tenth century, not only were the two modern provinces of Minho and Tras-os-Montes populated, but likewise Beira-alta afforded the Counts large forces to oppose in manifest rebellion the Leonese troops, led personally by Sancho I., conqueror of Galicia, a province which also rebelled. We know for certain that at the commencement of this same century the diocese of Lamego had become sufficiently populous to render the residence of a bishop necessary in the restored See where already Divine worship was conducted by a numerous staff of clergy. Other documents of that epoch inform us that the territories between the Minho and Douro, and between Douro and the Mondego, were covered with churches, residences, and farmsteads, and this population, which lived, and certainly were not born, on the land, as were the sons of Cadmus, nor were they limited to the offspring of the few fugitives who had followed Pelagio to the wilds of Covadonga.

It is therefore conjectured that since the time of Alfonso I., in the successive entries effected within Mussalman territories, particularly in the reign of Alfonso II., who advanced as far as the mouth of the Tagus, where he sacked Lisbon, of Alfonso III., who sped victorious along the Gharb of Andalus, and in that of Ordoño III., who again invaded it up to Lisbon, new migrations of Mosarabes proceeded, voluntarily or otherwise, to inhabit the districts to the south of the Minho, which, by degrees, were becoming included within the permanent frontiers of the monarchies of Oviedo and Leon, and thus they gradually became populated. This population might, perhaps, include some of the families whom Alfonso I. compelled to follow him to the Asturias, and even some of the nobility, but the greater portion were descendants of the independent warriors of the north; but this alone could not constitute the whole population existing on the territories between the Minho and the Douro, and to the south of this river, towards the end of the tenth century. And in proportion as the conquests of the Christians became more rapidly extended towards the south, the progressive predominance of the Mosarabic element over the Leonese becomes apparent and proved by facts later on.

The invasions of Almansor at the end of the tenth century could not greatly alter the position of the Christian population in our modern territories to the right and left of the Douro. When Coimbra was retaken by the Saracens, and the frontiers of Galicia reduced to the line of this river, the inhabitants of Beira became subject to the

dominion of Cordova, but were not exterminated. The celebrated Hadjîb had friends among the Christian Counts of the southern provinces of Leon, and even among the most influential personages of Galicia; and even when Arab writers do not afford positive information that he respected the liberty and the properties subject to the allies, the character of the Hadjib would offer us the assurance that his triumphs, deadly for the Leonese warriors, yet would not weigh heavily upon the rural pupulation—that is to say, the greater number—because we have impartial testimonies of the moderation and justice of the Hadjib. Besides which, he was well aware that the extermination of the laborious and peaceful inhabitants of the reconquered provinces would only revolve to his own damage, independently that this proceeding would belie all the traditions of policy followed constantly in Spain by the Mussalman princes.

It behoves us, however, to give the true value to the general expressions of ancient historians when they depict to us the destruction and ruin of the territories which later on constituted our monarchy during the campaigns of the celebrated minister of Hixam. For this it is necessary to bear in mind that the working man or servant, or even, perchance, the simple tributary, did not claim a greater consideration than a beast of burden, or, perchance, a property of value. And if we picture in our minds the continual anxieties of his life, the precarious existence he led in the open places, and the almost exclusive importance which, for this reason, the cities and strongholds, encircled by rampart walls and garrisoned with soldiers and knights, possessed, wherein all means of defence were concentrated, and where in times of danger the nobles and well-to-do classes used to place for safety all their goods, wives and children, and sacred vessels—in a word, how different the civil life of those epochs was to our own—we shall then comprehend why the chroniclers, when beholding under subjection the great towns of a district, the castles reduced to ruins, their defenders dead or captive, described the territory as reduced to a waste. But we must not conclude from this picture that the invading troops, obliged to preserve themselves vigilant in order to put down resistance, and when victorious to continue their march, or, again, when repelled to retire without being annihilated, should spread themselves along the country to devastate and carry captive a population which numbered twenty or thirty times over that of the army, or put to the sword peacefully disposed men whom they would need to substitute when they should re-establish their

dominion. Even supposing the Mussalmans to be furious enough to commit these useless devastations, reasons of convenience, and even the impossibility of effecting this in the absolute manner we find described in these monuments, would compel us to understand these expressions in a restricted sense, and as referring specially to important castles and fortified towns. Positive facts confirm what reason dictates. It suffices to examine attentively the narratives of ancient chronicles to find in a certain sense the reverse of these same scenes of desolation which they so frequently offer us. The Monk of Silos, for instance, when asseverating that the Hadjib had devastated the cities and castles, and depopulated *all the country* up to the shores of the sea on the west of Spain, reminds us that, after his devastations, Almansor rendered tributary all the territories he had subjected. The chronicler was well aware that waste places were not rendered tributary, but in the first phrase he means the *cities* and the ruined castles, and their defenders slain, fugitive, or captive, forgetting the labouring classes and the villager. Then looking to the tributes which were coming in to fill the coffers of the Mussalman conquerors, this good monk discovers that the servants and tributaries continue to exist in those tracts of land which a short time before he had depicted as deserts.

It is certain that at times contemporary documents repeat the phrases of the chronicles which are more or less inexact, but it is from their character, their object, and from its own existence that the true state of the country, relatively to the population, may be deduced. At the commencement of the ninth century, the extreme western frontier of Galicia had, it appears, become extended to the south of the Douro, near its mouth along the sea-shore, to beyond the Vouga; but following the course of that river to the east, the Saracens had possession of the Castles of Lamego, Tarouca, S. Martinho de Mouros, and others, and consequently they retained the seigniority of the eastern territories of Beira-Alta, and perchance up to Pavia. From the Mondego to the Vouga the conquests of Almansor had taken a firm dominion, and held the military strongholds of Viseu, Seia, Coimbra, and other towns and castles defended by Mussalman garrisons, and only submitted or became reduced towards the middle of the century by Ferdinand the Great. It was through these districts that the army of the Hadjib had passed in its march to Galicia, and it was at the mouth of the Douro that the fleet met him with troops and provisions from Alcacer do Sal. The ancient Oporto, situated on the left margin of the river, was

necessarily taken or destroyed, and later on reconquered or rebuilt by the Leonese, otherwise it would be incomprehensible the dominion of the latter along the maritime shore. During the reign of Alfonso V. (999—1028) vestiges appear of the first attempts to recover Beira from the hands of the Saracens, when the prince died from an arrow shot at him during the siege of Viseu. In the time of his successor, Bermudo III., similar attempts were continued, until Ferdinand I. drives the Mussalman warriors to the south of the Mondego, and establishes this river the boundary of the monarchy on the side of Portugal. In all these invasions and repulses, with their combats lasting half a century, in the destruction and rebuilding of cities and fortresses, who would not imagine when reading the generic phrases of chronicles and of documents wherein they constantly assert the destruction of places, that these villages and destroyed residences, of uncultivated fields, of death and solitude extended on all sides from the Minho up to the Mondego? Yet of this same half-century, so turbulent, so steeped in blood, there remain original contracts, which prove the existence of villages and granges of an agricultural population, of wealthy landed proprietors, of monasteries and churches; in a word, of all that constitutes a country more or less populated in an ordinary situation, not only on the tract of land between the Minho and the Douro, but also along the districts of Beira-Alta, the theatre of wars which lasted almost without intermission for more than sixty years.

From what has been advanced, it will be seen that the greater portion of the Hispano-Gothic race accepted the fact of the Arab conquest, and under the tolerant shadow of the Moslem princes formed with the conquerors a political society which, if not compact, at least was united by common ties, even of blood—ties which in course of time becam closer, and tended to become still more so, had not the diversity of creed placed insuperable barriers. Thus we see that in the monarchy of Asturias, which was small and weak at first, rapidly increases in population, due to the forced or voluntary migration of the Mosarabes; the territories to the south of the Minho and the north of the Mondego become likewise repeopled and widened by the races coming down from Oviedo and Galicia to the south, independent of the continual influx of Mosarabes. Hence in Beira the Mosarabic influence laid its characteristic mark more deeply on the population than to the north of the Douro, and here more so than in modern Galicia, a fact which no doubt helped to consolidate more permanently the Saracen dominion in the districts

lying between that river and the Mondego during the first half of the eleventh century—a domination which was prolonged for sixty years.

These facts of the social order, which are deduced from the political wrestling which took place in the Peninsula between the Arab conquest and the Neo-Gothic reaction, are confirmed by documents. Excepting their creed and the rules of the ancient Visigothic civil laws, they had adopted in all external forms the Saracen ways of life, their language, dress, intellectual culture, and Arab arts and industry. When the Leonese received them as subjects, the Mosarabes did not suddenly abandon their habits of superior civilisation, perhaps never any great portion of their customs, rather on the contrary they introduced them into the Asturian-Leonese society.

The Hispano-Gothic subjects of the Saracen princes had preserved among themselves social hierarchies, wealth, liberty of worship, and, as a consequence, a numerous clergy. We see that in the ninth century Arabic was the polite language of the cultured classes, among the conquered and even of ecclesiastics, while it was rare to find any one writing Latin tolerably. The imitation of all Saracen customs became so common that the Mosarabes even practised circumcision in the tenth century. Sesnando, the district Count of Coimbra, after the reduction of the city by Ferdinand the Great, and in the events of his youth, the circumstances of which raised him to that important charge, the way in which he acquitted himself, and even the style of his decrees, are the personification of Mosarabism. The Monk of Silos, and with him Lucas de Tuy, tell us that Sesnando, taken captive from Portugal by Abed-al-Motadhed Ibn-Abed, King of Seville, distinguished himself by his talents, while the important services rendered to the Mussalman prince enabled him to become his principal minister, and when, later on, he forsook Abed and passed on to the party of Ferdinand I., he received from him the government of the newly conquered territories, and became the terror of the Saracens. In our opinion, the name of the father of Sesnando (David), and his being a member of a family of Coimbra who held landed property in its neighbourhood, ruled by the Mussalmans since the end of the preceding century, and the singular fact that from the position of a slave he rose in a few years to the highest offices, convinces us that he was a Mosarabe, and that the Monk of Silos, by making out that Sesnando was a captive, wished to disguise his odious behaviour to the Sevillian prince, who had exalted him to the post of first Wazir; which is improbable, unless we advance

that Sesnando, at least in appearance, laid aside his religion. However, it appears that the Wazir of Abed-al-Motadhed, after contributing to reduce Beira, was proposed the administration of Coimbra, and laboured to surround himself with Mosarabes. One of these was Paterno, the Bishop of Tortosa, who, coming to Zaragoza in 1064 or 1065 as ambassador of the Beni-Huds, met Ferdinand I. at Santiago, and on being besought by Sesnando, who followed the King of Leon, to rule the diocesan See of Coimbra, promised to do so, but which he did not do until the time of Alfonso VI., at the conjuncture when Sesnando, likewise ambassador for this prince in Zaragoza, bade the prelate of Tortosa fulfil his former promise. We also know that the Count of Coimbra received joyfully in the restored town such Christians as, forsaking the land of infidels, came to live in territories under him, and gave them fiscal properties, and behaved otherwise in a liberal manner. These favours were written by notaries, who were evidently Mosarabes, because if in them appear barbarous Latin vocabularies, the phraseology and style reveal a mind accustomed to the forms and elegancies of the Arabs. Finally, Sesnando, when adopting the Leonese titles of Count and Consul, did not altogether forsake that of *Wasir*, which was generally in use, and designated the appointment he held in Seville, a title which his immediate magistrates, probably Mosarabes like himself also adopted, since this title was not used or understood to mean the governor of a district throughout the kingdom of Leon either before or after this epoch.

In this way do we find that various events had coincided at the latter half of the eleventh century to strongly activate the increase of the race of Mosarabes in the population of the provinces which soon after were to become the nucleus of the Portuguese monarchy. But this action did not end here. Successively new families and fresh Mosarabic groups, withdrawing, whether forcibly or voluntarily, from the Mussalman society, came to associate themselves in these parts to the Leonese society. In the charter issued from Toledo to the inhabitants of Santarem, two years after the first conquest (1095), Alfonso VI. declares that, on the occasion of its submission, he had promised to the resident Christians to grant them exceptions and privileges. Notwithstanding the progressive enlargement of the Leonese States, and the wars and civil tumults which perturbed the Ameerships into which the empire of Cordova was dismembered, there were many Mosarabes who could not resolve upon forsaking the

society of the Mussalmans in the places adjacent to the territories where the triumphant Cross ruled. And, in effect, more than a century later, when the independence of Portugal had been established, and the victorious arms of Alfonso Henry carried terror and desolation beyond the Tagus and the Guadiana, among the numerous captives which he and his knights carried away from the frequent *algaras* in the Mussalman territories were hordes of Mosarabes—forced migrations, which contemporary writers describe to us as proceeding from a generous act on the part of the prince, who by this means liberated his fellow-brothers in creed from the yoke of the Infidels.

The definite result of all the facts which we have thus gathered together is that the preponderance of the Mosarabic element at the commencement of the monarchy was great among the inferior classes, while among the nobility evidently excelled the race Asturian-Leonese, because the descendants of the followers of Pelagio, born amid the roar of warfare, educated for a life of combats, aliens to the arts of civilisation, and constrained to seek protection solely by the aid of the sword, constituted warrior lineages synonymous with the noble State which was formed by reaction and by conquests. Many powerful and illustrious families of the Mosarabes came, in truth, to associate themselves, whether by changes in the districts wherein they lived or voluntarily, to the families who had preserved the traditions of independence; and although the military spirit was less strong in them, they had the moral superiority of never having bent to foreign dominion. Besides this, the Mosarabe knights, as we have seen, were admitted into the Saracen army, falling prisoners to their own co-religionists, poor and unknown among them, usually changed condition and fortune by incorporation with the soldiery, and happy that they did not remain to be bound to the Arab slaves whose position was worse than that of retainers or of servants by birth.

To these important elements of the primitive population of Portugal must be added others which, in part, were already united to them or became so later on; and although only accessories to the greater bulk of the Mosarabe-Leonese population, yet they influenced the development of the new society. We refer to the Moors or Saracens, the Jews, and the foreign colonies which came from beyond the Pyrenees. Three distinct groups in origin, laws, and customs, who, in part, continued to subsist without becoming intermixed, while the Leonese and the Mosarabes were hardly distinguishable by their customs, soon became incorporated

into a whole, since they were already, strictly speaking, by community of origin, civil laws, and religion

The Saracens who destroyed the Visigothic empire did not constitute one only people: they were an assemblage of diverse peoples, who had embraced or were gradually embracing Islamism. The army of Tarik, which on the Guadalete ended the dominion of the Goths, was composed in a great measure of Berbers, since the rest were a mere handful of Arabs, and the Mussalman troops which came successively to the Peninsula, and the colonies who followed them, were a mixture of men who, during the seventh century, had become incorporated with the religious society founded by Mohammed. To the Arabs proper of the Yemen were associated Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, inhabitants of Palestine—in a word, men from all the various regions which had submitted to the immediate successors of the Prophet. This fact was one of the greatest causes for the continual civil discords of the Saracens of Spain, and which more greatly contributed to weaken them, and thus facilitated the progress of the monarchy of Asturias. The variety of Mussalman colonies that already existed in the Peninsula ere thirty years had barely elapsed after the conquest, the wrestling for predominance among them, which almost exclusively constitutes the history of that epoch, compelled the Ameer Abul-Khatar to divide these diverse people among the Visigothic provinces. To the Egyptians and Arabs fell the south of modern Portugal, the districts of Lisbon, Beja, and Faro, and a portion of Murcia; to the *Emessenos*, Seville, Niebla, with their territories; those from Palestine dwelt in the territories of Sidonia and Algesiras, and so on. But the mutual opposition of these different colonies was never so deeply characterised nor so important as that of the colonies of the Moghreb or the Berber race against these same rival peoples. Malevolence, whether manifested in long, sanguinary battles between the Asiatic and African tribes, lasted until the latter obtained a decisive triumph—an undoubted triumph even in the twelfth century, when the Almoravides and the Almohades, tribes purely African, established their dominion successively in Mussalman Spain.

Whether the Leonese rulers frequently took advantage of the enmities and contentions which emulation and dislike of the race engendered among the sectaries of Islam, to liberate the land of their forefathers from the foreign yoke, or whether they often intervened in favour of either side, their view was none else than to curtail their dominion, by destroying or repulsing them until they should drive them beyond the

sea, or subjugating them to the Christian yoke. Up to the eleventh century the result of the victories and conquests of the successors of Pelagio was, as a rule, the extermination or captivity of the conquered in its most absolute form. The idea of tolerance, the policy of converting enemies into subjects, and of incorporating them into the masses as free individuals and colonists even in a state of servitude, was unknown. Inoffensive men and women, captive children and the aged taken during the raids and *algaras* were considered beneath the human species; they were spoils of victory, as household chattels, goods, or animals, and became divided among the soldiery, exchanged, sold, bequeathed, or bestowed on the churches and monasteries. Such was the fate generally of the inhabitants of any city, castle, or Mussalman *alcuria* which might fall into the hands of their Christian adversaries until the reign of Alfonso VI.—a fate, however, which was less hard than that of captive warriors, placed in irons if not redeemed by large sums or not exchanged for Christian prisoners. The conquests of Alfonso VI. partaké of a different character. Odiums had gradually grown weaker, while relations had become more frequent between the two societies. Alfonso himself found hospitality among the Saracens when he was unfortunate, and learnt to value them better. Since that epoch, the Mussalmans who had submitted were not deprived of liberty; they became subjects of the Leonese crown, and the tolerant policy which princes and Ameers, and later on the Caliphs of Cordova, had pursued was finally adopted by their enemies. The conquest of Toledo offers us a memorable proof of this change, and in the following century, and still more so in the thirteenth, we find this idea and change predominating in Portugal after it was constituted as an independent State. The position of the Moors or Saracens who lived in the midst of the Christian society we shall explain in another part of our work, under the double aspect which this portion of the population, divided into bondsmen and free, offers us. Here we consider the individuals of the Asiatic and African race solely as elements of population; therefore we limit our observations to the influence which they exercised on its increase.

During the first epochs of Asturian reaction, contemporary chronicles, or those nearest those times, when narrating invasions and victories, do not speak to us of captives nor of exchange of prisoners. In the destruction of the troops of Munuza by Pelagio, Sebastian of Salamanca tells us that all were put to the sword; not a single Saracen

remained within the defiles of the Serras of Asturias. The same system was adopted by Alfonso I. in his invasions: the Christians (nearly Mosarabes) he would bring to Oviedo, but the Mussalmans he slew. In the battle of Ponthumio, given by Froila, his son and successor, Omar, the leader of the enemy's army, was put to death after being taken prisoner. Alfonso II., having sheltered in Galicia a rebel Wali of the Caliph of Cordova, soon found a motive or pretext for destroying him and all the Mussalmans who had followed him. But about the middle of the ninth century this ferocious system appears to have become modified. Respecting the taking of Albaida by Ordonho I., the chronicler confines himself to vaguely affirming that the defenders of the city were put to the sword; and when speaking of the conquest of Salamanca by the same prince, he expressly says that he ordered all warriors to be slain, but took captive the inoffensive inhabitants, with their wives and children, and later on put them up for sale. This procedure, less barbarous, continued to be adopted, and even became modified. The Wali Abu-Walid, on falling into the hands of Alfonso III., was liberated by a ransom of a hundred thousand *soldos*, and the defenders of the Castle of Quinicia Lubel scarcely one-half were sacrificed. The barbarous eulogiums of the chronicler Sampiro to Garcia, son of Alfonso III., are reduced to summing up the desolations and conflagrations with which he scourged the Saracen territories and the taking of a great number of captives. Ramiro II., in the battle of Oxoma, took many prisoners, and from the taking of Talavera he brought seven thousand slaves. Lastly, in the invasion of Ferdinand the Great on the side of Portugal, the Moorish captives in Seia were divided between the King and the soldiers. In Viseu, where the Leonese prince avenged the death of his predecessor, Alfonso V., the conduct of Ferdinand, compared with the sanguinary traditions of his race, might well be qualified as moderate, because he contented himself with mutilating the hands of the archer who slew Alfonso V., and distributing the other captives among his soldiers. The Moors of Lamego, who had escaped at the first assault, were loaded with chains, and sent to work in the construction of the sacred buildings which were erected in various parts. Lastly, the dwellers of Coimbra, when they delivered themselves up at discretion, found in the conqueror a more generous proceeding. The monarch merely expelled them from that territory, ordering all the infidels to pass beyond the Mondego.

The influence of the Saracen element must have been small in the

population of the Leonese States until this epoch. The reason of this is obvious. These groups of captives, composed mostly of the aged, women, and children, distributed among the houses of the knights, subject to all manner of oppressions, to brutal treatment, far from multiplying by the ordinary progress of population, diminished, unless their ranks were reinforced by new groups of hapless ones whom the ferocity of their masters, misery, and sickness continually dismembered. The history of the negroes of Africa, who were transported to America by the thousands every year, yet never seemed to increase over-much among the other races, as it might seem the case, in the course of three hundred years, enables us to comprehend how small was the result of this increase of people of Saracen origin, who were cast amid the Neo-Gothic society up to the middle of the eleventh century, until a more generous and wise policy was adopted.

As we affirmed, this policy was manifested and characterised in an evident manner during the reign of Alfonso VI. This extraordinary prince had learnt during days of misfortune and exile to contemn the preoccupations, the odiums and vain exclusiveness which small intellects and mean hearts associate with the love of their country. He felt that Leon was a semi-barbarous country, that beyond the Pyrenees, and particularly beyond the Saracen frontiers, there existed a more advanced civilisation—at least, the acts of his life prove that he was well aware of this fact. It was during the reign of Alfonso VI. that the Frankish clergy came to influence the Leonese clergy with their ideas and authority, and that many knights and lords obtained high appointments and favour at the Court. It was also at that epoch that the Mussalmans inhabiting the towns which had submitted to the Christian King—that King who had even taken to wife an infidel woman—found in the conquerors tolerance, protection, and civil liberty. The concessions made to the Moors of Toledo, by which they were allowed to hold property, various exemptions, civil rights, and freedom of worship, proceeded from a political system of gentleness, which is vividly depicted in the following case. Soon after the surrender of the city, Queen Constancia and the Archbishop Bernard, in an accession of fanaticism, ordered the principal mosque, which had been reserved for the worship of Islam, to be forcibly occupied. When Alfonso VI., who was in Sahagun, was informed of this, he at once proceeded to Toledo, and declared, in a fit of passion, which no doubt was simulated, that he would punish his wife and the prelate for this act by putting them to

death by fire. The offended party, believing this exaggerated indignation, implored in favour of the culprits, and voluntarily yielded up their right of restitution and vengeance. As was natural, Alfonso yielded to the supplications to spare their lives, and the mosque remained in the possession of the despoilers, greatly to the joy of the prince, who thus obtained the temple without losing his pledged honour. This sincere effusion, narrated by Rodrigo Ximenes, who tells the anecdote, reveals to us how much there was farcical in that otherwise grave scene. The conduct, however, of Alfonso VI. proves that he fully understood the advantage of persuading the Saracens to submit to his authority, since they would find tolerance, favour, and loyalty.

The system adopted in the restoration of the ancient capital of the Visigothic empire was pursued in the later conquests of this reign, since we find memoirs and documents to that effect. In Santarem, for example, reduced in 1093, is seen by the charter of the Christians that the Saracens had, at least in part, continued dwelling there under the immediate protection of the King or of his officers. When Valencia submitted to the celebrated Cid (1094), the Mussalman inhabitants obtained from the Christian chieftain equally advantageous conditions as those obtained by the dwellers of Toledo. When Portugal was separated from Leon, and continued its progressive extension by conquests along the south of Estremadura, Alemtejo, and Algarve, we notice that in the greater number of the important and most populated places the Moors continued to reside free who had accepted by treaties the dominion of the Nazarenes, side by side with those who, more rebellious or less fortunate, had escaped death in the combat to fall into slavery. Among these treaties, from whence the vanquished derived advantageous conditions, one of the first and most notable was the charter given by Alfonso I. to the Moors of Lisbon, and is a type of others which were given during the same reign to the Moorish inhabitants of some towns beyond the Tagus, and which, in the time of Alfonso III., were promulgated, almost without exception, in favour of the Saracens who still resided in the province of Algarve; meanwhile that the Kings of Leon and Castille were employing similar means in the provinces newly united to their crowns, in order to moderate or altogether annul resistance, and also to increase the number of their subjects by the Arab-African race.

Hence from the eleventh century the influence of the Mussalman

races in the progress of populating Christian Spain acquires an historic value which hitherto it had not had. In Portugal, constituted as a separate kingdom, the two forms of association of this element—by captivity or submission—march together. The first was of little efficacy, but not so the second. The free Moors of the communes, although subject to greater taxes than the Christian subjects, were nevertheless protected in their lives and property, their creed and liberty. Hence the Saracen population not only simply maintained themselves, but prospered in a proportionate manner to the increase of Christian population. Moreover, the natural ill-will which might exist between two peoples who for ages disputed the dominion of the soil was tempered by the influence of the ancient Mosarabic families which preponderated in those places, and who, if their origin and faith differed from the Moors, yet were linked to them by motives of good-will and sympathy.

The Jews, like the Saracens, were scarcely an accessory to the total of the population of Christian Spain at the epoch of the individual existence of the Portuguese nation; but the form and conditions of their accession were diverse. The Hebrew race existed in the Peninsula before the invasion of Tarik and Musa; it existed in this region, as in all others where Christianity was dominant, oppressed and vilified; but in no country has its legislation, whether Roman or barbarian, been more inspired by such persecuting and deeply malevolent tendencies against the Israelites as in this province of Europe during the last epoch of the dominion of the Goths. The Visigothic code of laws, wherein is found compiled the laws of the various reigns respecting the Jews, is a model of ferocious intolerance. The resolutions of the Councils of Toledo, collected together in a great part in that code, tend to bringing them over to Christianity by all means without becoming mixed with the Hispano-Gothic population, or else to exterminate them legally by fire and sword. The particulars of this legislation, and up to what point its influence lasted at the commencement of the monarchy, will be considered at its proper time. During the epoch of the Mussalman conquest it had produced its effect. The desire to cast off the hard yoke under which they lived induced the Jews to enlist in the Mussalman party. In the reign of Egica (687—701) they already laboured to induce the Mussalmans to invade Spain, a project in which they were helped by their co-religionists of Africa, in regard to whom the chiefs of Islam had followed the invariable system of leaving at liberty to follow their creed and worship the people they subjugated.

When this conspiracy was discovered the Hebrew race were reduced to slavery, deprived of their properties, and compelled to abandon their own children to be instructed in the Christian religion. These conditions, severe to the verge of barbarism, produced what all violent persecutions do. When favourable circumstances brought about the realisation of the desires of the proscribed race, the Mussalman invaders found in them ardent and loyal allies. The army of Tarik in a great measure was composed of Barbary Jews, who had a short time previously embraced Islamism, perchance only in a simulated manner, in order to save their brethren. This was another motive for uniting them to the conquerors.. Hence we see that, as a rule, the Saracens, in order not to further curtail the diminished forces with which they subjected the Peninsula, used to deliver up the guarding and defence of the cities they submitted to Hebrew garrisons, and this not only proves how much the Jews contributed to secure the Mussalman dominion, but also how largely they numbered among the population.

Notwithstanding the rigour of the Visigothic laws newly imposed within the monarchy of Oviedo and Leon, those which affected the Jews became modified and relaxed. So greatly had the Jews increased in the territories of the Leonese Kings towards the eleventh century that severe providences were taken at the Council of Coiança (1050) respecting their intercourse with the Christians. The code of Alfonso VI., which regulated the manner of resolving civil and criminal contentions between Christians and Jews, are nearly alike for both races, and manifests the consideration which the Hebrew people merited. In effect, when municipalities are founded and multiplied we find the Jews established in some of the most important ones, and, moreover, protected by especial privileges. At the commencement of the twelfth century they formed a large portion of the population of Burgos, the capital of Castille, and they intervened in the civil wars of that epoch. Records still exist that some who resided in Toledo were killed in a popular mutiny against them, a mutiny which probably arose from their perseverent covetousness, and its result, wealth, characteristics which at all times have been the distinguishing mark of the Jews. A curious circumstance, which shows how they had mingled among the Christians, is the fact of whole villages or towns existing composed of Jews—a fact of which Portugal offers us an example. In the particular history of their social situation during the periods of political events described in the preceding Books, we shall have occasion to consider the

great importance the sectaries of the law of Moses acquired among the Portuguese.

How, then, had they become dispersed along the territories of the Leonese monarchy, notwithstanding the severity of the Visigothic laws? What we said in respect of the Mosarabes and the Saracens enables us to advance the reason, although documents are wanting to prove it in a positive manner. In the social confusion consequent on the state of the Peninsula during its ages of reaction, the Jews living under the Arab dominion followed the fate of the rest of the inhabitants of cities and lands of Andaluz. At first they were the victims of the inexorable sword of the first Asturian conquerors and the Leonese, or placed in irons and subject to the cruellest slavery; later on they participated with the Saracens in the tolerant system which had been adopted towards the end of the eleventh century. Relatively to these, and to the Mosarabes proper, they had the advantage of the character which has always distinguished this wandering, persecuted race—that of enduring suffering—and the singular mixture of passive contumacy and sweetness of disposition, gifts most valuable to brave the stormy existence of those times. Obscure, on account of the species of moral reprobation which hung over them, and loving obscurity, strangers by origin and faith to both contending people, and solely bent on accumulating wealth, which no doubt often afforded them the means for recovering liberty, saving their lives, and acquiring powerful protectors for days of anguish and desolation, although this very wealth might awaken popular envy and odium. In a word, the history of the Jews during those dark ages must have been, in their principal lineaments, what they ever were in all countries since they ceased to be an independent nation, until modern times.

It remains to us now to speak of the men beyond the Pyrenees who, in the midst of the struggle for reaction, came to join the Leonese society. The denomination of Franks (*Franci*), too vague to embrace the population of France and of a part of ancient Germany, became more vague still in the Peninsula, because it was indistinctly given to the natives of the various countries of Europe. During barbarian ages, when warfare constituted the rule of life, and in which rapine found constantly motives or pretexts for satisfying its thirst, the spectacle of what was passing in Spain, particularly after the Leonese monarchy had become so powerful that she advantageously battled against the Saracen dominion, excited warriors or ambitious men to

seek fortune in these regions. A similar fact as that which impelled the Crusades, and urged thousands of men to proceed to Syria, naturally induced others to come and combat with the Spanish Mussalmans. Covetousness and bellicose passions were likewise concealed under the splendour of religious enthusiasm. Up to that epoch, that is to say up to the last half of the eleventh century, France had exercised a more or less direct action on the kingdoms to the east and north-east of the Peninsula, but its influence in Leon was not small. The family relations which Alfonso VI. contracted in that country, the military character of this prince, and his ideas of reform and progress, in which he was not always fortunate, brought to the Leonese States a large concourse of nobles, knights, and French ecclesiastics. Moreover, after the conquest of Toledo, the Bishop of the restored See of the Visigothic capital was a former monk of Cluni; likewise many bishoprics were filled by French ecclesiastics, or those who had lived there and adopted their ideas. We have seen, besides, that Alfonso selected two individuals born in France for his sons-in-law—a fact with which is linked the history of the separation and independence of Portugal. We also know that numerous companies of Frankish knights assisted the son of Ferdinand the Great in his warlike undertakings, at least in the latter ones of his long reign; and the mixed charter of Toledo, where, even in 1101, there were none but Mosarabes and Castillians, proves that, in 1118, at least a part of that foreign army had become incorporated to the bulk of the population. During the period when Alfonso I. of Aragon ruled the States of his wife, D. Urraca, or part of them, vestiges are found of fresh troops from beyond the Pyrenees arriving, and also that this prince employed them in his campaigns against the rebel Leonese; and, moreover, in that age of anarchy we find Frankish knights hired by private individuals to defend them from their political adversaries.

These facts invested French society with a certain influence of a special character over the Neo-Gothic society. The majority of individuals of French origin who came to the west of the Peninsula belonged to the privileged classes, such as the clergy and warriors, hence they mingled but little with the bulk of the population. They might, and up to a certain point did, alter ecclesiastical discipline, the ideas and customs of the nobility, and introduced some principles of political and civil jurisprudence into the country foreign to the Gothic traditions; but they could not easily influence in any marked

manner the inferior classes, rendered more difficult on account of the existing relation between the masses and the powerful classes being such that it precluded an assimilation of the two.

In Portugal, from the first events which constituted the history of its independence up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the introduction of elements of population drawn from Central Europe was of greater significance than in Leon. The founder of this independence was from Burgandy. Ambitious, daring, associated at least once with the military expedition of the Crusades, and with no powerful relatives among the nobility of Leon, all things counselled him to join native knights and soldiers, or those selected for the armies which were to proceed to the East, and to introduce foreign colonists into territories where ambition incited him to found for himself and heirs an independent State. In the few memorials existing concerning Count Henry, we find vestiges of both causes. In effect we know that during the civil wars which desolated Leon after the death of Alfonso VI., Count Henry proceeded to France to enlist troops, which proves that he adopted the system we attribute to him. When he established his Court in Guimarães, he brought a colony of French, to whom he gave a district to live in close to his palaces. Of another foreign colony, whose coming, no doubt, dates from that epoch, are found vestiges that this colony established itself in Alto-Minho. The name of one of its individuals, who, on account of oppression, induced a revolution, even during the lifetime of the Count, in Coimbra, the principal town of the country, convinces us that some of the Franks held public appointments. Added to this, the introduction into Portugal of the Orders of the Temple, Hospital, and of the Sepulchre, whose knights brought with them a numerous suite, and who were moreover largely endowed in the less populated territories of the frontiers, enables us to judge how large must be the number of foreigners distributed about the kingdom before its independence became definitely established.

Later on the reader has seen that in the first reigns colonists from the north came seeking a new nation in Portugal. Municipalities were created, composed entirely of Franks, as those first established in Atougia, Lourinhan, Villa-Verde, Azambuja, Cezimbra, and Ponte do Sor. The fleets of the Crusaders, whilst assisting to conquer important cities, such as Lisbon and Silves, left in them ecclesiastics who were raised to the highest dignities of the restored churches. Records speak to us of these individuals; but we believe that others

likewise resolved to remain in this country, so superior in every way to the severe climate of their native land. And in effect documents are still extant in which figure names of obscure foreigners. Dispersed among the native population, it would be difficult in our days to state their number; but it suffices to remember how greatly, at least during the reign of Sancho I., the idea pervaded of populating the south of the kingdom, which was thinly inhabited, by sending expressedly outside the kingdom for colonists, and if we likewise bear in mind the great number of towns founded by strangers, as well as the supposition that these induced others to come, we shall understand how the influence of the Frankish element in the peopling of our provinces, especially in that of Estremadura and Alemtejo, was far more important than in Leon, because these became associated with the masses, and contributed to increase and extend the municipal corporations.

We have considered the population of the monarchy in its infancy, and indicated its diverse origins. In summing up what we advanced, we find that among the masses predominated the Mosarabic race, that is to say, the descendants of the Hispano-Goths, modified by the influx of civilisation, and in a manner by Saracen blood; that among the nobility prevailed likewise the race, Hispano-Goth, but free from servitude, energetic and independent, of the exiles of Asturias, mingled, we do not say up to what point, with the natives of those mountainous wild ravines; that the bulk of the population was composed of these two groups; that the Saracens and Jews, although after their conversion they might have become lost among the Hispano-Goths, were separated almost entirely by their creed, and reduced as foreigners to an especial political position, formed distinct groups, these distinctions subsisting even after the first period of our history. As regards the knights or colonists beyond the Pyrenees, their brethren in faith, and even by customs, to the people to whom they joined, this element gradually lost its individual characteristics, and became incorporated in such a manner to the whole of the Christian population that at the end of the period we are treating upon the municipalities purely foreign could only be distinguished traditionally from the other municipalities, while even among the nobility disappeared all vestiges of diversity of origin.

These facts show us the method to be followed when studying the primitive social history of Portugal. Three societies in juxtaposition inhabit the land—the Christian, the Saracen, and the Jewish—but the

first, predominant and incomparably more numerous, conceals the two others in its shadow. Simply accessories to her vast edifice, the examination of their position, of their relation to the great bulk of the nation, must follow the study of the character of Christian society, of the complex of her institutions, customs, and laws.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

PART THE SECOND.

Preceding considerations on the municipality and liberty — The position of the people previous to the establishment of councils — Great division of the population in the time of the Goths — Nobles and plebeians —Predominance of the Hispano-Roman race among the latter — The principal characteristics which distinguish the two great divisions of people — Roman traditions respecting imposts and conditions of persons — The influence of these traditions on the Visigothic monarchy— Popular subdivisions—Taxes—Free colonists—Serfs or slaves—Germanic and Roman origin of servitude—Servitude among the Visigoths, and its varieties—The liberated and the free—The position of the people after the Arab conquest and during the Christian reaction—The tumultuous state of the population of Asturias—Diverse influences on the primary organisation —New characteristics of servitude—The enrolled—Free men of the inferior classes—*Presores* by inheritance, tributaries, rustics *juniores*, labourers— —The distinction and value of these various designations—Conclusion.

We have seen which were the elements of population that had gathered together on Portuguese soil during the infancy of the nation. The Hispano-Gothic race, although modified by foreign influences, not only predominated in numbers among individuals of diverse origin, but also constituted almost exclusively society, whether incorporating to itself other elements or maintaining itself separated, and by this separation proving its own inferiority. It behoves us now to study the internal temperament and social organisation of that dominating race which constituted the nation, and to which the others could barely be considered as accessories. It is necessary for us to examine the physiology of this moral body, whose external life we have endeavoured to trace, and investigate the position of the greater number of the people; then of the privileged classes, of exceptional individuals, and observe attentively the mechanism of public administration and civil laws; and, in a word, attempt to delineate the scene of the internal existence of the State, and the mutual relations which united all its members. This is an arduous undertaking, and difficult to carry out, because this species of history, deepest of any, was contemned by historians for a great length of time.

Scarcely more than half a century has elapsed since the first attempts were made to rend asunder the dark shadows which concealed the character and temperament of the primitive epochs of the monarchy. In truth, notwithstanding many imperfections, these attempts are at times veritable landmarks, to point out to us here and there the road we should follow in tracing these vast solitudes, and like uplifted posts on its most salient points, show us its existence, but which are far from shedding light into all the vales and windings of the desert. Like those which have preceded this one, our work will probably be incomplete, but we console ourselves, however, that most certainly our efforts in the progress and interests of history will not be altogether lost. Larger intelligences will come to gather together the dispersed materials which we have been unable to collect, or to make a better use of those we have found. Then Portugal will contribute with a most useful monograph towards obtaining the result of the immense historic labour of Europe, that of creating a science of the past, whose doctrines, dependent on general facts and in every side uniform, will render this science one of application, to assist in resolving more than one problem of future social organisation.

At all epochs, and in every country, two principles actuate human associations—one of the moral order, intimate, subjective; the other material, visible, objective. The first is the innate sentiment of dignity and personal liberty, the second the constant and indestructible fact of inequality among men. The internal revolutions of societies, their external wrestlings, the very changes, slow and peaceful, of its temperament and organisation, constitute phases more or less perceptible in the ascendency which one or other of these principles takes in its constant wrestling with itself. When searching to the very pith of some great historic fact we ever find this perpetual combat. Conquests, despotism, oligarchies, be whatever their name, are only diverse manifestations of the predominance of this same principle of inequality, whether it shows itself in brute force, or in dexterity and intelligence, or in wealth. Resistance, successful or not, of nationalities or democracies, so long as these do not degenerate into the exclusion and tyranny of the greater number, are manifestations of human dignity and liberty, of the subjective principle, or of conscience. These two facts being indestructive and undoubted, it becomes the great social question to poise them, and not attempt the impossible by assuming to annul one or other, because it was God who stamped the one on the face of earth, and wrote the other on the human heart. The futility of

all attempts in this age to place society on new bases, the frequency of the terrible shocks which have agitated Europe, when attempting to regenerate it, proceeds, perchance, if not from the exclusiveness of the parties which represent the two ideas, from the denial of legitimacy with which they mutually treat one another. These two tyrannical powers, looking on the great battle-field wherein the future is disputed, await its issue to know which of them is to take its seat on the throne of the world—absolute democracy, which belies human inequality, or the oppressive and materialistic oligarchy, which scorns the aspirations of the heart and has no faith in the conscience of the masses, and confounds the fact of superiority with the right of oppressing the popular classes, whose members are to them simply machines of production, calculated to afford them the comforts and pleasures of life. But whatever be the issue of the strife, the peace resulting from the exclusive triumph of one of these principles can never be lasting, because this triumph arrogates the condemnation of an eternal law which it is not legitimate to offend with impunity, because never can liberty and peace subsist so long as mutual concessions do not render possible the co-existence and concurrence of the two principles.

The history of political events, which is no more than a summary of the experiences of the human race, whether in its internal life or in the external one of nations, becomes reduced to describing phenomena that are more or less notable of this interminable strife. The conquest undertaken or realised by the stronger corresponds to the resistance or the reaction of the weaker, the despotism of one against the conspiracies of many, oligarchic oppression against a democratic revolution. But none of these facts brings a definite situation. At the conclusion of the battle in which one of the two principles absolutely triumphs commences the preparations for victory of the adverse principle. In this way history offers a constant protest of liberty against active inequality, and at the same time proves to us that all efforts to substitute it for an absolute equality have been useless, and that efforts have degenerated into a popular tyranny, the abuse of numerical inequality, or strengthen still more the despotism of one or the tyrannical predominance of intellect, daring, or wealth.

Enlightened by the light of a triumphant Gospel, the Middle Ages, the epoch of the foundation of the modern societies of Europe, offer us, in the complex of their institutions and tendencies, the commencement of

the solution to the problem which the ancient world did not know how to resolve. Divers causes prepared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the establishment of absolute monarchies, which prevented the logical development of those institutions, in truth incomplete and barbarian, but which, in spite of their rudeness and imperfection, contained the elements to balance inequality with liberty. Far from denying or condemning the differences of intelligence, material force, and wealth among men, or to attempt to vainly destroy them, the democracy of the Middle Ages representing the principle of liberty, acknowledged and entirely accepted it, but, for that very reason, manifested admirable instincts in organising and forearming itself against the anti-Liberal tendencies of these superior powers. Similar instincts produced the councils or communes, those asylums of popular rights, those powerful associations of working men against the wealthy classes, against the violent and absolute manifestation of the principle of equality, and against the cancelling of the liberty of the greater number. In our opinion, the history of councils or communes is, in Portugal, as in the rest of Spain, an important study, a pregnant lesson, highly useful for the future, because we are intimately convinced that, after lengthened combats and painful political experiences, Europe will be forced to acknowledge that the only way to overcome the difficulties of the situation which trouble her, and remove oppression of capital over labour, the supreme question to which all others are subordinate, is to restore, in harmony with the age, municipal institutions, more perfected, but in unison with its temperament and its elements, as in the Middle Ages. Without these, the predominance for despotic unity, power of capital, and intellectual force which, beneath the cloak of mixed monarchism, rules, at the present day, the greater part of Europe, or that of odious exclusive democracy, the absolute expression of the exaggerated sentiment of liberty which at the moment threatens to devour all things, are nothing else but diverse forms of tyranny, more or less tolerable or lasting, but which are incapable of definitely reconciling the legitimate aspirations of liberty and dignity of the human species with the indubitable and indestructible superiority of those who, by their riches, activity, intelligence, and power, are, in a word, the representatives of the perpetual law of social inequality.

The history of the institution and multiplication of councils is the history of the influence of democracy on society, of the action of the people, in the common acceptation of the word, as a political element.

This institution and multiplication, however, presupposes a previous diverse manner of being among popular classes—presupposes a coexistence of this same manner of being carried farther on for a period more or less extended, side by side with the first municipalities which were founded and established gradually along the country, and whose population towards the north of the Mondego we saw was more universal than is generally considered. This position of the people at first was naturally one of oppression, as otherwise there would not exist a rational motive to explain the progress of the municipal spirit and the rapid increase in number and importance of the councils. Hence before studying the temper and organisation of the popular corporations, of the councils, more or less imperfect, it behoves us to examine the preceding state of the inferior classes, a state which we see still continued for a certain period, side by side with municipal institutions. This examination, important of itself, will enable us to find the comparative value of the councils, or the high influence which by its intervention the democratic element obtained in society.

When the Portuguese monarchy commenced the state of oppression under which the plebeian classes laboured dates as far back as the epoch of the Goths, and even of the Roman domination. In truth, the municipalities, also of Roman origin, survived the ruin of the Empire, and protracted its more or less perfect existence to the dissolution of the Visigothic society. But put aside during the early stages of the Asturian reaction, it only began to revive gradually when the Leonese kingdom had acquired a certain stability, yet with radical differences, which altered and formed a new social formula, because a long interruption had greatly obliterated the traditions of the ancient municipality. It is from the history of these inferior classes, spread over the surface of the country, bent down by working the soil, weak with no union among themselves, and therefore subject to all manner of legal or illegal vexations, that we must rise to the history of the association of burghers, of the great corporations of the masses, because the institution and multiplication of councils, gradually perfected, strengthened, and summoned to a political life, is no more than the slow transformation of a part of the inferior population, from whence rose the middle classes, the most powerful of modern societies.

In describing the position of the labouring man during the first epoch of the monarchy, we cannot view him solely without relation to the right of persons. His situation in a certain way was united on one

hand with property, and on the other with taxation in the widest signification of the word.

The inhabitants of Spain, as generally throughout Europe in the epoch we are describing, were divided into three great groups or classes—the nobles, the free, and those under servitude more or less harsh. Of the first, and the characteristics of its organisation, we shall treat upon at the opportune time. Our intention now is to put forth the conditions of existence of the two classes which in a restricted sense we call at the present day the people. Throughout all the changes effected during four or five centuries, by the flux and reflux of populations, due to the Mussalman conquest and the Christian reaction, notwithstanding all the modifications, more or less important, in the manner of living of these two individual classes, which took place at that period, and which had up to a certain point altered the condition of each at the epoch when the Portuguese nationality became established, they still revealed in their principal lineaments the Visigothic origin and traditions. In order, therefore, to comprehend clearly their position during the period especially interesting to us, it is expedient to follow the history of them from the time when the Germanic element came to alter deeply the ancient or Hispano-Roman society.

Among the Visigoths, free men, whatever their rank, were denominated in juridical language *ingenuos*, in contradistinction to individuals who did not enjoy civil liberty; and these, again, although varying among themselves by different degrees of independence, were called by the name of serfs (*servo*). Hence the first qualification included nobles and the commonalty; but a great number of legal expressions were used to express and define, among the aristocratic class, the bulk of the free population, such as of humble birth, inferior, of lower condition or dignity (*minoris loci vel dignitatis*), mediocre, and lowest (*viliores*). These two classes, generally equal under the juridical aspect, by liberty and by a common civil right, were distinguished by the exercise of certain appointments which were reserved for nobles, or which ennobled those who held them by the titles and hierarchical qualifications of the nobility, and even by some exceptions in the principle of civil equality which predominates in the Visigothic code. On the other hand, there were circumstances in which institutions or customs, by elevating the serfs or lowering the plebeians, the two groups of inferior population approached one another, and, in spite of the severity of the law, to prevent the mixture of blood between the serving

classes and the *ingenua*, the assimilation which at times took place between them tended to render the two indistinguishable.

The bulk of the inhabitants of Gothic Spain was composed of individuals of Germanic origin, and of Hispano-Romans, politically united, but socially different. In both societies there existed one idea, the principle of distinction of three classes—the privileged, the popular, the serfs: it was their material expression which in part was diverse. Putting aside the especial disposition of the ancient Roman nobility, which differed from the conception which in our day we make of this qualification, we shall confine ourselves simply to observe that in the decadence of the Empire the aristocracy partook rather of the personal character than of inheritance. It was the magistrates, senators, generals, men of wealth, who constituted a body which considered itself superior to the people. Civil law, therefore, recognised no other distinction but those of citizens or serfs. In the German races, on the contrary, the nobility constituted a distinct caste, transmitted for generations. Hence the fact of the conquest left untouched the Roman idea, which, moreover, was already included in the military hierarchy of the hosts or Gothic armies, and obtained a new vigour owing to the necessity of administratively organising the subjugated country. At the epoch immediate to the definite establishment of the Goths in the south of France and in Spain, personal property acquired through appointments and by inheritance was naturally influenced by the two forms of nobility, but were both almost exclusively represented by individuals of the Germanic race, which was the consequent result of the great cataclysm wherein the Empire was dissolved.

And while in relation to individuals hierarchical situations were altered by a complete political revolution, another revolution, more serious still, in property destroyed, also in relation to individuals and families, the ancient aristocracy of wealth. The victorious Goths divided the cultivated lands of the Peninsula into three portions: one was left to the Hispano-Romans, and the remaining two they reserved for themselves, and jealously maintained this division, although the number of the former inhabitants was greater than the conquering race. Hence the large landed proprietors among the Hispano-Romans diminished, meanwhile that those of Gothic origin increased; therefore the aristocracy of those holding State appointments and the aristocracy of wealth associated themselves to that of caste, and all

three increased in the Germanic race. The bulk of the inferior population on the contrary, composed largely of Roman-Spanish proletarians, beheld joining them all those whom the fortune of war, the unequal division of lands, and the new order of magistrature had reduced to an obscure condition; hence the increase among this class of the Hispano-Roman element rather than of the conquered population.

The reader must bear in mind that we speak of the first periods of the conquest, when the two societies lived in juxtaposition, yet not mingled, meanwhile that the Goths preserved their warlike customs, their love for individual independence, their pride as conquerors, and their separate legislation, although, of all barbarian nations, they were the ones who had more largely partaken of the Roman civilisation. Speaking of the interpretation given of the law promulgated by Alaric II. for his Hispano-Roman and Gallo-Roman subjects, a celebrated modern writer observes that "the municipal government occupies a large space in the interpretation of the *Brevarium:* the Curia and its magistrates, the duumvirs, defenders, and others, are there mentioned constantly, and prove that the Roman municipality subsists and works, and, moreover, attains a greater importance and independence. Amid the ruins of the empire disappears the *præsides*, the *consuls*, the *correctores*, and in their place rise up barbarian *counts*, yet not with all the prerogatives of the Roman governors, but in a certain manner divided. Some of these remained to the counts, such as those which concern the central power, receiving of imposts, of making levies of men, and others. The privilege appertaining to the private life of citizens were delegated to the Curia and to municipal magistrates."

This aspect of society reveals to us the history of the two elements of population at the end of the fifth and during the course of the sixth century. Why does in the new code appear vividly and active the municipality, and the scope of action of the municipal magistrature, so enlarged when expounding the mode of application of the Roman law? Why do not the forms of Germanic government figure in it when the system of general administration and the character of the superior magistrature become Germanised? Does not this indicate that the Roman law was to be applied principally to the great municipal centres and cities, and, as a consequence, that it is in these where the greater number of the Hispano-Roman race dwells? The masses of conquered people, the crowds, the proletarians, open their ranks to receive the families of the aristocracy, of ex-functionaries, of the impoverished rich,

all the fragments of past greatness scattered by the barbarians, into whose hands passed the dominion of two-thirds of rural properties.

When, in the reigns of Chindaswintho and Receswintho, a reformed code was promulgated common to the two races, and unions were sanctioned between individuals of either, what do these acts manifest? Simply that the motives which compelled them to maintain both these distinct had ceased to exist or had become exceedingly diminished. In effect, when the Roman Empire became destroyed in the West, the only one which could revindicate the dominion of Spain, the greater part of its land in the possession of the Germanic nobles, the administrative and military hierarchies organised by the Gothic element, and the people accustomed to the results of conquest, the advantages of ending with distinctions which were morally odious and practically useless were many and obvious. The two nationalities, which had been in juxtaposition for nearly two centuries, and should have assimilated gradually in language, habits, and customs, became at length constituted in one alone, yet without becoming confounded one with another individually, generally speaking, because the two races were separated by a diversity of condition and categories.

A grave fact, however, appears to repel that almost exclusive predominance which we attribute to the Germanic race in the class of nobles, while presupposing the Hispano-Romans to constitute principally the inferior or popular. The fact we allude to is the immense influence of the clergy, the political action of the Church on civil society, which is one of the most notable circumstances in the history of Spain during the Visigothic dominion. Up to the time of Rekaredo Catholicism was the religion of the conquered, and Arianism that of the conquerors. From the accession of this prince to the throne dates the influence of the Catholic or Hispano-Roman clergy. It was through the Church that the road for honours was opened, of wealth and of power, to the men of the conquered race, because in the councils —those mixed assemblies wherein all ecclesiastical as well as civic affairs were regulated—the episcopacy represented the first power. Besides this, the bishops in the cities were not only the heads of the clergy, but also intervened in the judicial and administrative system while the piety of the successors of Rekaredo, which not unfrequently degenerated into fanaticism, afforded examples of the firmness with which the Church exercised its predominance. The laws of Chindaswintho and Receswintho, issued for the union of the two races, although

they are explained by the change of social and political circumstances, would not, perchance, have been promulgated so early or so broadly had not the clergy become the principal legislators of the country.

But it was truly the effects of the conquest, which, by placing the Hispano-Romans in a relation inferior to the Gothic people, protracted for nearly two centuries, at length became facts which were difficult, if not impossible, to destroy. The Gothic families, enwrapt by a nobility of lineage, exercised all the principal charges of the State, possessed by inheritance the greater portion of landed property, besides many benefices of the Crown, and generally filled the highest posts in the army. To change all these things was equivalent to a complete revolution, a revolution which the clergy would not dare attempt, and which would be a strange one, since the Gothic race manifested itself generally prompt to obey the will of the prince, and had abandoned Arianism. Certainly, the victory of its own creed ought to open the road to greatness to those of the Hispano-Romans, who were more distinguished by intelligence and daring; and we see that soon after this religious change, a Hispano-Roman called Claudio, Duke or Governor of Lusitania, a man odious to the people, was leading the Gothic troops sent against the Franks, who were defeated. But this and other analogous facts, singular and isolated, do not prove a deep alteration in the relative situation of the two races. The influence of the clergy was especially moral, and tended rather to Romanise, so to say, customs and the civilisation of the conquerors than to alter the material consequences of the conquest. Hence, as the element Hispano-Roman held by the Church so wide and extended an action in the political world, and the Gothic crown being purely elective, we fail to find among the individuals elevated to supreme power, whether by free, regular election, or by means of conspiracies or revolutions, even one who by name or any other circumstance belonged to the Hispano-Roman race. This fact is sufficiently significative. By this is understood that, whether through violent occupation of the Crown or by the regular way of election, those who had the power and resources were the Gothic families, and therefore that the nobility from which came the princes were essentially Goths. This power of aristocracy was due principally to the transformation through which persons and property had passed from the establishment of the Germanic dominion in the Peninsula. This leads us naturally to speak of the transformation.

The division of lands among Goths and Romans which was made on

the occasion of the conquest, unequal not only in itself, but also in relation to the numerical inferiority of those who reserved a double portion of the total, must necessarily produce, as we observed before, a great disparity in landed wealth. Another fact was added to widen this disparity. As the character of the Germanic society consisted in a vast system of military *clientèle*, by which the bulk of free individuals joined the nobility of race, and from these received the means of subsistence through concession of goods, the consequence was that the nobility almost exclusively took possession of the Gothic portions in order to distribute them afterwards as benefices. From this sprung, in our opinion, the division of free men, but not nobles, into two classes —one that was nearly noble, and the other almost serfs. From the first class came the buccelarius, from the second the free agriculturists. This division had commenced to work during the first epoch of the conquest and previous to the legal incorporation of the two races, because the Visigothic code presupposes its existence as a previous fact.

The *buccelarius* were those who, not possessing property from whence to support themselves, or possessing but insufficient, offered their services to the rich or powerful in return for emolument. Writers have differed about the origin of the denomination: some derive it from *buccella*, a barbarian Latin word, which signifies a *piece of bread*, because the buccellarius eat the bread of his patron; others say it is derived from the Germanic word *buckel*, a shield, in the supposition that he was shield-bearer to his master. But be what it may, the buccellarius received a stipend from the powerful one, and in return took the title of his patron, arms, and goods. These arms and goods were to be restored if as a free man he sought the protection of any other master. Should these relations of protection and servitude subsist unchanged during the life of patron and buccellarius, it was further continued between the children of both, yet at whatever time this was severed the restoring of arms took place. Of what the buccellarius had acquired for himself during the term of service, half, after the breaking of the contract, belonged to him, but the other half to his lord, and the same took place when the patronage failed through disloyalty. If at the death of the buccellarius he left no male issue, but only a daughter, this child remained in the power of the patron, upon whom devolved the duty of getting her properly married, retaining what the father possessed; but if of her own free will she chose a husband of inferior position to

her own, the property acquired by her father from the master would revert to him or his children.

The especial mention made by the Visigothic code, in alluding to the buccellarius, of arms and goods, as distinct from the wealth accumulated from what he received from his master, appears to us to show the military nature of the services which fell to the buccellarius. And, in effect, a law of Wamba or Ervigio, relating to the times of a campaign, presuppose in all who were joined to a patron the obligation of following him to the war, and not forsaking him on any pretext. Hence the condition, especially martial, of the buccellarius, at an epoch when the highest profession of mankind was warfare, more nearly approached the class of nobles; and, in truth, the combination of various Gothic laws bears evidence that the greater number of free men were reputed inferior to the class of buccellarius.

The King, whether due to the portion which was received for the Crown at the distribution of the cultivated lands which the Goths had taken for themselves, or from the progressive increase of fiscal property, an increase resulting from civil and political offences, was in quality of King the greatest proprietor of the country. His tenants, therefore, were the more numerous, yet they were rather linked to the Crown than to the royal person as an individual, because, as the monarchy was elective, the preservation of benefices at the death of the prince depended not on his children, but on the successor of the kingdom, whom the holders of these properties continued to serve. The generic name of these were *fiéis*, or loyal *(fideles)*, a designation which appears to include any free persons, whether simple soldiers or invested with some public dignity, in return for some concession of benefices.

These free men, who in accepting a species of military domesticity constituted in a certain manner a body of permanent soldiery, and formed the last link in the chain of nobility, were supposed to be of Gothic origin. But on going back to the institution of the buccellarius, at the first epochs of the Gothic monarchy, we find that the warrior instincts of the Germanic race and the enervation of the Hispano-Romans, as well as their agricultural habits, which were incomparably more deep-rooted than in the Visigoths, naturally attracted the conquerors to the peaceful life of agricultural industry and field labour, and the conquered to the profession of arms, while policy inculcated to kings, as to the Gothic nobles, the convenience of preferring men of their own race in the distribution of benefices, who would be interested

in maintaining their predominance. Hence, among the people in the most restricted sense of the word the greater number would be of the subjugated race, and constituted the inferior group of free men. The causes which we alluded to influenced this fact and augmented the institution of buccellarius, the system of particular and public benefices, a general system introduced by the barbarians in the various provinces of the Roman Empire, and which, outside Spain, produced feudalism.

The conquest destroyed the Hispano-Roman aristocracy essentially individual of the administrative order and of wealth, but saving the hierarchic principle, and associating it with the nobiliary principle of caste, but transferred in the first to the conquerors. From thence resulted, as a consequence, that a popular class of free men were constituted with the Hispano-Roman element, and the noble class with the Germanic. Yet this division becomes deeper still, because to this concurred the separation which subsisted for a long period of the two distinct nationalities. Through the clergy, through that influence which the Church exercised on Gothic society, some individuals or families of the conquered race became afterwards aggregated to the aristocratic body, but without altering its essence and individuality. From this fact, in combination with others of the social and political order, rose the legal incorporation of the two nationalities. But the conquest produced its effects. The position of property becomes changed; the conquerors, less numerous, took possession of the large portion of the lands, whose dominion generally remained in the hands of the heads of the conquerors. By the distribution of these lands among the less opulent natives, they created a *clientèle*, an inferior nobility, hence the Germanic element ceased to preponderate in the class of popular *ingenuos*.

In order to comprehend the state of the citizen, it is impossible to separate the history of its civil condition from the history of property and tribute. This is what takes place when seeking in Visigothic times for the origin and reasons for previous social facts. The two-thirds of land taken by the Goths were exempt from paying tributes, while the third portion left to the former inhabitants *(tertiæ Romanorum)* was taxed. In legislation, and in monuments, we have no direct proofs of the absolute exemption of the Goths; but we have indirect ones in the legal disposition, wherein is gathered that the lands of the Hispano-Romans were held tributary. This principle of absolute exemption from imposts in the properties of the conquerors, and the existence of

them in the lands of the vanquished, was common to the diverse states which were established, through Germanic invasion, upon Roman provinces, a fact which bears out the somewhat obscure testimony of the law. But knowing that the Hispano-Romans constituted the majority of the people, it follows that the two great classes of *ingenuos* were distinguished in general, and contributors and non-contributors in the same manner, as they were divided into lowest *(viliores)* and in nobility, including in this designation the *buccellarius*, or clients.

The legislature of the Goths does not reveal to us the proportion of tributes nor the form of distribution; but it is obvious that, when the authority of the barbarian kings was substituted for that of the emperors, the system of imposts upon the property left to the Romans could not have altered essentially. However difficult and complicated that method might be of assigning and collecting these taxes, it would have been far more difficult for Germanic barbarism to invent a new system. To strive to simplify it was natural they should do; but the general idea of taxes, foreign to the instincts of Germanic society, was Roman, and Roman it remained. We know for certain that the conquest brought with it a great alleviation of fiscal exactions, by which the Imperial Court, the seat of avidity, luxury, and corruption, aggrieved them; but the continuance of taxation, although simplified as to method and diminished in intensity, was an undoubted fact. As a modern writer very properly observes, the barbarian kings sought to follow the system of Roman administration, and one of the most important objects of that administration was that of imposts. In the time of the Empire the tribute paid by proprietors was in essence royal, and not personal; that is to say, it fell upon the land, and not on the individuals who possessed them with plenary or direct dominion, for which object from year to year a species of register was made, the rural properties being then measured and valued anew, with all the personal properties included. The taxes were paid partly in goods and partly in money. The method, however, of assessment, and collecting the tributes of landed property, took the form of poll-tax. But besides this impost, which fell directly on the landowners, there was another, a true poll-tax in the strict sense of the word, which included all the individuals who, either because deprived of landed property or direct right over it, were not in a position to pay the impost or predial tithes. These were called human poll-tax *(humana capitatio)*. Since remote times, this tax was a fixed sum for each man, and half that sum for women. This tax was

later on reduced to two-fifths for men, and one-fourth for women. This was paid by the operative classes, artisans, day-labourers, colonists, and serfs, and it was but rarely that especial workers of the industrial classes were exempted.

The condition of the colonists nearly approached that of serfs, cultivating either by proscription or contract the land of others, in which they succeeded from father to son. It did not behove the colonists to take any judicial action against the landowner, except in case of crime. He was considered free as far as his person, although united to the glebe he cultivated. His marriage was held to be legitimate, and he could possess personal property over which the landowner had no claim, as with serfs. Yet these personal properties of the colonist were not absolutely free, because he had no power to alienate them without the permission of his master. And while he could not expel him from the land he lived upon, neither could he forsake it, and in the case of transferring the property he passed on with the land to the new proprietor. The properties of holders of land were generally cultivated on the system of division in portions, and the portions constituted the colonies.

In relation to the tribute called *humana capitatio*, the possessor of the seigniory was answerable for his colonists. He paid the census, and then received it from them. As the fiscal collector was to receive integrally the imposts, the landowner had to pay as many poll-taxes as were the colonists enrolled on his property register of taxes, whether they had escaped or their number had become reduced through any accident.

It was in this position that the Gothic hosts, and the tribes which followed them, found the territories wherein they established themselves in the south of France, as well as in Spain. On taking possession of a large portion of the lands, it was to their interest to retain the hard-working colonists wherever found, and these were, in their turn, perfectly satisfied to substitute their former masters for the Roman ones. In this way the Gothic nobility could gather the fruits of the conquest, and continue their military habits, without descending to the tedious cares of agricultural industry. This was likewise applicable to the lands conferred, in grace and favour, to the buccellarius, and those granted to the officials, magistrates, and dependants of the Crown.

During the domination of the Emperors the people of the municipalities were divided into *decuries* and *plebeians*. The decuries formed

a superior class of proprietors, and constituted the *Curia*, which elected the municipal magistrates, and undertook the office of receiving the imposts. The position of these individuals, which appears to correspond to that of burghers during the Middle Ages, was, in virtue of the institutions of that epoch, one of greater oppression than of other freedmen. In later times *decuries* were also styled *wards*, and perchance *senators*, because sometimes the Curia was called senate. These were included among the number of *proprietors*, and under them were those who did not hold over twenty-five acres of land, artificers, labourers, and merchants—those who, not mixing in municipal administration, were called plebeian. The people, composed principally of the Hispano-Roman race, formed a body of ratepayers, and continued the same as previous to the conquest. The proprietors became subdivided into *curiales* and *privati;* but the name of *plebeian (plebei)* ceased to be applied to any but colonists. The law generally enjoined proprietors not to alienate their possessions, but should they do so, the solution of the tribute to devolve on the new proprietor. It is evident that this clause refers to the alienations effected by the tribute or rate payer in favour of the non-tributary higher classes.

The situation of those who cultivated the land by a free contract, and enjoyed the usufruct of the rented land, once the tax was paid by their owners, scarcely represents the general condition of the colonist under the Visigothic domination. Ever since the dissolution of the Empire the position of the rural colonist in the various barbarian States was too obscure, and it would be well-nigh impossible to distinguish it in all its phases and aspects, in order to appraise its value to society. Among the tribes of Germanic origin, serfs existed as among the Romans, but their position was diverse. Rather subjects than serfs, those of a more elevated class, such as the *liti, leti laxzi, aldiones* of the ancient barbarian code and records, generally corresponded to the Roman colonists.

From this imperfect or incomplete state of servitude, ascribed to Roman colonisation, mingled with and meeting the societies organised with the fragments of the Empire, sprang this group of individuals, placed in a middle situation between personal servitude absolute and the *privati* who formed the cultivators of the land. But in the agricultural system of colonisation of the Empire, as in the barbarian system, the conditions of contract made or supposed to exist between the patron and the colonist were varied and different in their species. The very laws that

in the Visigothic code regulate the contracts of this order presuppose that the perpetual and temporary colony are similar in location, presuppose likewise the solution of a canon and the dividing of fruits between the master and the agriculturist—that is to say, the method of apportioning. The variety of relationss which in earlier times we find established between the labouring man who cultivated the land and followed the great, nay, the almost solo industry of the Middle Ages, and the man of property, of dominion, had its origin in the action and reaction of barbarian institutions and Roman ones, meeting and modifying themselves one by the other. It would be an impossible task to record all these modifications, uncertain and confused, nor would the study afford any immediate interest for comprehending our social history. Meanwhile we cannot desist from reminding the reader that the system of legislation affords us two classes of distinct colonies—one the *plebi*, who cannot alienate what they held, neither vineyards nor fields, houses nor serfs, since they were joined to the glebe; the others, whose dependence is scarcely material, voluntary, and even transitory, existing solely by agrarian prestation, without being apparently joined to personal service. In our opinion the first represents the Roman idea and influence, the second the Germanic idea and influence. When, for many long years, the Goths had been established in the Peninsula, and increased in numbers, and had allowed themselves gradually to be ruled by the civilisation of the conquered, uniting with them by family bonds, they contracted peaceful habits, and many became agriculturists. Towards the end of the seventh century the agricultural tendency became almost general, and the military genius of the Goths nearly disappeared. From this may be drawn that a great number of individuals of that race who were *ingenuos*, yet without personal property, naturally subjected themselves to the colonist, under the gentle conditions which the law established in contracts of similar nature. Hence not only the *lidos*, who at that epoch had naturally accompanied the barbarian hosts, but the descendants of many individuals of the buccellarius order, became colonists, and on taking the plough, the symbol of peace, was realised oftentimes the union of the conquered with the victors, the incorporation of the two races, which legally were equal and intermixed.

After describing in general terms the condition of the colonists, it follows that a few words on the slaves would be opportune. Slavery, which only could be destroyed in Europe by means of the gradual influence of civilisation, strengthened by the Gospel, was an institution

which the barbarian conquerors of Spain brought with them, and one they found deeply rooted in the submitted society. Besides the *lidos*, or *lazzi*, among the people of Germanic origin, there was a class inferior to the serfs, who were really slaves. This class was the one nearest to Roman serfs and servitude *(servi, servitus)*, but for a singular contrast the fate of the barbarian slave was less hard than that of the Roman, who was civilly reputed to be an *object*, but not a *person*. This thought sprung from the Roman idea that slavery represented the position of the captive whom the victor could slay, but whose life he reserved as a spoil, or of a free man who by selling himself did not reserve any one of his rights. Hence, whether by personal right or civilly, the slave became the whole property of his master. From this may be inferred to what a height the consequences of such a situation reached. With the spread of the Evangelical light, and later on by the complete triumph of Christianity, commenced to predominate ideas more human respecting this class, and in Roman legislation some warranties began to be gradually introduced to remit the slaves from at least the right of mutilation and death which their masters could exercise upon them. Yet these laws met with the resistance of common passions and customs; therefore even in the fifth century, as we read in Salviano, the clauses which abolished the right of life and death held by masters over their slaves were oftentimes illuded. The serfs were distinguished by the qualifications of public and private. The first belonged to the State, and were divided into two classes—those who constituted the body of operatives in public works, or galley-slaves; and those of less humble origin, who were employed as prison warders, lictors, servants of the magistrates and clergy, and so forth. The private serfs were likewise divided into two classes—the urban and the rural. The first class, under varied designations, fulfilled all necessary offices for the comfort and luxury of life; while the second cultivated the lands of their opulent masters.

The serfs, which in the Germanic races corresponded to the Roman serfs, were such as in the barbarian code were denominated ministers *(ministeriales)*. This word is equivalent to servant, or familiar, and implies a man who ministers or in some manner was in the service of a master. In later times this word grew to possess a wider signification, and was applied to the principal officers of the King's Government or Court. It was from this class, although of inferior rank to the *lidos*, that nobles chose individuals for administering their properties

(majores), and with them formed a kind of court, notwithstanding that in this class was also included the artificers, a very numerous class on the estates of both kings and nobles. Hence, among non-free men the indeterminate position of ministers appears to become elevated on one hand to the height of incomplete liberty, and on the other descend to the lowest condition. Let us now see how Roman and Germanic servitude, meeting on Spanish soil, mutually unite and become modified.

The Visigothic slaves preserved the same Roman denomination of serfs *(servi)* as the masters of owners *(domini)*. Their birth determined the condition: a son of serf parents was a serf, although here jurisprudence varied in one circumstance. Among the Romans the condition of an individual was assigned according to the mother: under the Visigothic dominion, although unions were forbidden between *ingenuos* and serfs, the fruit of these illicit unions followed that of whichever was a slave. But even this had an exception: if up to the age of thirty the illegitimate offspring had not been reduced to actual servitude, and during that time one of the progenitors who belonged to the servile class had apparently lived in liberty, he remained free. Another source of slavery was that of crime, many of which were punishable by the criminal being delivered up to the offended party as a slave. The insolvent debtor also paid his debts by loss of liberty; and lastly, the *ingenuo* defaulter, who pretended to be sold in order to take part of the price, on his condition being discovered, was caught in his own net and condemned to slavery, unless he could integrally restore the price, or was ransomed by his relatives.

Essentially, however, the Gothic serfs were distinguished from the Roman by being considered as civil persons whether they were objects of donation or sale. In this is evident the influence of Germanic ideas, and the fact itself constitutes a true social progress.

As we said before, the union of *ingenuos* with those of servile condition was strictly prohibited; nevertheless it appears such a union was considered a true marriage, although it could be dissolved if contracted between serfs of different masters; while in Roman jurisprudence, on the contrary, such unions were held as a species of concubinage *(contubernium)*.

The slave who, through proficiency in any mechanical art or other reason, merited a greater consideration was called *idoneo, good;* and

those who, from want of ability or otherwise, were condemned to the hardest labours were designated by *vil*, *infimo*, *rustico*. This last designation, and which is oftenest found, shows that these inferior slaves were rural labourers. To these, it appears, was applied the denomination of *mancipii*, a word sufficiently vague, to which, in our opinion, was implied not the general idea of servitude, but the state of any individual of a low sphere, and probably without family and reduced to the lowest degree of human abjection, whether of servile or free origin, or of unknown birth. Perchance the word *mancipium* expresses the degree next to that of purely animal, of whose existence there are vestiges to be found in modern society which have not absolutely disappeared.

In Gothic legislation we do not find sufficient foundation for considering as a separate class the serfs of the Church and clergy, notwithstanding the general opinion. The dispositions of the councils relative to the *ecclesiastical families* (a phrase by which they were especially designated) are, in our opinion, particular dispositions of the Church, and not civil laws; nor do we find in these same rules of proceeding between the clergy and the serfs that any conditions different from those which regulated the rights and duties among private individuals and their slaves belonged to these; and if in relation to civil society and public power they enjoyed some exemptions, these did not represent any privilege of their own, but referred to the immunity of the sacerdotal corporation to which they were subject.

There existed, however, a class of serfs among the Visigoths whose especial position rendered them not only superior, as a rule, to the private serfs and the colonists, whether subject or free, but even equal, under a certain aspect, to the *ingenuos* known as *privados*, and perchance to the buccellarius. We speak of the fiscal serfs *(servi fiscales)*, called likewise *families of the fiscal (familiæ fisci)*. These evidently corresponded to the ministers, or else were the representatives of the Germanic idea of domestic servitude. The fiscal serf could obtain not only inferior palace appointments, but even more elevated dignities. Moreover, he possessed, although with imperfect dominion, lands and lowest grade of slaves *(mancipia)*, which belonged virtually to the fiscal. To these were entrusted the offices of collectors of public finance and administrators of the patrimonial properties of the prince. Their own properties, although they belonged strictly, with their own persons, to the fiscal, were tributary.

Hence, in the same way as descending from the state of freemen to that of slavery, we find the middle existence of the colonist aggregated, so do we find, on rising from the state of servitude to that of *ingenuos*, the one of liberated. Manumission or enfranchisement was an act which in its effects counterbalanced the laws, the penal sanction of which was servitude, and that so greatly contributed to increase the number of individuals deprived of liberty. Those whose birth had made slaves retained the hope of obtaining from the generosity of their masters a more or less complete liberty. Manumission was practised in two ways—one absolute, the other conditional. The first was when the master, on performing the act of liberation in presence of a priest or deacon, or by a declaration made before a judge, did not impose on the recipient any conditions or obligations of service which could restrict this free action. These were considered so independent that even the Church admitted them to the sacerdotal order. But however complete the act of liberation might be, if the liberated one constituted himself an informer or denouncer of the liberator, or was guilty of any affront, he could be reduced to his former state of servitude; and these duties and rights became perpetuated in the children of both parties. Should he continue to live as colonist to his former master, and did not leave any legitimate issue, he could will one half of his effects, the other half to go to his patron. Were he to forsake his patron to become the client of another or his colonist, his former patron would inherit one half of his effects, in case he died without issue and he bequeathed the other half; thus his second master was excluded, and this latter clause tended in a great measure to deter them from changing masters. To this same end was established the law that when the liberated one left his former master he or his children had the right to revindicate any donation which might be made at the act of manumission. Absolute liberty, and without the smallest restriction, was laid upon the Jews to afford to their Christian slaves, an act expressed by the law in the singular phrase that "they passed on to be in the category of Roman citizens," which proves that legislators had principally imbibed their ideas respecting the liberated from the Roman code.

We have endeavoured in a cursory manner to examine the varied existence of the inferior population among the Goths. On one side, through the *privati*, they approach the last step in the grade of nobility; on the other we see them descend to extreme degradation, on account of the individuals to whom were specially given the name of *mancipii*, the

servants of serfs. The class of *privati*, in which predominates almost exclusively the Hispano-Roman race, represents civilisation materially subjugated by the barbarian, but which it overcomes in many ways by the superiority of its institutions and customs—a class which, although characterised by most diverse conditions of existence, is nevertheless the origin or type, more or less defined, of the modern middle classes, and which, throughout all the extraordinary events which followed the fall of the Gothic empire in the Peninsula, we shall find in the cradle of our country, where we meet likewise reproduced, although altered and in part assimilated, all those inferior groups of free and non-free colonists, of serfs and liberated, both private and fiscal—all that undefined, mingled mass of peoples who live and work around an aristocracy, principally a racial one, domineering and turbulent, which the Germanic conquest principally perpetuated and symbolised.

We have already seen the Arab invasion under two aspects—that of the political events which flowed from it, and of the popular movement in the whirl of strife which was started between Christians and Saracens. We have seen how the Asturian monarchy, the nucleus and germ of the Neo-Gothic societies formed by the reaction, at first weak and obscure, became gradually illustrated and invigorated, until the epoch when the Saracen dominion becoming weakened, she was dismembered into diverse States. We have seen how the Hispano-Gothic population, generally impelled towards the centre of Mussalman society, and, up to a certain point, incorporated with it, returned, so to say, to its former cradle. It behoves us now to examine by what means the popular elements of the dissolved monarchy became ranged in the formation of the new, and constituted at the epoch of the establishment of the Portuguese independence.

Notwithstanding the contradictions and obscurities which pervade our ancient records respecting the first steps of the Christian reaction, the initial situation of the exiles in the defiles of Asturias may, up to a certain point, be comprehended. The Monk of Silos, a writer of the eleventh century, although relatively modern, expresses, with picturesque truth, the state of that social embryon during the first years of the government of Pelagius. Speaking of the victory obtained from Munuza and the taking of Gijon, he adds, "After this the Gothic people, as though rising from sleep, gradually accustomed themselves to acknowledge social gradations—that is to say, to combat in an orderly

manner beneath the standards of their chiefs, to acknowledge an internal administration, a legitimate authority, and to restore in periods of peace the churches and Divine worship"—this triple formula of all societies which become organised in the midst of aggressions—military discipline to resist, civil discipline for maintaining order, and religious discipline for the moral order. The re-establishment of these political principles enables us to form some conception of the former state. It was a wave of armed men, which rolled on along the defiles and mountains of Asturias, and became incorporated among the more or less sparsely spread population of the mountains. The efforts and prowess of Pelagius enabled him to acquire a certain preponderance over that unbridled horde: it was a new example, so to say, of the captains of the Germanic hosts who, three centuries earlier, had desolated the provinces of the Empire, and to whom, in default of a more exact designation, the Romans gave the title of *rex*. First, through prowess among his equals, the son of Favilla, when laying down his shield and sword, would exercise only a limited authority in the midst of those daring men who had preferred the rough existence of the mountains to the odious tranquillity of peace under foreign yoke. Soldiers all, since it was necessary they should be so, but ardent warriors, undaunted, prepared, through enthusiasm, for battle one against ten, they were naturally free men. Among them could not exist that forced, servile militia whose arms had been unable, on the Guadalete and its successive combats, to save the Gothic nation. As a tributary people, no serfs could exist among them: the tribute was collected beneath the tent of the conquered Arab. Servitude nestled in cities which had been subjected to the Mussalmans. Sebastian of Salamanca tells us that, after the defeat of Munuza, many came to join the heroic defenders of Spanish independence; but these were not families, but squadrons of soldiers; and in the spirit of the chronicler, the thought of populating those defiles seems to be exclusively associated with the successive increase of the number of warriors.

The new monarchy, with barely the rudiments of organisation and essentially warlike, must have but slowly become agricultural. Yet the conquests of the successors of Pelagius brought into the limits of the kingdom a mixed population. Voluntary or forced, many migrations of individuals or families who had subjected themselves to the Saracen dominion flocked in. Through these, civil society, with its institutions

as well as its customs, and with these its needs, began by degrees to substitute the exclusively warlike society. By establishing in Oviedo the royal residence, Alfonso II. was raising there a counterpart of the ancient Gothic Court, and ruled the Ecclesiastical Orders. And in proportion as the frontiers became widened and population increased, Gothic laws and the resolutions of the former councils of Toledo took new vigour. Yet the complete restoration of Visigothic society was impossible. Circumstances had in part changed. Many former conditions of social life had ceased to exist, while new ones appeared, due to the effect of time, particularly in a country agitated by revolutions or strifes of conquest.

In order to afford the reader some idea of the state of the popular classes from the foundation of the monarchy of Oviedo-Leonese up to the epoch of the separation of Portugal, we shall state some facts respecting the history of the progress of population. This increased by two means—by migrations, and by accession of territory. In the first instance the heads of families, subject to the Mussalman dominion, abandoned or were compelled to forsake the city, village, or homestead wherein they dwelt, and transport themselves to a country up to a certain point foreign. In the second instance the head of the family remained alone on the land, preserved his inherited property, cultivated the fields, and did not in any essential manner alter the habits of civil life. His public duties altered more or less with the change of dominion. In primitive times, before the Neo-Gothic reaction, the Kings of Asturias increased the number of subjects by the first above-mentioned means; Oviedo and Leon later on increased in population by the second. These facts, whether isolated or simultaneous, no doubt altered the situation of the inferior classes, necessarily changed many features, although essentially as regards their mode of existence they preserved the Visigothic traditions.

Let us suppose, for example, one of those successful raids effected into the Saracen provinces, during the epoch of Alfonso I. or of some of his immediate successors. The knights of Asturias ran along fifteen or twenty leagues of the enemy's territory; the Mussalmans they encountered were slain or fled; but these advantages were for the moment, and could not be considered as a permanent conquest. A Gothic colony resides there. The proprietors may be noble or inferiors, buccellarius, colonists, for a time, for life, or franchised, serfs and liberated, because the Arabs respected in all conquered societies what-

ever did not prevent the establishment of their own dominion. Meanwhile the territories of Oviedo are in a great measure uncultivated. Cities begin to be constructed or rebuilt, but it is necessary to people them; it is necessary to cut down the woods, to clear out the fields overgrown with weeds, to cover the ground with villages, granges, farms—in a word, create the industry which supplies the first necessaries of life, agriculture. The purely military organisations become daily more difficult to carry out. It is needful to seek in the internal economy of the country for substantial means to carry on the progress of reaction which the fruits alone of invasions and rapine cannot supply. Hence men who worked and produced an industry became as indispensable as those who fought. Then the Goths who had plotted with the infidels, those who sold independence in exchange for property, for comforts and domestic peace, lost it all with the transitory triumph of their co-religionists. Compelled by these to follow them to the defiles of the north, they became in a certain sense so similar to the Saracen captives, that for the future their fate becomes determined according to the conveniences or caprices of the power they are subjecting themselves to. And supposing that lands are distributed to them in their new country which they are forced to adopt, will they find a rigorous system of compensation? Will the various relations of *dientèle*, of colonisation, of servitude, be established in an equal manner for each individual? In a word, will there be in this change of country only a material change of location? Even in the case of a society wherein all civil institutions are clearly and minutely laid and established, it would be impossible that this should happen, much less in a country where all things were tottering, where all things were subordinate to the great question of life or death, to the thought of resisting enemies superior in every way, and against whom it were necessary to combat almost constantly. What naturally occurs is that which alone, perchance, is possible, that generally to these new subjects were distributed lands to cultivate under the patronage of the Crown and obligations of tribute; but that the popular classes should not up to a certain point become intermixed, is what we judge impossible. The plebeian, for instance, the colonist dependent on the private individual or noble through his union to the glebe in Spain, how would he consider himself joined to it if, after being transferred to Oviedo, the one would lose the usufruct of it, and the other the dominion of the glebe? Under the difficulties which rise up to oppose the preservation

of the ancient categories on the one hand, and on the other the necessity of turning this adventitious population to profit, there is but one hypothesis that appears to us alone plausible—that the enforced migrations generally which came from Spain were established in Oviedo by a species of Crown colonisation more or less similar to the condition of the fiscal serf of the Visigoths.

We say hypothesis, because that alone is possible respecting those involuntary migrations which chroniclers tell us, since they are silent as to their ultimate fate, and we lack other monuments to assist us to illustrate the narratives of the chroniclers. This does not occur as regards spontaneous migrations: of these vestiges remain of the manner they were established in the country, even in obscure epochs, until the eighth century, when the reaction commenced in Asturias. Among the documents which afford us more singular examples in this respect are those which relate the restoration of Lugo. A certain priest, named Odoario, still youthful, and, it appears, a member of an opulent family, continued living under the Saracen dominion on the occasion of the conquest; but on knowing the progress of arms of Alfonso I., he retreated to Galicia with many other individuals of the *ingenua* class, nobles and non-nobles, invited by the Asturian prince, and accompanied by many liberated families or serfs who were dependents of them. In the midst of the war, the episcopal city of Lugo was destroyed and the former population dispersed. This multitude of adventitious Goths came here to establish themselves, occupying the adjacent lands and villages. Odoario, elected Bishop of Lugo, remained invested with a species of supremacy above the new inhabitants of the territory, while the villages and fields he took for himself were distributed among his relatives and freemen, and establishing as tillers and cultivators the serfs. Some of these, or the liberated ones who from their former legal services had deserved recognition from their patron or master, were converted into perpetual colonists, and to them were assigned houses, and serfs to assist them in rural work and building. The position of these colonists, it appears, approached, as far as respected the rights of acquisition distributed to them, to that of Visigothic times, while as respected their personal relations, under a species of perpetual patronage. Side by side with these individuals we find established, in the territory wherein Odoario exercised such a wide influence, some others, that appear, according to all indications, to have been men of condition absolutely *ingenua*.

In this voluntary migration of Gothic population to territories wherein national independence had retreated appear the same gradations socially as formerly existed, but circumstances modified them. As we have seen, along the territories subject to the Saracens the spirit of the Visigothic society survived the conquest in all that was in harmony with the new political situation of the Peninsula: the nobility or inferiority of caste, the rights and duties which among individuals resulted from the organisation of property and family, all continued to subsist under the Arab government. What was altered were the tributes and various other affairs of public right. The voluntary migration to Oviedo was therefore a fact which modified more or less the situation relatively to the individuals themselves. The serfs and the liberated acted spontaneously when following their masters and patrons. It is evident that these could not have recourse to the laws or the authority of Mussalman magistrates to compel them to associate themselves with an act which oftentimes had to be practised privately. Transferred to other districts, where a society commenced to be established still rebellious, and moreover warlike, occupying by conquests lands wherein could not be found vestiges of former distinctions between the Gothic and Roman allotments, and to which both had equal right, besides many other circumstances which rose up unforeseen, must have rendered juridical rights or duties difficult to carry out. The nobility, the clergy, and the middle classes must, in truth, have sought to reproduce among themselves an image of Gothic society, since they knew no other theoretically and practically excepting the Mussalman, which was still foreign at that epoch, but an absolute imitation would be impossible. Hence, notwithstanding that involuntary migrations might be preserved, the principal divisions of *ingenuos* and serfs, of nobles and the masses, which in forced migrations must have become mingled in a greater degree, slavery, which became voluntary on the part of the serfs, the condition of the plebeians and colonists of glebe lands, and even the patronage of the enfranchised and clients, must have lost much of its former severity, and the humiliating distinctions between men take a more liberal character. Similarly, as with nearly all great revolutions, notwithstanding their irreparable damages, the Arab conquest and the Asturian reaction brought to society a true progress. This progress, however, consisted more in ideas than in facts; it prepared rather the future than affected the actual present. We do not believe that in the unformed aggregation called the kingdom of Asturias the fate of the

inferior classes would be materially better than during the latter times of the Visigothic Empire. Under the vacillating and disorderly state in which all things were, oppressions, the abuse of power in the military corps, the brutal and unbridled state of the soldiers, must have weighed more heavily upon the labouring classes, either through defiance of laws or the impossibility of enforcing them during the uncertainties which ever accompany the tardy reorganisation of peoples after a great political convulsion, while this very difficulty of restraining the nobles and the powerful acted upon the former jurisprudence, wherein was enforced the system of gradations and castes, from whence sprang the abjection of the humble and the weak. The social bonds, severed in a great measure, and the splendour of the ancient privileged classes, reduced to a semi-barbarian rudeness, the serfs and colonists, who had lost but little in proportion, because they had but little to lose, beheld, in the calamities which afflicted Spain, the aristocracy nearer to them, not because they had risen in the scale, but on account of the aristocracy having fallen from its former splendour. Hence the *mancipium*, the serfs of all descriptions, the colonists, whether plebeian or attached to the land, the freedmen, all those placed in a category more or less servile, into which the lower population was divided, aspired to freedom, while in their spirit the instincts of emancipation must have risen up, with its desires and aspirations, so much more ardent in proportion as the vexations and oppressions over them became more violent and less hallowed by ancient institutions, now imperfectly observed or altogether laid aside.

In the chronicles of the Monk of Albaida and of Sebastian of Salamanca, the two most trustworthy sources of the political history of the primitive existence of Oviedo and Leon, when describing the reign and times of King Aurelius (763—774), we find a fact which characterises that reign. Its importance was such that both chroniclers, while cursorily describing the history of the monarchy during the eleven years of its duration, especially mention this fact. This was a popular revolution. "In the reign of Aurelius," says the Monk of Albaida, "the serfs who had rebelled against their masters were reduced to their former state of servitude by a stratagem." And Sebastian of Salamanca, when speaking of this same reign of Aurelius, further says, "The liberated serfs, taking up their arms, rebelled tyrannically against their own masters, but, subdued by a stratagem of the prince, were reduced to their former servitude." Historians,

who are generally more careful to point out chronological events than to weigh the importance of facts, pass over with indifference this notable event. Its value, however, as an indication of the great number who had proceeded, freely or otherwise, to the Asturias, considered under a different aspect, is a proof of what we have already advanced. The sentiment of liberty had vibrated in the spirit of the masses, while oppression, instead of becoming legitimatised by institutions, depended solely on power. Both chroniclers designate the condition of the revolutionists by words which, in their strict acceptation, mean two diverse situations. The Monk of Albaida calls them *serfs*, while Sebastian of Salamanca denominates them *liberated*. In our opinion, this proves the indefinite idea of the true position of the inferior classes, and that both manners of expression represent more or less the undefined state of dependence which, participating of diverse gradations of inferiority, precisely assigned and distinct among the Goths, were but vaguely determined in the new monarchy which rose up amid the ruins of the former one.

The victory of Aurelius, or, rather, that of the nobles or warrior class, against the serfs or colonists, brought upon them, doubtlessly, new oppressions and vexations. Nevertheless, we do not believe that the difference in the public and private code of laws of the Goths respecting slaves was then restored, but probably was reduced to increasing their duties, and leaving them more greatly at the mercy of the caprices of the powerful. The assertion of the chroniclers that Alfonso II. re-established Gothic institutions in both civil and ecclesiastical laws proves the former state of anarchy, and, despite this restoration, the existence of the servile classes appears to us still more uncertain and fluctuating during the reign of this prince (791—842). There exist documents respecting a donation made by him to the See of Oviedo, in which, after stating certain properties and ecclesiastical furniture for the Divine worship, he includes a number of serfs bequeathed to the cathedral for the same purpose. Among these we find mentioned a presbyter, a deacon, and many others denominated as *priests*, which the King declares he obtained by purchase. Besides these, he further bestows many serfs obtained from various individuals among the laity. All these evidently belonged to the lower classes, since he styles them *mancipia;* and he further enacts that should any escape or refuse obedience to the Church, they are to be arrested and forcibly compelled to serve. Another decree of a later date confirms in a cer-

tain sense the previous one. All these serfs, which are bound to the landed properties dowered to the cathedral, are called *families* of both *sexes* and *classes*, and in respect to these is confirmed the resolutions of the first document—that is to say, they are to be compelled forcibly to remain in the service and obedience of the Church. Therefore if, on one hand, servitude at this epoch appears complete, on the other hand, how explain the existence of priests, deacons, and slave-priests, purchased from private individuals by the King and dowered to the Church, which would be a flagrant contradiction, not only in the spirit, but also with the letter of the Visigothic legislation and ancient canons? Does not this show that the species of organisation introduced by Alfonso II. into his States was little more than that of regulating the temporal power and the episcopacy, leaving the condition of the inferior classes in a great measure uncertain, and this appears confirmed by the manner the chroniclers express themselves? What we deduce from these and analogous documents is the fact that these families of serfs included all forced colonists, subject to the solution of especial censors, and to personal services more or less oppressive, imposed on the lands which were distributed, and that the properties conceded to the See of Oviedo were those they dwelt in, and which they tilled or would in future cultivate. If the ancient distinction of plebeians, serfs, and freedmen existed in a positive manner, it would be impossible that some vestiges should not appear about this date.

The restoration of the ancient public and private code of the country must have been slow, in practice at least, however much it might be admitted in theory, meanwhile that society became organised in such a manner as the needs or advantages of the moment permitted. A thousand circumstances, which would be difficult in our day to estimate, placed individuals and affairs in positions which induced rights and duties that were not always possible to reconcile with the Visigothic legislation. The complicated system of dividing the servile classes, or nearly so, and its relation with them, as well as the complex jurisprudence which the Germanic adopted from the Romans, demanded a more peaceful and permanent existence than that afforded by the population of the new monarchy. To the troubled and uncertain state of the country, the rudeness of customs and ideas repelled the subtilty, the juridical heights, and therefore the servile subjection of those times appear before us with a more simple character.

We have seen in a general way the transformation through which

servitude passed during the ninth and tenth centuries, a transformation which essentially became more permanent until the separation of Portugal from the Leonese kingdom. The desire of liberty was no less vivid, nor manumission considered an act less generous, because although it was materially improved, servitude was still grievous and scorned.

The movement of the Mosarabic race towards the north and west, in combination with the progress of the Christian conquests, enabled the population of the monarchy of Oviedo and Leon to increase very considerably.

Such were the varied positions of the labouring classes, of the tribute-payer, in the widest acceptation of the word, until the separation of Portugal. Free colonists, or attached to Crown properties, families of serfs or belonging to the land, proprietors or rustic knights, labourers or *juniores*—all, in a word, are developing the industrial activity of the country, by cultivating the land under the different gradations of dominion which are passed on from father to son, and who support, by the various tributes and taxes imposed upon them, the elevated classes, meanwhile that they combat the Saracens side by side with them, and support by the sweat of their brow the King, the Church, and the whole machinery of the State. Despised as a class, subjected to brutal violence and treatment, nevertheless they attain by degrees to become a power in themselves. United to the monarchy, and the monarchy to them, through convenience or common necessity, the municipality springs up from that union, and the inferior population commences to resist violence and lawlessness, until it attains not only to repel force by force, but to convert itself into a political whole.

While endeavouring to investigate the manner of existence and position of the inferior classes from the commencement of the Christian reaction up to the separation of Portugal, and when searching obscure records and written laws, we have frequently had to allude to tributes, aggrarian prestation, and personal services which oppressed them. Pursuing the system in regard to the Visigothic society, it would be due now to individualise the varied grievances which weighed on the people, were it not that all these become reproduced in the primitive state of Portuguese society, which we shall be called upon to study and define in the progress of its national history with far more individuality than we could do so here.

By referring to ancient epochs, we simply wished to show the origin

and identity of Portuguese society under one of her two aspects, and enable the reader to comprehend the reason why we find during the infancy of the monarchy a portion of the people distributed and established side by side with the municipalities under certain conditions and manner of existence.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

PART THE THIRD.

General idea of the territorial division of the kingdom during the first epoch of the monarchy, viewed under the administrative aspect—Civil condition of the population at the beginning of the twelfth century—Gradual progress of personal liberty—Forced conscription becomes voluntary—Classification of the various groups—Rural cavalry—Its origin, and characteristic conditions of existence—Various degrees of rural knights—Leaseholds, royal farms, and other estates—Royal farmholders and their varied modes of existence—Condition of ratepayers—Cottagers and other tenants—Summary.

Let us in imagination transport ourselves to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the independence of the crown of Alfonso I. had been firmly established, the Saracen frontiers withdrawn to beyond the Tagus and the Guadiana, the limits of Leon proximately assigned on the north and east to their present boundary, and Portugal at length constituted one of the kingdoms dismembered from the ancient monarchy of the Goths after the restoration. From thence let us glance around us, and endeavour to sketch the principal outline of the social topography of the kingdom. Let us imagine that we stand on the height of a *serra*, from whence on either side extends a line of mountains, hills, and cliffs, interspersed with woods and forests; valleys divided by rivers or streams, extensive plains, uncultivated wastes, rank and overgrown with weeds; in a word, a vast territory, with all the varied accidents of a land more or less mountainous as is that of Portugal. Two or three territories or districts divide this large extent of land in the administrative, military, and judicial order.

A cliff-bound castle may be seen rising up, perchance erected in the eleventh century, and once the capital of the district. Farther on, or around it, stands a cluster of humble dwellings constituting a *villa*, a generic denomination of any grange, village, or hamlet, as well as of a more important municipality, and corresponds in its vague signification to the modern expression of *town*. In each of these tracts of land, extending to some leagues, are seen lines of bulwarks defining or circumscribing the *park*, or grounds of a church, or of a noble residence, or of a military order, a powerful monastery, or denotes the limits of an

ancient municipality, or, maybe, a new institution. There are, however, spots where this line of stone bulwarks (*patrones*, *petrones*) becomes lost to the sight, and where a tree, a channel, the stream of a river, a line of hills, marks the boundary of privileged lands, particularly those of the municipalities. But within these exceptional places, as well as outside them, residences, villas, granges, ploughed lands, vineyards, chestnut plantations, rural temples, and other vestiges of civil existence appear side by side with these wild forests, wherein dwell the bear and the wild boar, the stag, and game of all descriptions, to indicate that the country is still in a barbarous state, and but little populated. The distinguising mark of these privileged spots is the residence of the nobleman rising above the huts clustered around it—the palace of the lord or the peer. In the ecclesiastical park is seen the monastery or the cathedral, lifting up its massive square towers above the borough or episcopal city. In the commanderies of the military orders tower the preceptories, the dwelling (*mansio*) of the warrior-monks on the borders of the councils, which are as yet scarcely established in the districts, while within these limits, and in the centre of the population gathered together, rise the municipal or Government offices, or perchance only the church, where, in its grounds or churchyard, meet together the people to deliberate upon parish affairs, while in the already established and perfectly organised municipalities stand the castle and the governor's residence, or *palatium* of the chief alcaide, magistrate, or commander of war, who, while extending one hand to the rustic burgher, and the other to the King, unites these two powers. These are the material indications which define the exceptions to the general system of government, and mark the tracts of land over which the King no longer acts as administrator and as the chief of justice and of war—scarcely rules, in a more or less indirect or imperfect manner.

These privileged places, which are inhabited and cultivated as the rest of the kingdom, contain families and individuals of the inferior classes as labourers and otherwise.

The primitive, common form of popular organisation which the Leonese Monarchy bequeathed to Portugal in its infancy was not municipal. At the commencement of the twelfth century councils already existed on Portuguese territory which were more or less complete in their organisation, and these increased steadily in numbers and importance during the first epochs subsequent to the separation,

and served to render the development of the municipal principle a prominent feature in the reign of Alfonso I., and more so marked the reign of Sancho I.—names venerated by all who view in the establishment of municipalities the only bulwark for true liberty. But notwithstanding the constant progress of this great political element, its predominance during the thirteenth century was, at least in the provinces north of the Mondego, an exception. By individual or collective contracts since remote times, the rural agriculturist dwelt on the land he fertilised by his labour, and his mutual relations with the King and State were individual and direct.

The whole kingdom was divided into districts, which were both military and administrative, called lands (*terras*), and these were governed by a supreme chief, in the person of a nobleman, called *rico-homen* or *tenente* (*ricushomo*, *diveshomo*, *tenens*), and oftentimes lord of the land (*dominus terre*). These districts constituted likewise *shires* judicial, villages (*judicatum*), whose magistrate was simply called judge, or judge of the land (*judex*, *judex terre*). Besides the nobleman and the judge, there was a fiscal officer or major-domo (*maior*, *maiordomus*, *super-maiordomus*, *maiordomus-maior*), who undertook the collection of royal dues, a designation usually applied to all rates of the State. These districts were usually subdivided into prestimonies (*prestimonium prestamum*)—that is to say, into a certain portion of residences, villages, or parishes, the rents of which in part or wholly reverted in favour of one holder or receiver (*prestamarius*), and were the emolument for some public office—generally military, but sometimes civil appointment. Royal dues which had not this application constituted, in part or wholly, the revenue of the *rico-homen*, who had, in the castles not belonging to any council, a governor, or *castellan* (*castellarius*, *castellanus*), who was a subordinate, and who corresponded in a military sense to the chief alcaide of the municipalities. In course of time, the progress of cultivation, and increase of population, the villages also became divided, and some districts, in their turn, likewise divided into several villages. The judge had his subaltern officers, who, it appears, were substituted by royal *porters* and many other inferior officers, who collected imposts and rents, many of which were paid in kind, and rendered a large staff indispensable in those days.

Such was the judicial and administrative organisation of districts into which the kingdom had been divided. We shall now examine the

situation of the lower classes or families established in these districts, and subject to such ministers and officials of the King.

We have seen that in Leon, and as a consequence in Portugal, which was still a Leonese province, the population was variously distributed. With the exception of the Saracen serfs, the last degree in the social scale were the serving classes, or belonging to the land; these were followed by the free colonists, *juniores*, or labourers; above them were the land-owners or non-noble proprietors, subject only to the public tributes and offices—in a word, representatives of the Roman *holder* and of the Goth *private*, precursors of the modern citizen. All these gradations, included under the generic denomination of *villani*, continued to subsist separated during the first epoch of our history; and all these composed the complex population of the territories, non-nobles, non-ecclesiastical and non-municipal, subject immediately to the administrative hierarchy above described. We shall commence by serving men joined to the glebe. The transformation which they passed through at that epoch is, in our opinion, a fact which has been altogether ignored in our history, but which, nevertheless, is undoubted.

When the twelfth century commenced the servile classes appear in documents as holding the same place as in the eleventh. The colonists, whether joined to the royal glebe lands or private property of a noble or the Church, were all called alike serfs, and their children equally with them were serfs. We will quote a passage from a work written at the epoch when the monarchy was about to commence, and which explains the position of families under various aspects of the servile class. The principal personages mentioned are familiar to our readers.

"At that conjuncture the Queen D. Urraca affirmed that various priests of the church of Santiago, Diogo Budanense, and his brothers Pelagio and Pedro, and to their generations, with all their possessions *(cum tota sua hereditate)*, were of the race of serfs *(capite censos)*, and wished to prove by many arguments that they ought to give their services under the condition of serfs. However, as they were canons of Santiago, the Bishop Diogo Gelmires, profoundly grieved at this dishonour and injury, addressed repeatedly to the Queen appeals for her to desist from her demands, for the love of God and of St. James, and in remission of her sins, to leave the said clergy in peace, and to exercise the legitimate right of liberty. The Queen condescended, and not only did she cease to molest them, but decided to number them among her intimate and most favoured individuals."

Thus we see that men of the servile class had, when bound to a certain possession, received a clerical education, and were invested with ecclesiastical dignities. But the invisible bond which united them to

the land wherein they were born had been silently watched by the vigilant eye of the fiscal commissioner, until the moment when he judged opportune to awaken them to the sad reality of their original condition.

Yet when liberated afterwards by an act of royal munificence, did they, perchance, yield up to the fiscal right the possessions to which they were linked? We believe so, since in the above-quoted passage only their persons are mentioned. Similar examples could be indefinitely multiplied to prove this external fact found in the Leonese Monarchy—the strict union between the servile man and the land. The idea of colonist is in relation to dominion what is equivalent to the idea of glebe. In common parlance, and even in legal language, are vocabularies and phrases employed to represent one or other.

But the internal fact, hidden, the servitude which bound the labourer to the soil he rendered fertile by the labour, did this remain unchanged? Social progress, which transformed the Roman servant from an object into a person, and the Visigothic serf into an *adscriptus glebæ*, did it not more or less alter the position of the Leonese bondsman? Many circumstances which ought to diminish gradually the personal nature of bondage took place. These were such that in time they must needs destroy it altogether. Notwithstanding the intimate association, the absolute dependence of the land where we meet the colonists, we begin to find a deficiency of documents in the twelfth century wherein any material violence is offered to individuals to compel them to reside against their will on the property they cultivated, a violence we saw legalised even in the preceding century. Later on by the manumitted found it is clearly proved that they refer to Saracen slaves, converted or not to Christianity, while from the obscure and doubtful records it cannot be certainly affirmed that they refer to bondsmen or serfs by race. We see that many circumstances concurred to transform the bondsman into a free colonist, although that transformation be slow; hence it is impossible to assign a precise date. We know for certain that this emancipation took place between the end of the eleventh century and the commencement of the thirteenth.

The principal cause which contributed to alter the state of glebe servitude was the institution and rapid increase of municipalities, a fact which coincides exactly with the epoch in which we see all vestiges

of forced bondage disappearing from documents. In the history of councils we find that one of the incentives employed to attract population was to turn them into asylums for the guilty. Many charters include this clause, and where some kinds of criminals are excepted no exception is ever made of colonists who have fled from their masters; rather, at times, it is expressly declared that the serf who sought for protection to the council's lands was to remain free. Hence, in proportion as municipal organisation became widened throughout the provinces, so also did it become more difficult to constrain the colonist to inhabit the glebe, particularly if the neighbouring council was established on waste lands or upon a destroyed town which it was wished to restore, and where there were lands to distribute to the new-comers. On the other hand, the immunities of the nobleman's park or of the church—immunities which were oftentimes absolute—offered likewise a refuge against oppression to the *adscriptus*, not only in the Crown lands, but likewise in the properties and possessions of other nobles and churches. Therefore it is obvious that on invoking the established right respecting the adhesion to the glebe, and resorting to public or private force in order to retain the colonist, it would not be always the means most safe to obtain the desired end, and oftentimes it would be necessary to employ interest, and admit the spontaneity of the serf, and as a consequence accept the principle of personal liberty.

Another cause tending to alter the characteristics of servitude was the existence of Moorish slaves. In condition equal to the ancient Roman serfs, reduced to the qualification of things, and as such a permanent example of all that is odious in the absolute denial of personal liberty, this fact must have been repugnant, at least in generous souls, to behold men of Gothic origin, and brethren of their masters by the union of belief and common country, equalled in certain cases to that debased race, an object of merchandise like any household goods or domestic animal, without rights, and almost deprived of duties or moral responsibilities. The sentiment of Evangelical brotherhood, that pure and sublime democracy which, accepting all social inequalities, conciliates them with the dignity and liberty of the individual, and to whose peaceful but incessant influence must, in a great measure, be attributed the continued progress of the emancipation of serfs during the Middle Ages, could not in this case avoid exercising a beneficent influence on facts and ideas. We make the following extract from a writer of the twelfth

century, in which may be seen how vivid was the repugnance of noble spirits to maintain the hard mark of servitude and slavery on brows purified by baptism. This narrative fully bears out in a few words our idea respecting the opinions which were current in those days in this respect. The historian narrates a raid of Alfonso Henry on the Mussalman territories of the west, and says—

"Besides large spoils, his warriors had brought and kept captive a portion of a people commonly called Mosarabes, who live under Pagan yoke and follow the law of Christ. On being acquainted with this fact, the man of God (St. Theotonio) became greatly grieved, and he who never crossed the outer door of the cloister rushed out, burning with zeal, to encounter the King and the whole army, and said to them, "O King, O thou barons, sons of the Holy Church, why do thou thus reduce to servitude thy brethren? Thou hast sinned against thy Lord and God." And after speaking to them for a short time in this wise, he threatened them with Divine wrath if they did not set at liberty that people, and the King and his warriors liberated all the Mosarabe captives, and in presence of the saint allowed them to depart freely."

By this is seen how repugnant to Christian feeling was the idea of personal servitude. In truth, the sphere of this sentiment was not yet wide enough. The good Prior of Sancta Cruz forgot in his allocution that the benefits of liberty, or at least a less brutal treatment, ought to extend to the infidels themselves. But in view of that rude epoch, in which absurd tyrannies were oftentimes reputed as rights, the noble proceeding of the monk, and prompt acquiescence of the King and his fierce band of soldiers to his words, manifest that the thought of the moral dignity of the Christian was at last commencing to penetrate the heart of society.

A third circumstance, in the material order, actuated greatly in obliterating the principle of personal restraint and servitude. This was the increase of population. In proportion as the raids and incursions of the Moors ceased to desolate a province, and the frontiers became more withdrawn towards the south, and peace, and, as far as possible, security, became established in those days, population multiplied, and as a consequence this multiplication induced an increase in the value of cultivated lands, free offers of work by degrees taking the place of cultivation by compulsion. Of the two manners by which in those days was understood the division of land labour, free colonisation and forced, the first became more natural in proportion as the acquisition of land increased. The nobles in their honours, the churches in their parks and wills, the counts, and later on the *ricos-homens* in the lands and districts which the King gave them to govern and cultivate, must have thought

less of reclaiming violently to the glebe the fugitive *adscripter*, since the free colonist voluntarily offered himself under the same, or nearly the same, conditions of personal services, while the serf, who in many ways used formerly to dread being deprived of the land whereon he dwelt, excepting when the grievances of his master or the perpetration of some crime now led him to seek refuge and property in the lands of some municipality.

From these and other causes, which it would be difficult in our days to discover, was verified a fact which monuments render indisputable. The servitude of the *man* at the commencement of the thirteenth century had been converted into *land* servitude. It was a novel phase in which society entered relatively to labour and to territorial property, the duration of which would be protracted for a long period. As we said before, this transformation, since it proceeded from causes the effects of which were slow and irregular, could only be slowly completed.

Returning to the beginning of the twelfth, or rather to the end of the eleventh century, we shall find, perchance, personal liberty established on one hand, while on the other the subjection to the glebe was protracted to a much later period. But principally in honours and parks, where the serf was immediately under the action of the master, unless the above circumstances influenced them, coercion, by forcible personal residence, must have resisted a longer time to the revolution which was worked. If, however, we seek for a precise date to this fact, we shall work in vain. To seek dates for these great social transformations is not only an error, but leads us often to assign to documents, to singular and isolated events, a value which they do not really possess.

Among the laws of Alfonso II., promulgated in 1211, we find one which contains the last vestiges of personal coercion, although as an exception, and, moreover, an illegal one. This law proclaims the principle of individual liberty, proposes an exception, and condemns it. In order to explain the text of this legislative act, which is somewhat obscure, we shall make a few observations. The text is as follows:—

"We definitely establish that any free man throughout our kingdom can enter the service of any master he may wish, with the exception of those dwelling on transferred possessions, and by will and testament these to have no other master but those of the inherited land, in which case . . . This we establish in order to secure liberty, and that any free individual may act as he judges best. If any nobleman should act against this law, let him be fined in 500 *soldos*; and should he infringe a third time, let his possessions be confiscated and he expelled out of the country."

At first glance, this law appears to be contrary to our opinion, since it supposes an existence of serfs. And, in truth, serfs did exist, but they were Moorish slaves, who lived under the rule of abject domestic servitude, although some few examples remain of being employed almost with the same rights as colonists on rural estates, and by such means they obtained their manumission. What, in reality, the law advances as a universal principle is to establish freedom to those who cultivate the land. Virtually, it is by the very fact of constraining the cultivator of the transferred estate that he declares him to be formerly an essentially free man. The interruption which unfortunately occurs in the text probably prescribed the penal law against the colonist who abandoned the colony to enter the employment of another master. The penalty certainly was the loss of the use and right of cultivating the estate, since it could not be otherwise. The disposition of the law does not distinguish, but includes all manner of colonisation—those which resulted from the former family bondage, as well as a perpetual treaty or uncertain claim, or, lastly, a simple location.

Could it be for a moment imagined that the penalty of losing personal liberty would be the consequence of infringing all these diverse hypotheses? It would be indeed placing the agriculturist, at least the free colonist, the *junior*, in a worse condition than he was at the beginning of the eleventh century, when, in the Council of 1020, so many rights and immunities were granted him, and, moreover, would belie completely all monuments and the great fact which results from this evolution, the uninterrupted progress of personal liberty. What we behold in this important legislative act is that the forced bondage which was once an institution has now become exceptional, contrary to customs, abusive—in a word, that only the knight, the nobleman, that is to say, haughty brute force practices, but which is worthy of punishment, and that severely. It is not the law which makes the revolution; that law has been already made: it is the legislator who regulates it, prevents it from trespassing the bounds of justice, from degenerating into anarchy and the severance of legitimate rights; because, at that epoch, the conditions of dividing direct dominion from the useful were such, as we shall see, that the colonist who dwelt on one estate, and cultivated another, could easily elude the fulfilment of a part of his duties in regard to the land-owner whose estate he cultivated.

Hence the bondage of the glebe in relation to persons passed away, and if any vestiges still remained, it was at the risk of those who com-

bated against human progress. We suppose these vestiges, since the law presupposes them. Decrees cease to speak of personal restraint and treaties of perpetual and hereditary servitude, by the fact of the severance of civil contracts which we find in previous centuries. This silence is highly significative, and of itself proves a hidden change, a change in harmony with the law of Alfonso II., and renders the interpretation we have given of greater certainty. But we do not attribute to our opinion a greater scope than in truth it has. If the individual is free, the land remains in bondage. The material existence of the colonist who was previously a bonded serf (*adscriptus servi*) can only be partially and indirectly ameliorated by the master when and how he judged it to be his interest to do so. What is changed is his moral position. Heavy agrarian prestations, frequent personal services, all that renders life painful in him who tills the ground, continue to subsist. What is broken is the manacle which bound the servile race to the land. On the boundary which marks the farmstead or the estate is wiped out the terrible inscription which Dante wrote on the entrance-door of hell, and hope rises up for the bondsman. Whenever the grievances become intolerable he can quit the homestead wherein he first saw the light, and seek a more humane master, or he can join some rising municipality without fear that the stern arm of the law should be drawn forth to drive him back to his native glebe.

Transformed into personally free colonists, the bondsmen enter, like *civil persons*, into the class of *juniores*, a class which likewise includes all those who cultivate the land of such who formerly had serfs. The distribution of lands considered generically, and before descending to especial modifications, becomes less complex in relation to individuals. In honours and parks property is divided between the colonist and the master, whether a noble or an ecclesiastic. In these all the cultivators are tributary more or less, some through the inheritance, others without, similarly to the former colonists of uncertain title, in accordance with the conditions under which such dominion was transmitted to them. On royal properties the position of the tiller of the soil is generally analogous to that of private lands. One vast system of colonisation, rising from the location up to almost leasehold, determines, by the nature of the farmstead, the possession, the homestead, the estate, the material situation of the colonist, without, nevertheless, presupposing the existence of a free will and personal liberty. Viewed under this aspect, we find that the inferior classes had, so to say, become equalled.

But besides the families which enter into the subdivisions of this group, and below titled lineage or nobles and the privileged classes, enters a class of individuals of the existence of whom vestiges appear in all centuries, and who, even in Leonesè epochs, we find designated by the name of rural knights.

Generally in the documents of the thirteenth century most of the terms employed to designate social institutions or relations have a vague and changeable signification. The barbarous Latin in which these documents were written frequently produced a common phraseology, to which various and different significations were attributed. The word knight had a restricted value, and is the generic term to designate a noble warrior. Nevertheless, the word which, in its simple signification, gives the idea of nobility or of privilege, when joined to its contrary, *villao* (*miles villanus*), *rustic*, or *rural*, means especially the inheritor, the tributary, during an epoch when the principal characteristic of true nobility was the complete exemption from tribute. If, therefore, expressions which indicate various degrees in the social scale are vague and confused, and, as a consequence, insufficient, political and economic facts, rights, and duties, which determine the relations of each individual in regard to society, afford us generally sufficiently safe proofs to distinguish the various classes.

On examining the social conditions which characterised the Visigoth, we find that the most noteworthy was that of military service, particularly cavalry. When describing the first steps of the Asturian restoration, we endeavoured to show that this was reduced for some time to incursions or raids into Saracen territories. In these raids, solely effected with the object of deriving spoils, destroying the properties of the enemy, and attracting, willingly or unwillingly, the Mosarabe population to the new Christian possessions, certain circumstances were indispensable. The King of the Mountains or his chieftains in war, when favourable circumstances permitted, would break through the ruggedness of the serras, the deserted wastes and defiles unknown to the Mussalman conquerors, and proceed to districts which they desired to possess. The very nature of these expeditions demanded rapid marches, in order that their appearance should be unexpected and their retreat secure. Hence it was only small detachments of cavalry which could be employed with any good result. In this way horsemen would suddenly surprise the Mussalman districts or provinces. When the garrisons of the cities and fortified places were unable to repulse them

on the field, they used to retreat to the fortifications, while they summoned to their aid the troops of the adjoining districts. Meanwhile, the invaders pitched their camps on the brows of the mountains or hill-tops or in the valleys, and entrenched themselves by erecting earthworks around, in order not to be assailed, while they conveyed the Christian population to the North, and collected the spoils of the Mussalmans who had been unable to escape. Such, more or less, was the history of these expeditions, which at first constituted the whole system of warfare, and which were continued and renewed every spring for some centuries.

Hence, in properties or inheritances subject to tribute there was the charge imposed upon the holders that they be prepared to proceed, usually every spring, to any military expedition not exceeding a stated number of weeks. These men were to take horses and arms, generally lances and shields. For this object they were obliged to appear on horseback at the annual gatherings, and, in course of time, when the Neo-Gothic reaction triumphed, this state of warfare ceased to be permanent, and these raids became limited to strifes with Leon and Castille. This was the simple and general form of blood tribute, of military service, which was imposed on the higher classes of the rural districts. As circumstances varied which demanded their services, this formula became gradually changed. During the thirteenth century this tribute had become, in a great measure, converted, especially in the districts to the north of the Douro, into a fixed tax, payable either in current coin or in kind, usually in coarse linen stuff called *bragaes* (*bracales*). To the south of this river, principally in Central Beira, those who wished to avoid keeping a horse and serving in the wars paid annually an impost, commonly called *o cavallo de maio*, consisting of a *morabitino*. To all appearance, the *cavallo*, or *morabitino de maio*, was equivalent to the tax, but in essence there was a considerable difference. And by degrees, as the monarchy became definitely established, and the kingdom ceased to extend by means of warfare, these substitutions, if they concerned the free proprietor, were no less advantageous for the King, who, during a great portion of the year, could not make use of personal services which presupposed the existence of interminable warfare.

Let us now descend to describe the modifications and more noteworthy divisions existing among the rural knights and their properties. In those days all things were local and diversely modified, and perchance

there was no institution or principle universally applicable without exception. From thence proceeds the difficulty of comprehending the monuments of those epochs, and whose interpretation at times becomes almost impossible. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to the three large groups: first, properties which were simply taxed; secondly, cavalry, which were not only subject to the tax or mulct, or to an equivalent and accidental substitution, but likewise other taxes and tributes; and thirdly, those who, besides these, paid *foros* and rates and fees, and in this sense were confounded with colonists, and serving as the intermediate link between the order of rural knights and the inferior classes.

Among the conquerors mentioned and the Mosarabes who entered into Christian society by means of the aggregation of territories in which they dwelt there existed a political distinction. In the first there was voluntary and sincere adhesion, while those who were incorporated through conquest to the Neo-Gothic society were placed in a situation relatively unfavourable. Hence it was not natural that the tribute should act in the same manner on the two groups. The first and more worthy, either through their own merits or those of their predecessors, had served the common country in troublous times, when combats were more frequent and full of risks, and warfare a terrible profession. The second were entering the Leonese association when the Christian power was increasing and the Mussulman declining, and when oftentimes peace was implored by the corrupted descendants of the warrior Saracen conquerors of the Peninsula. Hence taxation, in relation to the merit of individuals, had a very diverse value. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than to subject the properties of the latter with the taxes from which the first were exempted. In this way was established between them a species of equalisation. There was likewise another impost, called *anúduva*, which consisted in personally assisting in the construction or repair of castles and royal buildings within their walls. The same causes which had originated the previous tributes brought on the imposition of *anúduvas*. In the system of warfare pursued in those rude epochs, sharp raids or incursions, with the object of ravaging fields and taking prisoners, were more common than invasions in large numbers in order to reduce a territory to submission.

This system predominated in the two rival races: if raids were unexpected and continuous on the part of the Leonese, the *ghaswats* of the Saracens were no less sudden and repeated. It is well known from whence the name of the two provinces on the Spanish frontiers was

derived which extended for a length of time along the Christian States. Castille owes its denomination to the large number of castles placed to defend the adjoining towns from the sudden entries of the infidels. This same means of defence, this construction of military asylums for the population of villages and homesteads, was employed in the territories of Portugal not only against the Saracens, but likewise against the Leonese. Hence the impost of *anúduva*, or trench tax, became the contribution in labour, which included the greater number of individuals of all the popular classes. The duty of the rural knight summoned to the erection or labour in castles and royal residences within was no more than that of presenting himself on horseback, armed with a staff, at the stated place, and directing the labourers. Should he not make an appearance, he incurred a certain fine, excepting when the substitution of a *morabitino de maio* was admitted. The substitution, however, if it exempted him from keeping a horse, did not always save him from personal service, not only in public works, but in the *milicia* or *hoste* in many districts.

A third species of farmholders belonging to the class of rural knights is distinguished from the two above mentioned by duties which bear the nature of singular imposts established especially, rather than general tributes. Besides the taxes common to the others, there are some variously imposed, and which at times include the most menial personal offices. The effective cavalry of this species, situated like the former one, principally to the south of the Douro, had, as a rule, the obligation of giving *luctuosa*, a kind of feud commonly paid by the families of colonists to the lord of the manor when their chief died. This circumstance is an important fact, because it leads us to find the origin of similar properties. These were evidently of a diverse nature to the *presurias* and patrimonial properties of the private Mosarabes. When raids became more frequent, or through the accession of provinces newly acquired, there was need to reconstruct castles perchance ruined during combats, and erect new ones; and in proportion as the families of former conquerors obtained exemption of serving in exchange for a permanent tribute, it was easy to resort to the distribution of public lands by single contracts with freedmen, including in the obligations imposed on these their services as horsemen in raids, as also in *anúduvas*.

We have, therefore, the order of rural knights, which we may properly style the aristocracy of the people, divided into three groups,

but constituting in relation to property and fiscal government two distinct species. The first is composed of the holders of land, taxed by a system of imposts general to the class; the second those whose farms are, so to say, engrafted in that of the free colonist, to which is associated the tribute and the dues of agrarian imposts, these imposts being more or less heavy and varied according to the fertility of the soil, the custom of the district, or any other local circumstance.

The properties which were tributary to the military dues were generally vast tracts of land at the time when population was scarce, and when these had arisen from primitive conquests, and in course of time passed through inevitable transformations. Inheritances brought on, in three or four generations, divisions and subdivisions of land in allodial territories, as well as in tributary and in Crown colonies. Besides this, the right of freely alienating the farms which were due to the victors and private individuals and their heirs or representatives, and the right of colonists to transfer their useful dominion, or part of it, gradually brought on a great variation in the manner of holding tributary lands. In relation, however, to the estate and tribute we discover a law or principle, although an unwritten one, but which, in a certain manner, renders it fiscally indifferent the division of property freely held or otherwise. This principle, which became reproduced in the history of the simple colonist, we find actuating in the organisation of the properties held by rural knights. This principle consisted in considering the farms of these, across all divisions and transformations, as indivisible. Whether the farmstead was curtailed or alienated partially, if the owner was a freedman, and held it as a freehold, it was considered indivisible in the solution of tribute; and if it was a colony subject to military imposts, it was held likewise in the same light in regard to tributes and prestation.

Let us imagine that some citizen victors of the ninth or tenth century had come to establish themselves on an inhabited tract of land, or in a former Gothic village which had been deserted and ruined, and that on raising new habitations, assisted by members of their respective families, had cultivated a certain portion of land. The wastes around are vast, the herds pasture together in the solitary plains, while cultivation occupies a portion of land around the homestead. Every spring these men go forth on horseback, at the call of the warrior magistrates, traversing twenty, thirty, and even a larger number of leagues, carrying devastation and death into the bordering Saracen

frontiers. At the end of a few weeks they return, oftentimes laden with spoils, which enables them to live a more easy existence, and to extend the circuit of their rural labours. The families of these intermarry and form new families, and their children and successors multiply their dwellings until the waste lands disappear, and they become, in their turn, further circumscribed by lands of inferior quality. The rustic citizens at length join the Crown colony, the dominions of the noble, the territories of the Church, with the patrimonial lands, which, despite every revolution, have been preserved in a state of cultivation and inhabited. Then this population, which grew up and marched from valley to valley, from field to field, now turns back to itself; and this increase of population and death of the heads of families induce the need of division of homesteads and land, and agriculture becomes more methodical, by obtaining from smaller portions of land a larger amount of profit, and, as a consequence, demand from the cultivator his best efforts and his personal supervision. On the other hand, these annual raids become more difficult to continue, owing to distance, and warfare begins to lose daily the character of incursions to conquer or to take permanent possession of places, meanwhile that the spoils ceased to compensate for the losses suffered by the proprietor, when for many weeks he abandoned his estates and the cultivation of the land to proceed to the annual expeditions. Hence, at first, while the succession of generations did not necessitate the division of farm-lands, it was only natural that each new landowner should proceed to the wars, with his horses and arms, and join his military chief; but later on this charge began to be held binding on the property, and not on the individual or family, although the property might be divided among several, until at length, as we have seen, this personal service, in progress of time and circumstances, became exchanged or substituted for an annual sum either in money or goods. This condition of progress induced analogous situations in the three groups, and the dues and imposts of rural knight, and townsman, and colonist became charged on the original holder, and nearly always in the line of primogeniture. One individual alone presents himself with his steed for the raid, pays the tribute, and, if necessary, gives his life, while the rest contribute in proportion to the expenses for these expeditions. A part of the ancient Roman system of imposts comes into action; the union of many holders or *possessors* under one, the tributary *caput*, the imaginary entity created by fiscal science, rises up.

The fact and name are ancient. Was it a casual phenomenon? Was it a tradition, never to be put aside? This is a question which we confess to be insoluble.

There is a fact in the history of the Crown colonies which appears at first sight incredible. This is the large number of simple *reguengos*, or royal farms, which still existed at the end of the thirteenth century, and which continued far into the following one. How was it that although constantly converted into tributary inheritance, a conversion which no less interested the colonists than the King, and notwithstanding the providences of 1265, the complex of which must have powerfully influenced this conversion, so many of these simple royal farms continued to exist? This question leads us to state some particulars relative to the origin of public property, and which will afford the reader some idea of the diverse position of the colonists.

The origin of colonies in their principle we have already fully stated. In the provinces to the south of the Mondego and of the Tagus, the theatre of sanguinary wars during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there existed the same differences between rural knights, yeomen, royal farm-holders (*reguengos*), and between their respective properties, as in the provinces of the North. But in these the population was far more spare, and municipal circumscription embraced the greater portion of the territory. The Leonese system of organisation, the adscription to the glebe, did not formerly exist in them, because no fixed institution could prevail, even of those which the Mosarabes had preserved under the Saracen yoke. All important towns before and after the conquest were strongholds and fortified places. Around these were lands which were annually invaded, and therefore it was necessary to cultivate these lands by the dwellers themselves, and not by holders of farms isolated and defenceless.

The royal farms (*reguengo*) could not, therefore, spring from the conversion of the serf (*adscriptum glebe*) into freedmen, and constitute the inheritance of the Crown transmitted across centuries: it must have been, so to say, a royal acquisition, a part portioned off by the King for himself when reducing to submission any of these invaded districts, and after bestowing on the nobles, the churches, the military orders, and to councils the larger portion of lands recently acquired, but the value of which, owing to the deficiency of population, was small in comparison with that of the north. This fact is manifested in various documents. For instance, Alfonso I. endows the order of Calatrava as follows:

"All properties and vineyards, orchards, and fig plantations, which I *took for myself* in the neighbourhood of Evora," &c.

This economic and social fact, which was carried out only on the south of the kingdom, and was the most recent and unimportant in itself, has been considered by our historians and jurisconsults as the primitive origin of the royal farms (*reguengos*), an error which, if admitted, would render it impossible to comprehend the initial situation of the Crown colonies or of the King. Nevertheless, this source of public property existed; and although it might not be the principal one, it was nevertheless the origin of the great number which subsisted during the first epoch of the monarchy. In the southern provinces, therefore, on account of the sparse population, it was only very slowly that *reguengos* could be converted into tributary hereditary farmsteads. The great causes, however, of their multiplication, and which constantly worked to neutralise the tendencies to establish a system of inheritance in families of the labouring classes, were these: At an epoch when the duties imposed on lands were most hard, and at the same time nothing was easier to the labourer than to find one to supply a farm to cultivate, when leaving the one he had occupied or possessed, the tribute-payer would naturally be remiss in fulfilling his duties to the fiscal, which produced a forfeit, or the property devolved to the Crown. On the other hand, weakness of public authority to prevent crimes, oftentimes the extortions practised on the poor and humble classes, the barbarity of customs, and many other circumstances produced crimes, among which peculation was not the smallest. These crimes brought on confiscation (*cautum* or *incautum*) of the goods of the criminal, these being added to the bulk of *reguengos*, which increased so long as they were not newly let out. Hence, even after being turned into manors, the ancient glebe of the serfs often reverted to the absolute dominion of the Crown.

Such was the position of *reguengos* and their holders, such the principal causes for the continuance on a large scale of this species of public property, held and cultivated in diverse manners. Now we will proceed to examine what these farms or lands of farms were, and the social condition of the colonists who possessed them.

The common idea of the word *jugada*, and its origin from the end of the fifteenth century, given by historians and jurisconsults, is very inexact. According to them, *jugada* was one of those royal dues, a species of census, or tax, established on certain portions of land taken from the Moors, which the King distributed to the people as patri-

monies, while he retained for himself others with full dominion, and these latter constituted initially the *reguengos*, or royal farms. It is, therefore, the same especial and secondary fact converted into a fundamental and generic one—always the one idea of conquest, of the absolute substitution of one race for another, society for society, which induces these inexact and incomplete definitions. According to the generally admitted opinion, in order to assess the taxation of the *jugada*, the *jugos*, or yokes of oxen which each farmer employed in the cultivation of each farm, was taken as the basis or measure of the tribute, and from this arose the name of the tax which exclusively characterised lands of this nature. Hence these two categories of properties, distinct from each other, co-existed since the occupation by the conquerors, and were never confounded. The holder of these, like the rural knight and colonist, is a royal ratepayer, although a labourer, and, like him, a landowner, but one who has bought his inheritance by the solution of certain services and prestimonies, and by the voluntary adhesion to the glebe; while the other purchased it by analogous duties and military service in wars and *anúduvas*, a service which served to enhoble him. The *jugada* is a purely material condition imposed on the heritage, and binds the colonist to it by a species of co-proprietorship, and not a tribute, but the symbol of a free civil contract, being a charge imposed conditionally on the free colonist by the King as proprietor, or rather as administrator of public property, and not as supreme magistrate and lawgiver.

The nobles, also the clergy and private individuals, received from their yeomen this tax. This was practised on free lands and possessions transferred from hand to hand, because personal freedom was overcoming all obstacles and becoming admitted on all sides. The *jugada* was paid in kind, as many documents of transfer prove to us, this being bread, poultry, wine, game, &c., besides money.

The tax of *jugada*, which took a yoke of oxen as the basis for assessment, although it might be considered a reminiscence of the Roman tributary system called the *jugatio*, appears constituted as a species or restriction of the generic value of the word. Two facts seem to prove this—the first, because we find generally the tribute, established on this system, constituted councils, levied on labourers and municipal taxpayers; secondly, the employment of this same system of taxation on lands immediate and singularly properties of the Crown for cultivation in the districts south of the Douro, while to the north of this river

the *jugada* appears, in the greatest number of cases, assessed regardless of this system. Councils were transformations of a former state, and the organisation of properties and of inferior classes in the northern districts of the kingdom naturally preceded that of the central and southern ones, since the conquest of these was later and more gradual. We have monuments still existing to prove that at the commencement of the twelfth century there existed two varieties of *jugada*, the *old* and the *new*. When giving charters to Viseu, D. Theresa establishes the new system for the *jugadeiros*, or labourers, who had come to populate the place. Hence the distinction between the two formulas of the same system dates as far back as that epoch, and this double existence we believe to be an indubitable fact.

This tribute of *jugada*, or yoke of oxen, is characterised by a certain uniformity. As a rule, at least to the south of the Douro, this tax was paid by a fixed quantity of bread, but its payment in wine and flax was not so fixed, although generally it was a tenth part. When, owing to the smallness of the estate or poverty of the land or deficiency of means, the land tenant employed for cultivation only an ox and a cow, or two cows, or sometimes an ox alone, this tax was proportionally diminished.

Colonists of voluntary adhesion were likewise styled *farmers* or *inheritors* of the King. Both these denominations, although sufficiently vague, were undoubtedly applicable similarly to the rural knights or esquires of both descriptions; they were subject to a *foro*, or tax, an expression in the Portuguese language which is most undeterminate as to its judicial and economic sense, because in its many and complex acceptations it signified generally only tribute, census, or prestimony belonging to the fiscal order. Like the rural knight-colonists, they were inheritors by virtue of the co-proprietorship with the Crown lands, and for that reason the direct dominion of the glebe lands lay with the King, the expression of *herdadores d'elrei* perfectly designating the fact.

We said before that these farmers could alienate their lands when the purchaser was in a position to reside on the farm or inheritance. This condition, which followed as a consequence of the fiscal system, was not only understood in the contract made, but also stated in writing. Ancient registers constantly prove this, especially from the middle of the thirteenth century. Practically, this principle, in relation to churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions, suffered evasions owing to the

influence of the clergy. The freedom of alienating property, as we learn from a number of contracts, was restricted by a formula which varied in phrase, but was always in the sense of excluding nobles, ecclesiastics, and their *men*—that is to say, their farmers and household. In this the Crown did no more than repeat what the nobles and the clergy practised in the concessions of colonies which excluded from their own lands the King's *men*, and mutually those of each other.

We have up to a certain point considered the inferior population as annexed to the soil. The analysis of the position of the citizen classes, and their distinguishing characteristics, would be well-nigh impossible without describing the history of proprietorship. At an epoch and in a country essentially agricultural the idea of labourer and farmer is almost synonymous; hence, even when forced annexation to the glebe no longer existed as a right, and, moreover, was considered repugnant and criminal, the common language retained phrases which were reminiscences of barbarian times and servitude, and the idea of the individual is confused with that of the glebe he cultivated. It was so small a matter to associate the idea of a rural head of a family with that of the agriculturist, that at first sight it is not comprehensible how outside the municipalities any individual of that sphere, and placed in this position, could support himself and family without belonging to one of the groups of proprietors or rural colonists, although other professions or trades might exist from whence they could derive a subsistence. Nevertheless, out of this association of ideas and progress of liberty there arose a new state, the most humble of the inferior classes, those of daily labourers and paid farm servants, which formed the last degree in the scale of freedmen, and became, as it were, the transition state between these and Saracen slaves.

And in effect, from the moment when families annexed to the soil could release themselves, they separately and personally sought other means of individuality. The natural increase of population, the impossibility that the glebe, originally sufficient for supporting a small family, should be sufficient to support all his descendants, the inequality of talents and degrees of activity among men, as well as many other causes, induced the separation of individuals, and forced them to resort to the labour market, since the landowners could no longer compel them to serve, nor were they any longer interested in providing for them. This crowd, whose position is undetermined, and who spring from a class not absolutely new, since it represents the free serfs of the Visigoths, and

up to a certain point the freedmen retained by law under the patronage of the owner, nevertheless hold a new position, though changing from epoch to epoch in proportion to the progress of human culture and the gradual revolution which it worked during the space of five centuries. A law of Alfonso II., promulgated at the commencement of the thirteenth century, clearly proves that the number of proletaries was sufficiently large to demand severe providences being taken against the violent passions of men to whom the revolution which was then taking place was affording a double weapon, useful, yet deadly, of freedom of will and action, privileges unknown in former times among the lower classes. The society which afforded them this weapon had also the right to constrain its use against the common weal. The proletary was free to choose a profession or trade, and to serve whomsoever he wished, but nevertheless the nation had to, and must, repel or punish the evils or crimes which might result therefrom, by compelling him to work. To these resolutions, which establish the general principle of compulsion to labour, follow others respecting the most grave question which at the present day is agitating Europe—the organisation of public labour. It is evident that in those epochs when fabrile industry did not exist, and there were not the complications which in our day render this terrible question one almost impossible to solve, the legal rules laid down in respect to labour must necessarily be limited to the cardinal point of fixing a rate of payment, especially the wages of rural work. Such is the character of the rules found in a species of tariff established in 1253 for the exchange and selling of merchandise in the more populous districts of the kingdom, those of Alemdouro, and with various modifications, no doubt, were extended to other districts of the country. In this tariff we find stated the cost of making various articles of apparel, while in respect to other objects of ordinary use the prices are fixed of the material and making. But what more directly interests our work is the assignment of the wages of *mancebos*,* or farm servants. Here we find all the humble gradations which at the present day distinguish the persons employed on an important estate rising up before us as existing in the thirteenth century. For each of them the law established a tariff of annual salaries, for payment in money, goods, and dress. It is evident that such individuals who followed these humble trades were persons who, although not holding any properties, were nevertheless perfectly

* *Mancebo.* This is the designation of inferior servants, and is evidently a derivation from *mancipium.*

free, since the law regulates the contracts for services and barterings with the proprietors and agriculturists. In the preceding centuries, when servitude was the bond of the labouring classes, and ruled labour, the rules decreed in the code of 1253 would practically be useless, and perchance incomprehensible.

After descending to the last grade of the social scale, wherein we find the various popular groups placed, if we consider the cause of these gradations we shall find that, as the predominant fact among the inferior classes, the progress of freedom in the working man characterising history during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From Christianity, from the Germanic invasions, from the especial organisation of barbarian monarchies, the development and modifications which they passed through in the midst of the strifes with the Saracens prove the restoration of municipal society under new conditions, while from the direct or indirect influence of them arose in the Peninsula the emancipation of the working man and of the labourer.

Some of these causes were from their nature transitory, while others were permanent and lasting. Other causes rose up in the shape of invasions, and their consequent reaction inducing disturbances, long and sanguinary wars, migrations, and confusion of customs and laws constituted a motive force which disunited, agitated, and dispersed to join again the social atoms called the *family*, and by its constant movement facilitated new combinations. Religion, which equalises all men before God, the monarchy, the representative and instrument of social unity, and the municipality, the grand means of spontaneous cohesion of families, the only bulwark of the humble and the weak against the powerful and strong, were, on the contrary, positive and perpetual causes of political organisation, and therefore of the progressive development of personal liberty. Meanwhile that the Visigothic monarchy, and later on the Leonese, concealed in its bosom the type of popular simplicity in the courts and ministry, in the inheritors of rural knights, the municipality restored, and with new life infused by favour of the Kings, arranged and strengthened these to resist an unlimited power, and the extortions unmercifully effected by nobles, warriors, and the powerful. Christianity, with its admirable system, promoted the liberation of the servile classes, and effecting on the spirit the grand idea of the moral dignity of the Christian, enlightened him to see his former rudeness, and induce him to acquire purer and more gentle

customs, the most efficacious means for opposing the abuses of power and wealth. The association of these elements brought on in the decline of the Middle Ages a new idea, and one of immense fruitfulness. Human liberty became the universal principle, servitude an exceptional fact. Towards the end of the thirteenth century it might be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that personal slavery only existed in an insignificant number of labourers, working men or Saracen captives of war who had as yet not attained to be ransomed. Their co-religionists, who, by reason of spontaneous conventions, had become incorporated into Portuguese society, were personally free.

As we have said, it was at the decline of the Middle Ages that personal liberty became converted into a universal principle. And, in truth, the civilised world only then knew of it as an exception. But in order to view it in the former societies of cultured Europe, it is necessary to place ourselves in the false light from which they regarded it. The republics of Greece and Rome were barely illustrious oligarchies. What does it matter to us whether the Roman crowd in a tumult governed the field, or crouched down and swept before the most brutal and senseless of tyrannies, that of a chief of mercenary soldiers? What does it concern us if those oppressors styled Roman citizens subsisted on two *asses* * per day, stretched on the straw all the day long beneath the shadow of a portico or a tree, or whether they spent thousands of *sesterces* † daily in extravagances and luxury? They barely form two groups of oligarchies of diverse species. What does it matter whether, wisely or otherwise, in the midst of knowledge, the Roman jurisconsult or the Roman laws tell us that the serf is a man, though not a person? The serfs of societies of other times, whether of republics or empires, were the men who worked, and therefore were the majority, since they supported themselves as well as the idle ones, the citizen and the free, by the sweat of their brows. Antiquity, by debasing labour, perverted ideas, called liberty a privilege, and its exception the rule. If, however, in the brilliant republics of Europe polytheism had ruled the absolute negation of personal freedom in the labouring classes, in the rude monarchies sprung from the Asturian reaction and Christianity, this brutal negation, inherited from the Roman empire, tottered on its

* *Asses.* A Roman coin, in value about twopence sterling.

† *Sesterces.* A Roman coin or denomination of money, in value the fourth of a denarius. The *Sestertium pondus* was two pounds and a half, or 250 denarii, about seven pounds sterling.

foundations, and in less than five centuries fell in ruins, falling to ruins in proportion as municipalities became established and spread throughout the territory under the influence of the Sceptre and the Cross, and resisting against the tyrannical impetus of the powerful, with that force which is given by union, offering within their centre a shelter to the oppressed serf, and thus teaching, or rather compelling, the privileged man to respect the working man as his own fellow-being. In this way did the Middle Ages, that troublous epoch of bloodshed and of darkness, wherein at first sight civilisation appeared to be extinguished, become in truth a period of progress. It was with the elements, political and social, bequeathed by them to the ages which followed, that modern nations were able to develop. Emancipating, and therefore morally ennobling labour in an atmosphere of liberty, the powers of intelligence and of the body worked together daily with greater energy, and with singular rapidity restored the almost defunct civilisation, until within five centuries they enabled modern arts and industries to far surpass the bounds of ancient civilisation in arts and sciences.

But, let us repeat it, in the twelfth century this progress was essentially of the moral order and in part hidden. Supposing that the *adscriptus* or their families continued to dwell voluntarily on the Crown lands, their position did not always, and perchance rarely improved, whether they remained as simple farm-holders (*reguengueiros*) or under their new title of feeholders or tributaries. Rations, tithes, and taxes, grievous and varied, diverse and multiplied services, personally weighed upon them as formerly, or with small difference. Notwithstanding that these imposts might devolve on the glebe, and despite that these could evade them by forsaking the land, oftentimes this entailed a greater sacrifice than all the grievances to which they were subjected. The revolution did not pass, could not suddenly sweep over and produce the well-being of the multitude, because, similarly to all revolutions destined to last, it proceeded from the interior towards the exterior, from ideas to facts. Hence, in studying the position of the inferior classes during the first period of our history, we have limited ourselves to the examination of the personal conditions of each one. In its other phase, that of their material state, we have viewed it in the analysis of tributes. This analysis, which constitutes the most interesting part of the history of public administration, is at the same time the complement to the sketch of the social and economic condition of the people. Yet it behoves us to witness its organisation in the municipalities, where taxation still

weighs on them, although in a less hard manner. It is only afterwards that the nature of the royal power, the action of government, and, as a consequence, the fiscal system, can be properly valued. Then will it be proper for us to say we have comprehended, as far as the distance of the times allows us, the primitive character of Portuguese society.

END OF SEVENTH BOOK AND OF VOL. I.

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